Biographia Scoticana:

OR, A

BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES, CHARACTERS, AND MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS of the moſt eminent

SCOTS WORTHIES,

Noblemen, Gentlemen, Miniſters, and others: From Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, who was born about the year of our Lord 1503, and ſuffered martyrdom at *St. Andrews*, Feb. 1527, to *Mr. James Renwick*, who was executed in the Graſs-market of *Edinburgh*, Feb. 17, 1688.

TOGETHER WITH

A ſuccinct Account of the Lives of other ſeven eminent Divines, and Sir *Robert Hamilton* of Preſton, who died about, or ſhortly after the Revolution.

AS ALSO,

An Appendix, containing a ſhort hiſtorical Hint of the wicked Lives and miſerable Deaths of ſome of the moſt remarkable apoſtates and bloody perſecutors in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution.

Collected from hiſtorical Records, Biographical Accounts, and other authenticated Writings:——The whole including a Period of near Two Hundred Years.

BY JOHN HOWIE.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected and enlarged.

The Righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting Remembrance, Pſal. cxii. 6.
And of Zion it ſhall be ſaid, This and that man was born in her, Pſal. lxxxvii. 5.

GLASGOW:
Printed by JOHN BRYCE, and Sold at his Shop, oppoſite Gibſon's-Wynd, *Salt-market*.
M, DCC, LXXXI.

Entered in Stationers-Hall, according to Act of Parliament.

PREFACE.

To the IMPARTIAL READER.

THE design of the following work was to collect from the best authorities, a summary account of the lives characters and contendings of a certain number of our most RENOWNED SCOTS WORTHIES, who for their faithful services, ardent zeal, constancy in sufferings, and other Christian graces and virtues, deserve a most honourable memorial in the church of Christ;—and for which their names both have and will be savoury to all the true lovers of our Zion, while reformation-principles are regarded in Scotland.

BUT then perhaps at first view, some may be surprized to find one so obscure appear in a work of this nature, especially when there are so many fit hands for such an employment. But if the respect I have for the memories of these worthies; the familiar acquaintance and sweet fellowship that once subsisted betwixt some of my ancestors and some of them; but, above all, the love and regard which I have for the same cause which they owned and maintained, be not sufficient to apologize for me in this; then I must crave thy patience to hear me in a few particulars; and that both anent the reasons for this publication, and its utility: Which I hope will plead my excuse for this undertaking.

AND *First*, Having for some time had a desire to see something of this kind published, but finding nothing thereof, except a few broken accounts interspersed throughout different publications yet in print, at last I took up a resolution to publish a second edition of the life of one of these worthies already published at large *.—Yet, upon farther reflection, considering it would be better to collect into one volume, the most material relations (of as many of our Scots worthies as could be obtained) from such of the

* Mr Renwick's life wrote by Mr Shields and published *anno* 1724.

hiſtorical records, biographical accounts, and other authenticated manuſcripts, as I could have acceſs unto, with the ſubſtance of theſe lives already in print, which, being put altogether, I thought would not only prove more uſeful in giving the reader the pleaſure of viewing that all at once, which before was ſcattered up and down in ſo many corners, but alſo at the ſame time it might be free of the inconveniences that little pamphlets often fall under. And yet at the ſame time I am aware that ſome may expect to find a more full account of theſe worthies, both as to their number and the matters of fact in the time ſpecified, than ~~what~~ what is here to be met with.—But in this publication, it is not pretended to give an account of all our Scots worthies, or their tranſactions: For that were a taſk now altogether impracticable, and that upon ſeveral accounts. For,

1*ſt*, THERE have been many of different ranks and degrees of men famous in the church of Scotland, of whom little more is mentioned in hiſtory than their names, places of abode, and age wherein they exiſted, and ſcarcely that. Again, there are many others, of whom the moſt that can be ſaid is only a few faint hints, which of neceſſity muſt render their lives (if they may properly be ſo called) very imperfect, from what they might and would have been, had they been collected and wrote near a century ago, when their actions and memories were more freſh and recent; ſeveral perſons being then alive, who were well acquainted with their lives and proceedings, whereby they might have been confirmed by many unconteſtible evidences that cannot now poſſibly be brought in; yea, and more ſo, ſeeing there is a chaſm in our hiſtory during the time of the Uſurper, not to mention how many of our national records were about that time altogether loſt.

2*dly*, THERE are ſeveral others, both in the reforming and ſuffering periods, of whom ſomewhat now is recorded, and yet not ſufficient to form a narrative of, ſo that, excepting by ſhort relations or marginal notes, they cannot otherwiſe be ſupplied.—For it is with regret that the publiſhers

* Of theſe records belonging to the ſtate carried away by Cromwel to ſecure our dependence on England, there were 85 hogſheads loſt Dec. 18, 1660, in a ſhip belonging to Kirkaldy, as ſhe was returning with them from London. And as for the church records and regiſters, a great many of them alſo (either through the confuſion of the then civil wars, or falling into the hands of the prelates while prelacy prevailed in Scotland) are alſo a-miſſing.

PREFACE to Stevenſon's Hiſtory.

ſhers have it to declare, that, upon application unto ſeveral places for farther information concerning ſome of theſe worthy men, they could find little or nothing in the moſt part of their regiſters (excepting a few things by way of oral tradition) being through courſe of time either deſignedly, or through negligence loſt.

3*dly*, SOME few of theſe lives already in print being ſomewhat prolix, it ſeemed proper to abridge them; which is done in a manner as comprehenſive as poſſible, ſo that nothing material is omitted, which it is hoped will be thought to be no way injurious to the memory of theſe worthy men.

Secondly, As to the utility of this ſubject, biography in general, (as a hiſtorian has obſerved *), muſt be one of the moſt entertaining parts of hiſtory; and how much more the lives and tranſactions of our *noble* SCOTS WORTHIES, wherein is contained not only a ſhort compend of the teſtimony and wreſtlings of the church of Scotland for near the ſpace of 200 years, yea from the earlieſt period of Chriſtianity in Scotland (the introduction included) but alſo a great variety of other things, both inſtructing and entertaining, which at once muſt both edify and refreſh the ſerious and underſtanding reader.—For,

1*ſt*, IN theſe lives we have a ſhort view of the actions, atchievements, and ſome of the failings of our anceſtors ſet forth before us, as examples for our caution and imitation; wherein by the experience, and at the expence of former ages, by a train of prudent reflections, we may learn important leſſons for our conduct in life, both in faith and manners, for the furniſhing ourſelves with the like Chriſtian armour of zeal, faithfulneſs, holineſs, ſtedfaſtneſs, meekneſs, patience, humility, and other graces.

2*dly*, IN them we behold what the wiſeſt of men could not think on without aſtoniſhment, that *God does in very deed dwell with men upon earth*, (men a little too low for heaven, and much too high for earth); nay more, dealeth "ſo familiarly with them, as to make them previouſly ac- "quainted with his ſecret deſigns, both of judgment and "mercy, diſplaying his divine power, and the efficacy of "his grace thro' their infirmities, ſubduing the moſt har- "dened ſinners to himſelf, while he as it were reſigns him- "ſelf

* Mr Wodrow in his hiſtory.

"ſelf to their prayers, and makes them the ſubject of his "divine care and ſuperintendency."

3dly, HERE we have as it were a mirror exemplifying and ſetting forth all the virtues and duties of a religious and a domeſtic life.—Here is the example of a virtuous nobleman, an active ſtateſman, a religious gentleman, a faithful and painful miniſter in the exerciſe of his office, *inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, a wiſe and diligent magiſtrate, *one fearing God and hating covetouſneſs*, a couragious ſoldier, a good chriſtian, a loving huſband, an indulgent parent, a faithful friend in every exigence; and in a word, almoſt every character worthy of our imitation. And,

Laſtly, In them we have the various changes of ſoul exerciſe, experiences, ſavoury expreſſions and laſt words of thoſe, once living, now glorified witneſſes of Chriſt. And "as the laſt ſpeeches of men are remarkable, how remar-"kable then muſt the laſt words and dying expreſſions of "theſe NOBLE WITNESSES and MARTYRS of Chriſt be!" For the nearer the dying ſaint is to heaven, and the more of the preſence of Chriſt that he has in his laſt moments, when death looks him in the face *, the more intereſting will his converſation be to ſurvivors, and particularly acceptable to real Chriſtians, becauſe all that he ſays is ſupported by his example, which commonly has conſiderable influence upon the human mind.—It is true, there is an innate and latent evil in man's nature, that makes him more prone and obſequious to follow bad than good examples; yet ſometimes, (yea often) there is a kind of compulſive energy ariſing from the good examples of ſuch as are eminent either in place or godlineſs, leading forth others to imitate them in the like graces and virtues. We find the children of Iſrael followed the Lord all the days of Joſhua, and the elders that outlived him; and Chriſt's harbinger, John Baptiſt, gained as much by his practice and example as by his doctrine: His apparel, his diet, his converſation, and all, did preach forth his holineſs. Nazianzen ſaith of him, "That he cried louder by the holi-"neſs of his life, than by the ſincerity of his doctrine." And

* Sure 'tis a ſerious thing to die: my ſoul
What a ſtrange moment muſt it be when near
Thy journey's end, thou haſt the gulph in view!
That awful gulph no mortal e'er repaſs'd,
To tell what 's doing on the other ſide.
The GRAVE, by Blair

And were it not ſo, the apoſtle would not have exhorted the Philippians unto this, ſaying, *Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk, ſo as ye have us for an enſample*, &c. chap. iii. 17.—And ſo ſays the apoſtle James, *Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have ſpoken in the name of the Lord, for an enſample*, &c. chap. v. 10. And no queſtion, that next to the down-pouring of the Spirit from on high, the rapid and admirable ſucceſs of the goſpel, both in the primitive times, and in the beginning of our reformations (from popery and prelacy) in a great meaſure muſt have been owing to the ſimplicity, holy and exemplary lives of the preachers and profeſſors thereof. A learned expoſitor obſerves, "That miniſters are likely "to preach moſt to the purpoſe, when they can preſs "their hearers to follow their example †." For it is very obſervable that without this, the church of Chriſt is ſo far from gaining ground, that it loſes what it hath already gained in the world; of which the church of Scotland is a moſt glaring document; yea truth itſelf ſuffers by this means, and can gain no credit from their mouths; and how deſpicable muſt that man's character be, whoſe authority is loſt, and his example goes for nothing. So that upon the whole, I flatter myſelf that no ſmall advantage (thro' the divine bleſſing) might accrue to the public from this ſubject in general, and from the lives of our Scots worthies in particular, providing theſe or the like cautions following were obſerved: And that is, 1. We are not to ſit down or reſt ourſelves upon the perſon, principle or practice of any man, yea the beſt ſaint we have ever read or heard of, but only to ſeek theſe gifts and graces that moſt eminently ſhone forth in them.—*Præceptis, non exemplis, ſtandum*, i. e. "we "muſt not ſtand by examples but precepts:" For it is the peculiar honour and dignity of Jeſus Chriſt only to be imitated by all men abſolutely, and for any perſon or perſons to idolize any man or men, in making them a pattern in every circumſtance or particular, were nothing elſe than to pin an implicit faith upon other mens ſleeves. The apoſtle to the Corinthians (in the forecited text) gives a very good caveat againſt this, when he ſays, *Be ye followers* (or as the Duch annotators tranſlate, *Be ye imitators*) *of me, as I am of Chriſt.*—And, 2. Neither are we on the other hand to dwell too much upon the faults, or failings that have ſometime been diſcovered in ſome of God's own dear children; but at the ſame time to conſider with ourſelves, that although

† Mr Henry on 1 Cor. xi. 1.

though they were eminent men of God, yet at the ſame time were they the ſons of Adam alſo: For it is poſſible, yea many times has been the caſe, for good men not only to make foul falls themſelves, but alſo when ſtriking againſt the errors and enormities of others to over-reach the mark, and go beyond the bounds of truth in ſome degree themſelves; perfection being no inherent plant in this life, ſo ſays the apoſtle, *They are earthen veſſels, men of like paſſions with you*, &c. 2 Cor. iv. 7. Acts xiv. 15.

Thirdly, As to the motives leading us to this publication. Can it be ſuppoſed that there was ever an age, ſince reformation commenced in Scotland, that ſtood in more need of uſeful, holy and exemplary lives being ſet before them; and that both in reſpect to the actions and memories of theſe worthies, and with regard to our preſent circumſtances. For in reſpect to the memories and tranſactions of theſe worthies, it is now a long time ſince biſhops Spotiſwood, Guthry and Burnet (not to mention ſome Engliſh hiſtorians) in their writings, clothed the actions and proceedings of thoſe our anceſtors (both in ths reforming and ſuffering period) in a moſt groteſque and frantic dreſs, whereby their names and noble attainments have been loaded with reproach, ſarcaſms and ſcurrility; but as if this had not been enough, to expoſe them in rendering them, and their moſt faithful contendings, odious, ſome modern writers, under the character of monthly reviewers, have ſet their engines again at work, to miſrepreſent ſome of them, and ſet them in ſuch a diſhonourable light, by giving them a character that even the above-mentioned hiſtorians, yea their moſt avowed enemies, of their own day, would ſcarcely have ſubſcribed †: to ſuch a length is poor degenerate Scotland arrived.—And is it not high time to follow the wiſe man's advice, *Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cauſe of all ſuch as are appointed to deſtruction?* Prov. xxxi. 8.

AGAIN, with regard to our preſent circumſtances, there needs little more to prove the neceſſity of this collection at preſent, than to ſhew how many degrees we have deſcended from the worthy deeds or merit of our *Renowned forefathers*, by running a parallel betwixt their contendings and attainments, and our preſent national defections and backſliding courſes, in theſe few particulars following.

OUR

† For confirmation of this, ſee the Edinburgh monthly review for February 1774.

OUR venerable reformers were not only highly inſtrumental in the Lord's hand in bringing a people out of the abyſs of groſs Popiſh darkneſs (under which they had for a long time continued), but alſo brought themſelves under moſt ſolemn and ſacred vows and engagements to the Moſt High, and whenever they were to ſet about any further piece of reformation in their advancing ſtate, they always ſet about the renovation of theſe covenants.—They ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the divine right of preſbytery, the headſhip of Chriſt, and intrinſic rights of his church in the reign of James VI. and ſuffered much on that account—lifted arms once and again in the reign of Charles I.; and never ceaſed until they got an uniformity in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and church-government, brought out and eſtabliſhed betwixt the three kingdoms for that purpoſe †, whereby both church and ſtate were enabled to exert themſelves in rooting out every error and hereſy whatever, until they obtained a complete ſettlement according to the word of God, and our covenants eſtabliſhed thereon; which covenants were then by ſeveral excellent acts both civil and eccleſiaſtic ‡ made the MAGNA CHARTA of theſe nations, with reſpect to every civil and religious privilege; none being admitted unto any office or employment in church or ſtate, without ſcriptural and covenant qualifications.—And then was that part of the antient prophecy further fulfilled, *In the wilderneſs ſhall waters break forth, and ſtreams in the deſart,—and the iſles ſhall wait for his law.* Chriſt then reigned glorioufly in Scotland. His church appeared *beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jeruſalem:—For from the outmoſt parts were heard ſongs, even glory to the righteous.*

AND although Charles II. and a ſet of wicked counſellors overturned the whole fabric of that once-glorious ſtructure of reformation, openly diveſted the Son of God of his headſhip in and over his own church, as far as human laws could do, burned theſe ſolemn covenants by the hands of the hangman (the owning of which was by act of parliament § made high treaſon afterward).—Yet even then the ſeed of the church produced a remnant who kept the word

† See the parliamentary chronicle, or God on the mount

‡ See act v. parl. 1640 act v. 1644. act xv. 1649.; acts of the general Aſſembly, ſeſſ. 26. 1638. ſeſſ. 23. 1659. ſeſſ. 6. 1642. ſeſſ. *ult.* 1647. ſeſſ. 31. 1648, *&c.*

§ Act v. ſeſſ. 1. parl. 1. James VII. See James VII. and William and Mary's acts of parliament abridged, p. 42.

of Chriſt's patience ſtood in defence of the whole of his perſecuted truths, in face of all oppoſition, and that to the effuſion of the laſt drop of their blood: "Theſe two prime "truths, Chriſt's headſhip and our covenants, being in the "mouths of all our late martyrs, when they mounted their "bloody theatres;" and in the comfort of ſuffering on ſuch clear grounds, and for ſuch valuable truths, they went triumphing off the ſtage of time to eternity.

BUT alas! how have we their degenerate and renegado poſterity followed their example or traced their ſteps, yea we have rather ſerved ourſelves heirs to them who perſecuted and killed them, by our long acceſſion to their perjury and apoſtacy in a general and avowed denial of our moſt ſolemn vows and oaths of allegiance to Jeſus Chriſt. To mention nothing more of the total extermination of our ancient and laudable conſtitution, during the two tyrants reigns, with the many grave ſtones caſt thereon by the acts reſciſſory, &c. (which acts ſeem by no act in particular yet to be repealed) and claim of right at the revolution, whereby we have in a national way and capacity (whatever be the pretences) declared ourſelves to be on another footing than the footing of the once-famous covenanted church of Scotland. How many are the defections and encroachments annually and daily made upon our moſt valuable rights and privileges! For ſince the revolution, the duty of national covenanting has not only been ſlighted and neglected, yea ridiculed by ſome, but even ſome leading church-men, in their writings †, have had the effrontery to impugn (though in a very ſly way) the very obligation of theſe covenants, aſſerting that there is little or no warrant for national covenanting under the new Teſtament diſpenſation: And what awful attacks ſince that time have been made upon the crown-rights of our Redeemer (notwithſtanding ſome faint acts then made to the contrary) as witneſs the civil magiſtrate's ſtill retaining his old uſurped power, in calling and diſſolving the ſupreme judicatories of the church, yea, ſometimes to an indefinite time.—Likewiſe appointing diets of faſting and thankſgiving to be obſerved, under fines and other civil pains annexed; impoſing oaths, acts and ſtatutes upon church-men, under pain of eccleſiaſtic cenſure, or other

† Such as Meſſrs Currie, Ferguſon, and Smith of Newburn &c. who, in order to palliate and extenuate the evil of the preſent backſliding courſes, ſeem to have left no ſtone unturned to expoſe or blacken the reforming period.

ther Eraſtian penalties. And inſtead of our covenants, an unhallowed union is gone into with England, whereby our rights and liberties are infringed not a little, *bow down thy body as the ground that we may paſs over.*—Lordly patronage *; which was caſt out of the church in her pureſt times, is now reſtored and practiſed to an extremity.—A toleration bill † is granted, whereby all and almoſt every error, hereſy and deluſion appears now rampant and triumphant, prelacy is now become faſhionable and epidemical, and of popery we are in as much danger as ever ‡; Socinian and deiſtical tenets are only in vogue with the wits of the age, *ſoli rationi cedo*, the old Porphyrian maxim having ſo far gained the aſcendant at preſent, that reaſon (at leaſt pretenders to it, who muſt needs hear with their eyes, and ſee with their ears, and underſtand with their elbows till the order of nature be inverted) threaten not a little to baniſh revealed religion and its moſt important doctrines out of the profeſſing world.—A latitudinarian ſcheme prevails among the majority, the greater part, with the Athenians,

* See more anent patronage and our covenants in the notes, pag. 184 and 185.

† Although toleration principles be now eſpouſed, boaſted of and gloried in by many, yea by ſome from whom other things might be expected, yet it is contrary to ſcripture. See Gen. xxxv. 2. *&c.* Deut. xiii. 6. Judg. ii. 2. Ezek. xliii. 8. Prov. xvii. 15. Zech. xiii. 2. Rom. xiii. 6. Rev. ii. 14, *&c.* And how far the civil magiſtrate is to exert his power in puniſhing heretics, I ſhall not at preſent determine, or whether the word *extirpate* in our ſolemn league and covenant extends to the temporal or ſpiritual ſword, only there are different ſentiments and expoſitions, yet ſure I am that according to the very nature of things that which is morally good (being a commanded duty) needs no toleration; and that which is morally evil no mortal on earth can lawfully grant an immunity unto: And betwixt theſe there is no medium in point of truth and duty. And it is obſervable, that where toleration or toleration principles prevail, real religion never proſpers much; and beſides all it is of woful conſequence, for as in natural bodies antipathies of qualities cauſe deſtruction, ſo in bodies politic different religions, or ways of worſhip in religion, cauſe many diviſions and diſtractions, whereby the ſeamleſs coat of Chriſt is like to be torn in pieces, and this oftentimes terminates in the ruin of the whole. *For a kingdom, city or houſe divided againſt itſelf* (ſaith Chriſt) *cannot ſtand.* And yet ſome will ſay, That toleration is a good thing, for by it people may live as good as they pleaſe. I anſwer, It is true, but they may alſo live as bad as they pleaſe, and that we have liberty and freedom to ſerve God in his own appointed way, we have him primarly to thank for it, as for all his other mercies and goodneſs toward us.

‡ Witneſs the Quebec act, eſtabliſhing popery in Canada, 1774. —The Catholic bills granting a toleration to Papiſts in England and Ireland, 1778, with the gloomy aſpect that affairs bear to Scotland ſince that time.

ſpending their time only to hear and ſee ſomething new, *gadding about to change their ways, going in the ways of Egypt and Aſſyria, to drink the waters of Shichor and the river*, unſtable ſouls, like ſo many light combuſtibles wrapt up by the eddies of a whirlwind, toſſed hither and thither till utterly diſſipated.—The doctrine of original ſin * is by ſeveral denied, others are pulling down the very hedges of church government, refuſing all church-ſtandards, "covenants, creeds and confeſſions, whether of our own or of other churches, yea and national churches alſo, as being all of them carnal, human or antichriſtian inventions," contrary to many texts of ſcripture, particularly 2 Tim. i. 13. *Hold faſt the form of ſound words*: and the old Pelagian and Arminian errors appear again upon the ſtage, the merit of the creature, free will and good works † being taught from preſs

* This doctrine of original ſin is plainly evinced from ſcripture, canonical and apocryphal, Job xiv. 4. Pſal. li. 5. Rom. v. 12. *etc.* 1 Cor xv. 21. John iii. 6. Apocrypha Eccleſ. xxv. 26; aſſerted in our church ſtandards, illuſtrated and defended by many able divines (both ancient and modern) and by our Britiſh poets excellently deſcribed: Thus,

Adam, now ope thine eyes, and firſt behold
Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
In ſome, to ſpring from thee, who never touch'd
Th' excepted tree, nor with the ſnake conſpir'd,
Nor eat thy ſin; yet from that ſin derive
Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds.

PARADISE LOST, Lib. ix.

Conceiv'd in ſin, (O wretched ſtate!)
before we draw our breath:
The firſt young pulſe begins to beat
iniquity and death. Dr WATTS.

† However much theſe leading articles in the Arminian and Pelagian ſcheme be now taught and applauded, yet ſure they are God-diſhonouring and ſoul-ruining tenets, contrary to ſcripture, God's covenant, and ſubverſive of man's ſalvation. For,

(1.) They are contrary to ſcripture, which teaches us that we are no leſs dependant in working than in being, and no more capable to act from a principle of life of ourſelves, than to exiſt. *The way of man is not in himſelf, neither is it in man that walketh to direct his ſteps. What haſt thou, O man, but what thou haſt received? How to perform that which is good I find not*, Jer. x. 23. 1 Cor. iv. 7. Rom. vii. 18. *So that a man can do nothing, except it be given him from above; and no man can come unto me except the Father draw him*, ſaith Chriſt John iii. 27. vi. 44. See Con. ch. ix. § 3. Article of the church of England 10. And for good works, however far they may be acceptable to God in an approbative way (as being conformable to his command, and agreeable to the holineſs of his nature) yet we are aſſured from his word that moral rectitude in its very ſummit can never render one acceptable in his ſight in a juſtifying way, *for by the works of the law ſhall no man be juſtified; not by works of righteouſneſs*

preſs and pulpit almoſt every where, to the utter diſcarding of free grace, Chriſt's imputed righteouſneſs, and the power of true godlineſs.—All which pernicious errors were expunged and caſt over the hedge by our reforming forefathers: And

righteouſneſs that we have done, &c. Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 16. Tit. iii. 5. For though good works or goſpel obedience, and true holineſs be abſolutely neceſſary unto ſalvation, (as being the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith in every believer) the greateſt ſaint being the beſt moraliſt, yet theſe are no ways meritorious of man's ſalvation; no, this depends upon God's eternal purpoſes, Rom. ix. 11. Eph. i. 4.—We find it often ſaid in ſcripture, that it ſhall be rendered to every man *according to his works*, Rom. iii. 6. Rev. xxii. 12. &c. but never for their works; yea works (though otherwiſe materially good in themſelves) in an unregenerate man become ſinful before God, *for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin*, Rom. xiv. 23. although the omitting of them be more diſhonouring to him, Rom. viii. 8. Pſal. xxvi. 5. Matth. xxiii. 23. See Conf. chap. xvi. § 2, 3, 7.: And ſo Luther. Calvin, Diodati, Beza, Perkins, Fiſher, Flavel, Owen, Simſon, Binning, Dickſon, Gray, Rutherford, Durham, Gilleſpie, Guthrie, Renwick, Pool, Henry, Halyburton, Boſton, Marſhal and many others.

(2.) They are antipodes to reaſon, and ſtrike eminently againſt the very nature of God's covenant, for according to the tenor of the covenant of works, nothing but perfect, perſonal and perpetual obedience can merit (if any thing in a degenerate creature may be ſo called) and can any reaſonable man look his own conſcience in the face and ſay, that he is the perſon that can perform this. Again, if we betake ourſelves unto the covenant of grace, reaſon itſelf might bluſh and be aſhamed once to ſuppoſe, that the blood of the immaculate Son of God ſtood in any need of an addition of man's imperfect works, in order to complete ſalvation. See Catechiſing on the Heidelberg catechiſm on queſtion lii. page 180. Blackwall's *ratio ſacra*, page 17, *&c.*

(3.) They muſt be very dangerous, ſoul-ruining and Chriſt diſhonouring errors, for it might be counted altogether ſuperfluous for a perſon to come to a phyſician for a cure, while he is not in the leaſt ſuſpicious of being infected with any malady: So in like manner, can it be expected that any ſoul can cordially come (or be brought) to Chriſt, without a due ſenſe of its infinite diſtance from God by nature? of the impoſſibility of making any ſuitable approaches to him? and of the utter diſability to do any thing that may anſwer the law, holineſs and righteouſneſs of God therein, *etc.*? *For they that be whole* (at leaſt think themſelves ſo) *need not a phyſician*, ſaith Chriſt; *and I came, not to call the righteous* (or ſuch as think themſelves ſo) *but ſinners to repentance*, Mark ix. 12.

From hence obſerve, that whoſoever intends to forſake his ſin, in order to come to Chriſt, or effectually to correct vice, before he believes on him, muſt needs meet with a miſerable diſappointment, for *without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God*, Heb. xi. 6. and in the end ſink himſelf into an immenſe and bottomleſs chaos of uncertainties, like one lopping the branches off a tree to kill the root; *no man cometh to the Father but by me, and without me ye can do nothing*, ſays Chriſt himſelf, John xiv. 6. xv. 5. The love of God being

And is it not highly requiſite, that their faithful contendings, orthodox and exemplary lives, ſhould be copied out before us, when walking ſo repugnant to *acknowledging the God of our fathers, and walking before him with a perfect heart.*

AGAIN

ing the *prima cauſa*, the obedience and meritorious righteouſneſs of Chriſt the foundation, ſource and ſpring of man's ſalvation and all true happineſs, *for by grace ye are ſaved*, Eph. 2. 8. And whoſoever has been made rightly to know any thing of the depravity of his nature in a lapſed ſtate, or experienced any thing of the free grace of a God in Chriſt, will be made to acknowledge this, *That it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleaſure*, Phil. ii. 13. And yet I know it is objected, That it is highly diſhonouring to the Author of nature, to argue man to be ſuch a mean and inſufficient creature, and that it can never be ſuppoſed, that a gracious and merciful God would make ſuch a number of intelligent beings to damn them, or command a ſinner to repent and come to Chriſt, and condemn him for not doing it, if it were not in his own power upon moral ſuaſion to obey, *&c.* It is true indeed, that in compariſon of the irrational inſect and inanimate creation, man is a noble creature, both as to his formation, *I am wonderfully made*, Pſal cxxxix. 14. and alſo in his intellectual parts, but much more in his primeval ſtate and dignity, when all the faculties of the mind and powers of the ſoul ſtood entire, being endued not only with animal and intelligent, but alſo heavenly life, *Thou haſt made him a little lower than the angels*, Pſal. viii. 5. But then in what follows, theſe objecters ſeem, either inadvertently, or willingly, to have forgot, (1.) *That man in honour abideth not*, Pſal. xlix. 12, (or as the Rabbins read, and ſome tranſlate it, as Cartwright, Ainſworth, Leigh and Broughton) *Adam in honour abideth not one night.* Adam, by his diſobedience, not only introduced a jarr into the whole creation, rendered his poſterity decrepit and lame, but alſo loſt all power to any ſpiritual good, the whole of his intellectual parts concreated with him being either corrupted, darkened, obliterated or loſt. Indeed Dr Taylor wou'd have us believe, that what Adam loſt, and more, was reſtored to Noah, Gen. ix. and that man's mental capacities are now the ſame as Adam's in innocence, ſaving ſo far as God ſees fit to ſet any man above or below his ſtandard, ſome are below Adam in rational endowments and ſome are above him, of the latter he thinks Sir Iſaac Newton was one (doctrine of original ſin, page 235. ſupplement, page 85.) The fallacy of which is ſo obvious and abſurd that it deſerves no obſervation, for every man to his dear bought experience may know, that man now unaſſiſted by all the dark remains of original, natural, moral and political knowledge he is maſter of, can acquire no certain knowledge of any part of his duty, as to moral good or evil, but by a gradation of labour, ſlow and multiplied deductions, and much leſs is he able to bind the ſtrong man and caſt him out. And yet all this is no way diſhonouring to the great author of nature as to the works of his hands, for although he made man at firſt, he made him not originally a ſinful man, ſo that that it is our ſin that is diſhonouring to him. *Lo, this have I found out*, ſays the wiſeſt of men, *that God at firſt made man upright, but he ſought out many inventions.* (2.) That in a proper

ſenſe

AGAIN, if we ſhall run a compariſon betwixt the practice of thoſe who are the ſubject-matter of this collection, and our preſent prevailing temper and diſpoſition, we will find how far they correſpond with one another. How courageous and zealous were they for the cauſe and honour of Chriſt! How cold and lukewarm are we, of whatever ſect or denomination! How willing were they to part with all for him! And what honour did many of them count it, to ſuffer for his name! How unwilling are we to part with any thing for him, much leſs to ſuffer ſuch hardſhips for his ſake! Of that we are aſhamed, which they counted their ornament; accounting that our glory which they looked on as a diſgrace! How eaſy was it for them to chooſe the greateſt ſuffering rather than the leaſt ſin! How hard is it for us to refuſe the greateſt ſin before the leaſt ſuffering! How active

ſenſe God neither made man to ſave nor to damn him, but only for his pleaſure and the manifeſtation of his own power and glory, Rev. iv. 11. Conf. chap. ii. § 3. (3.) Although we have loſt power to obey, yet he ſtill retains his right to demand obedience, and nothing can be more ſuitable to the juſtice, wiſdom and ſovereignty of God, than to maintain his right to perfect obedience from man whom he originally endued with all power and abilities for what he commanded; neither is he any wiſe bound to reſtore that power again to man, which he by his diſobedience loſt. (4.) All mankind by the fall ſtand condemned by God's judicial act, *In the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die*, Gen. ii. 17. And you'll ſay, a judge does a malefactor no injury in condemning him, when by the law he is found guilty of death, *and curſed is every one who confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them*, Deut. xxvii. 26.; and much leſs the ſupreme Judge of all, who can do nothing wrong to any, in condemning man, *for the wages of ſin is death*, Rom. vi. 23. *and hath not the potter power over the clay*, &c.—And finally, if the firſt Adam's poſterity be thus naturally endued with a power to do that which is ſpiritually good, pray what need was there for the ſecond Adam to die to quicken his elect, Eph. ii. 1.; indeed we are commanded to repent and turn from our iniquities, *turn ye, turn ye, and live*, Ezek. xxxiii. 11. and ye *will not come unto me that ye might have life*, John v. 40. But who, excepting a bold Arminian, will ſay, that theſe texts imply a natural power in man to turn, come or not as he pleaſes. If this were the caſe, the ſame Spirit of God would not have ſaid elſewhere, *Draw me and we will run after thee; turn thou us, and we ſhall be turned*, Cant. i. 4. Jer. xxxi. 18; *ſurely after I was turned, I repented*, ver. 19; it was not before I was turned I repented: No, this command and complaint only points out our duty, but the prayers and promiſes in the word ſhew us our ability for the performance thereof. And yet after all, proud ignorant man muſt needs be his own Saviour, and if God ſay not ſo too, Cain will be wroth and his countenance fall, Gen. iv. 5. *But let the potſherds ſtrive with the potſherds of the earth; but woe unto him that ſtriveth with his Maker.*

active were they for the glory of God and the good of ſouls, and diligent to have their own evidences clear for heaven! But how little concern have we for the cauſe of Chriſt, his work and intereſt, and how dark are the moſt part with reſpect to their ſpiritual ſtate and duty! They were ſympathizing chriſtians; but, alas! how little fellow-feeling is to be found among us: it is rather *Stand by, for I am holier than thou.* Oh! that their chriſtian virtues, conſtant fidelity, unfeigned love and unbiaſſed loyalty to Zion's King and Lord, could awaken us from our neutrality and ſupine ſecurity, wherein inſtead of imitating the goodneſs and virtuous diſpoſitions of theſe our anceſtors, we have by our defections and vicious courſes invited neglect and contempt on ourſelves, being (as a philoſopher once obſerved of paſſionate people) like men ſtanding on their heads who ſee all things the wrong way; giving up with the greater part of theſe our moſt valuable rights and liberties, all which were moſt eſteemed by our RENOWNED PROGENITORS.--*The treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherouſly.*

AND if we ſhall add unto all theſe, in our progreſſive and increaſing apoſtacy, our other heinous land-crying ſins and enormities, which prevail and increaſe among all ranks and denominations of men (few mourning over the low ſtate of our Zion, and the daily decay of the intereſt of Chriſt and religion). Then we not only may ſay as the poet once ſaid of the men of Athens, Thebes and Oedipus, * "That we "live only in fable, and nothing remains of ancient Scot- "land but the name;" but alſo take up this bitter complaint and lamentation.

"Ah Scotland, Scotland! *How is the gold become dim,* "*how is the moſt fine gold changed!* Ah! Where is the God "of Elijah, and where is his glory! Where is that Scottiſh "zeal that once flamed in the breaſts of thy nobility, bar- "ons, miniſters and commoners of all ſorts! Ah, where is "that true courage and heroic reſolution for religion and "the liberties of the nation that did once animate all ranks "in the land! Alas, alas! True Scots blood now runs cool "in our veins! The cloud is now gone up in a great mea- "ſure from off our aſſemblies; becauſe we have deſerted "and relinquiſhed the Lord's moſt noble cauſe and teſtimo- "ny, by a plain, palpable and perpetual courſe of backſlid- "ing."—*The crown is fallen from our head, wo unto us, for* "*we have ſinned.*

FOR

For ſurely we may ſay of theſe our times (and with as much propriety) what ſome of theſe worthies ſaid of theirs, *Quam graviter ingemeſcerent illi fortes viri qui eccleſiæ Scoticanæ pro libertate in acie decertarunt, ſi noſtram nunc ignaviam (ne quid gravius dicam) conſpicerent*, ſaid Mr. Davidſon in a letter to the general Aſſembly 1601, *i. e.* "How grievouſly would they bewail our ſtupenduous ſlothfulneſs, could "they but behold it, who of old thought no expence of "blood and treaſure too much for the defence of the church "of Scotland's liberties."—Or to uſe the words of another † in the perſecuting period, "Were it poſſible that our reformers (and we may add our late martyrs) who are entered "in among the glorious choriſters in the kingdom of heaven, (ſinging their melodious ſongs on harps about the "throne of the Lamb) might have a furlough for a ſhort "time, to take a view of their apoſtatizing children, what "may we judge would be their conceptions of theſe courſes "of defection, ſo far repugnant to the platform laid down "in that glorious work of reformation." For if innocent Hamilton, godly and patient Wiſhart, apoſtolic Knox, eloquent Rollock, worthy Davidſon, the courageous Melvils, prophetic Welch, majeſtic Bruce, great Henderſon, renowned Gilleſpie, learned Binning, pious Gray, laborious Durham, heavenly-minded Rutherford, the faithful Guthries, diligent Blair, heart-melting Livingſton, religious Welwood, orthodox and practical Brown, zealous and ſtedfaſt Cameron, honeſt-hearted Cargil, ſympathizing M'Ward, perſevering Blackadder, the evangelical Traills, conſtant and pious Renwick, *&c.* "were filed off from the aſſembly of the firſt-born, ſent as commiſſioners to haſte down "from the mount of God, to behold how quickly their "offspring are gone out of the way, piping and dancing after a golden calf: Ah! with what vehemency would their "ſpirits be affected, to ſee their laborious ſtructure almoſt "razed to the foundation, by thoſe to whom they committed the cuſtody of the word of their great Lord's patience; they in the mean time ſheltering themſelves under the ſhadow of a rotten lump of fig-tree leaf diſtinctions, which will not ſconce againſt the wrath of an angry "God in the cool of the day, *&c.*"

And *Finally*, What can have a more gloomy aſpect in the midſt of theſe evils, (with many more that might be noticed) *when our pleaſant things are laid waſte*, than to ſee

† Mr John Dickſon in a letter while priſoner in the Baſs.

ſuch a ſcene of ſtrife and diviſion carried on, and maintained among Chriſt's profeſſing witneſſes in theſe lands, whereby true love and ſympathy is eradicated, the very vitals of religion pulled out, and the ways of God and godlineſs lampooned and ridiculed, *giving Jacob to the curſe, and Iſrael to the reproaches.*—And it is moſt lamentable, that while malignants (now as well as formerly) from without are cutting down the carved work of the ſanctuary, Chriſt's profeſſed friends and followers from within are buſied in contention and animoſities among themſelves, by which means the enemy ſtill advances and gains ground, ſimilar to the caſe (exteriorly) of that once famous and flouriſhing city and temple of Jeruſalem, when it was by Titus Veſpaſian utterly demoliſhed *.—All which ſeem to prelude or indicate, that the Lord is about to inflict theſe long-threatened, impending but protracted judgments † upon ſuch a ſinning land, church and people. And as many of theſe worthies have aſſured us, that judgments are abiding this church and nation; ſo our preſent condition and circumſtances ſeem to ſay, that we are the generation ripening for them apace.—How much need have we then of the Chriſtian armour that made them proof againſt Satan, his emiſſaries, and every trial and tribulation they were ſubjected unto? *Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withſtand in the evil day.*

But by this time ſomewhat might have been ſaid concerning the teſtimony of the church of Scotland, as it was carried on and handed down by theſe witneſſes of Chriſt to poſterity, in its different parts and periods.—But as this has been ſomewhat (I may ſay needleſsly) controverted in theſe our times, it were too large a ſubject (for the narrow limits of a preface) to enter upon at preſent, any further than to obſerve, that,

(1.) The

* See Joſephus *de bello Jud.* lib. v. *and* vi.; and of this deſtruction Euſebius lib. iii. chap. 6.; and the life of Titus Veſpaſian.

† Well may we tremble now! what manners reign?
But wherefore aſk we? when a true reply
Would ſhock too much. Kind heaven, avert events,
Whoſe fatal nature might reply too plain!
——Vengeance delay'd but gathers and ferments;
More formidably blackens in the wind,
Brews deeper draughts of unrelenting wrath,
And higher charges the ſuſpended ſtorm.

Young's NIGHT THOUGHTS.

(1.) THE teſtimony of the church of Scotland it not only a free, full and faithful teſtimony, (yea more extenſive than the teſtimony of any one particular church ſince Chriſtianity commenced in the world) but alſo a ſure and coſtly teſtimony, confirmed and ſealed with blood; "and that "of the beſt of our nobles, miniſters, gentry, burgeſſes and "commons of all ſorts;"--*who loved not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the word of their teſtimony.*—*Bind up the teſtimony, ſeal the law.*

(2.) ALTHO' there is no truth whatſoever, when once controverted, but it becomes the word of Chriſt's patience, and ſo ought to be the word of our teſtimony, Rev. v. 10. xii. 11.; truth and duty being always the ſame in all ages and periods of time, ſo that what injures one truth, in ſome ſenſe, injures and affects all; *For whoſoever ſhall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all*, Jam. ii. 10. Yet at the ſame time it is pretty evident, that the church of Chriſt in this world is a paſſing church, ſtill circulating through ages and periods of time, ſo that ſhe ſeldom or never turns back under the ſame point, there being ſcarcely a century of years elapſed without an alteration of circumſtances; yea and more, I ſuppoſe that there is no certain book that has or can be written, that will ſuit the caſe of one particular church at all times, and in all circumſtances: This pre-eminency the holy ſcriptures only can claim as a complete rule for faith and manners, principle and practice, in all places, ages and times.

(3.) THESE things premiſed, let it be obſerved, That the primitive witneſſes had the divinity of the Son of God, and an open confeſſion of him, for their teſtimony; our reformers from Popery had Antichriſt to ſtruggle with, in aſſerting the doctrines of the goſpel, and the right way of ſaltion in and through Jeſus Chriſt: again, in the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. Chriſt's REGALIA *, and the divine right of preſbytery became the ſubject-matter of their teſtimony. Then in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. (until he got the whole of our ancient and laudable conſtitution effaced and overturned) our WORTHIES only

* Here Chriſt's crown rights not only became the word of their teſtimony, but alſo the very motto of their civil and military banners, inſomuch as when that gallant Scots army lay at Dunce muir, (*anno* 1639) each captain had his colours flying at his tent-door, whereon was this inſcription in letters of gold, CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT. Stevenſon's Hiſtory, Vol. II. P. 729.

ſaw it their duty to hold and contend for what they had already attained unto.—But then in the end of this and ſubſequent tyrant's reign, they found it their duty (a duty which they had too long neglected) to advance one ſtep higher, by caſting off their authority altogether, and that as well on account of their manifeſt uſurpation of Chriſt's crown and dignity, as on account of their treachery, bloodſhed and tyranny. And yet as all theſe faithful witneſſes of Chriſt did harmoniouſly agree in promoting the kingdom and intereſt of the Meſſiah, in all his threefold offices, they ſtood in defence of religion and liberty (and that not only in oppoſition to the more groſs errors of Popery, but even to the more refined errors of Engliſh hierarchy) we muſt take their teſtimony to be materially all and the ſame teſtimony, only under different circumſtances, which may be ſummed up thus; "The primitive martyrs ſealed the prophetic office of Chriſt in oppoſition to Pagan idolatry.—The reforming martyrs ſealed his prieſtly office with their blood, in oppoſition to Popiſh idolatry.—But laſt of all, our late martyrs have ſealed his kingly office with their beſt blood, in deſpite of ſupremacy and bold Eraſtianiſm. They indeed have cemented it upon his royal head, ſo that to the world's end it ſhall never drop off again."

BUT, candid reader, to detain thee no longer upon theſe or the like conſiderations,—I have put the following ſheets into thy hands, wherein if thou findeſt any thing amiſs, either as to matter or method, let it be aſcribed unto any thing elſe, rather then want of honeſty or integrity of intention; conſidering, that all mankind are liable to err, and that there is more difficulty in digeſting ſuch a great maſs of materials into ſuch a ſmall compoſition, than in writing many volumes. Indeed there is but little probability, that a thing of this nature can altogether eſcape or evade the critical eye of ſome carping Momus *, particularly ſuch as are

* Here it neither can nor need be expected, that, in ſuch a number of lives, they could be all found alike preciſe in point of public teſtimony; yet I would fain expect, that what is here recorded of them might be ſomewhat equivalent to whatever blemiſhes they otherwiſe had, ſeeing their different ſentiments are alſo recorded: Otherwiſe I preſume it were hard to pleaſe all parties. For Mr Wodrow has been charged by ſome (and that not without ſome reaſon) that, in favours of ſome of his indulged *quondam* brethren, in the laſt volume of his hiſtory, he has not only ſmothered ſome matters of fact relative to the more honeſt part of our ſufferers, but even given

are either altogether ignorant of reformation principles, or of what the Lord hath done for covenanted Scotland; and thoſe who can bear with nothing but what comes from thoſe men who are of an uniform ſtature or perſuaſion with themſelves: and yet were it poſſible to anticipate any thing ariſing here by way of objection, theſe few things following might be obſerved.

HERE ſome may object, That many things more uſeful for the preſent generation might have been publiſhed, than the deeds and public actings of thoſe men, who have ſtood ſo long condemned by the laws of the nation, being exploded by ſome, and accounted ſuch a reproach, as unfit to be any longer on record.—In anſwer to this, I ſhall only notice, (1.) That there have been ſome hundreds of volumes publiſhed of things fabulous, fictitious and romantic, fit for little elſe than to amuſe the credulous reader; while this ſubject has been in a great meaſure neglected. (2.) We find it to have been the conſtant practice of the Lord's people in all ages, to hand down and keep on record what the Lord had done by and for their forefathers in former times. We find the royal pſalmiſt, in name of the church, oftener than once at this work, Pſal. xliv. and lxxviii. *We have heard with our ears, O God; our fathers have told us, what works thou didſt in their days, in the times of old: We will not hide them from their children, ſhewing to the generation to come the praiſes of the Lord*, &c. (3.) It has been the practice of almoſt all nations (yea and our own alſo) to publiſh the warlike exploits and martial atchievements of their moſt illuſtrious heroes, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in defence of their native country, for a little worldly honour, or a little temporary ſubſiſtence; and ſhall we be behind in publiſhing the lives, characters, and moſt memorable actions of theſe

given the moſt faithful part of their contendings the epithets of unwarrantable heats, heights, flights, extravagancies, extremities, *etc.* [in his hiſtory, vol. II. P. 133, 298, 584.] Again, he and Mr Currie (in his eſſay on ſeparation, p. 160, and 211.) have blamed the publiſhers of the cloud of witneſſes (but on very ſlender grounds) for corrupting, perverting and omitting ſome teſtimonies of our late ſufferers, whom they ſay, came "not to the ſame length of principles with themſelves, or thoſe they had pickt out for that purpoſe." To avoid both rocks, all poſſible care has been here taken, and yet it muſt needs meet with its fate alſo, according to the various capacities, tempers and diſpoſitions of the readers (and why not cenſure if blame-worthy?): Yet it is hoped that the honeſty, labour and diligence uſed therein, will counterpoiſe all other reflections or exceptions.

theſe *noble* CHAMPIONS of Chriſt, who not only ſtood in defence of religion and liberty, but alſo fought the battles of the Lord againſt his and their avowed enemies, till in imitation of their princely Maſter, their garments were all ſtained with blood, for which their names ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance. (4.) As to the laſt part of the objection, it muſt be granted, that in *foro hominis*, their actions and attainments cannot now be pled upon, but *in foro Dei*, that which was lawful from the beginning cannot afterwards be made ſinful † or void; and the longer they have been buried under the aſhes of neglect and apoſtacy, the more need have they to be raiſed up and revived. It is uſual for men to keep that well which was left them by their fathers, and for us either to oppoſe or induſtriouſly conceal any part of theſe their contendings, were not only an addition to the contempt already thrown upon the memories of theſe RENOWNED SIRES, but alſo an injury done to poſterity.—"Your honourable anceſtors, with the hazard of "their lives, brought Chriſt into our lands, and it ſhall be "cruelty to poſterity if ye loſe him to them," ſaid one of theſe worthies to a Scots nobleman *.

AGAIN, ſome ſceptical nullifidian or other may be ready to object farther, "That many things related in this collec-"tion ſmell too much of enthuſiaſm; and that ſeveral oth-"er things narrated therein, are beyond all credit." But theſe we muſt ſuppoſe to be either quite ignorant of what the Lord did for our forefathers in former times, or elſe in a great meaſure deſtitute of the like gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, by which they were actuated and animated. For,

(1.) THESE worthies did and ſuffered much for Chriſt and his cauſe, in their day and generation, and therefore in a peculiar and ſingular manner were honoured and beloved of him; and although there are ſome things here narrated, of a pretty extraordinary nature, yet as they imply nothing contrary to reaſon, they do not forfeit a title to any man's belief, ſince they are otherwiſe well atteſted, nay obviouſly referred to a cauſe, whoſe ways and thoughts ſurmount the ways and thoughts of men, as far as the heavens are above our

† See collection of acts of parliament (ſaid to be Andrew Stevenſon's) preface to part II.

* Mr Rutherford, in a letter to the Earl of Caſſils. See his letters, part I. epiſt. 23.

our heads.—The ſacred hiſtory affords us ſtore of inſtances and examples of a more tranſcendent nature than any thing here related; the truth of which we are at as little liberty to queſtion, as the divinity of the book in which they are related.

(2.) As to the ſoul-exerciſe and pious devotion of theſe men herein related, they are ſo far ſupported by the authority of ſcripture, that there is mentioned by them (as a ground of their hope) ſome text or paſſage thereof, carried in upon their minds, ſuited and adapted to their caſes and circumſtances; by which faith they were enabled to lay claim to ſome particular promiſe, *as a lamp unto their feet, a light unto their path*, and this neither hypocrite nor enthuſiaſt can do: *For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 Cor. iii. 11.

BUT then, it may be alleged by thoſe who have a high eſteem for this ſubject, That nothing is here given as a commendation ſuitable or adequate to the merit of theſe Worthies, conſidering their zeal, diligence and activity in the diſcharge of their duty, in that office or ſtation which they filled. This indeed comes neareſt the truth; for it is very common for biographers to paſs eulogiums of a very high ſtrain in praiſe of thoſe whom they affect. But in theſe panegyrical orations, they oftimes rather exceed than excel.—It was an antient (but true) ſaying of the Jews, "That "great men (and we may ſay good men) commonly find "ſtones for their own monuments;" and laudable actions always ſupport themſelves: And a thing (as an author * obſerves on the like ſubject) "if right, it will defend itſelf; if "wrong, none can defend it: Truth needs not, falſehood "deſerves not a ſupporter."

INDEED it muſt be regretted, that this collection is not drawn out with more advantage to the cauſe of Chriſt, and the intereſt of religion in commending the mighty acts of the Lord done for and by theſe worthy ſervants of his, in a way ſuitable to the merit and dignity of ſuch a ſubject. But in this caſe it is the greater pity, "That thoſe who have a "goodwill to ſuch a piece of ſervice cannot do it, while "thoſe who ſhould and can do it will not do it."—But in this I ſhall make no other apology, than what our Saviour

* Fuller in the preface to his lives in the holy ſtate.

viour (in another caſe(ſaid to the woman, *She hath done what ſhe could.*

ALL that I ſhall obſerve anent the form or method uſed in the following lives, is, that they are all, except one, ranged in order, according to the time of their exit, and not according to their birth; and that in general, the hiſtorical account of their birth, parentage, and memorable tranſactions is firſt inſerted; and with as few repetitions as poſſible: Yea, ſometimes to ſave a repetition, a fact is related of one Worthy in the life of another, which is not in his own life. Then follows their characteriſtic part, which oftimes is juſt one's teſtimony ſucceſſively of another; and laſt of all, their works *.—That which is given in their own words, moſtly ſtands in commas.

I KNOW it is uſual, when relating matters of fact, to make remarks or reflections, yet as this oftimes brings authors under ſuſpicion of party zeal or partiality, they are deſignedly waved in the body of the book.—Any thing of this kind is placed among other things in the marginal notes, where the reader is at a little more freedom to chuſe or refuſe as he pleaſes, only with this proviſo, That truth be always regarded.

THE laſt thing to be obſerved is, That as the credit due to this collection depends ſo much upon the authors from whom it was extracted, their names ſhould have been inſerted. However, the reader will find the moſt part of them mentioned in the notes; ſo that if any doubt of the veracity of any thing here related, they may have recourſe to the original authors, ſome of whom, though enemies to reformation principles, nevertheleſs ſerve to illuſtrate the facts narrated in theſe memoirs; as nothing ſerves more to confirmation of either truth or hiſtorical facts, than the teſtimony of its oppoſers.

BUT to conclude; May the Lord ariſe and plead his own cauſe in putting a final ſtop to all manner of prevailing wickedneſs; and haſten that day when the glorious light of the goſpel may ſhine forth in purity, and with ſuch power and ſucceſs as in former times, with an enlargement of

* It is not at all pretended that all and every part of their works, is here inſerted, but only thoſe moſt commonly in print or thoſe come to the knowledge of the publiſhers.

of the Mediator's kingdom,—*That his large and great dominion may be extended from the river to the ends of the earth*, when all theſe heats, animoſities and breaking diviſions, that now prevail and increaſe among Chriſt's profeſſed friends and followers, may be healed; that being cemented and knitted to one another, they may join heart and hand together in the matters of the Lord, and the concerns of his glory; *when Ephraim ſhall no more envy Judah, and Judah ſhall no more vex Ephraim, but both ſhall fly upon the ſhoulders of the Philiſtines*, Iſa. xi. 13.; with a further accompliſhment of theſe with other gracious promiſes,—*And thine officers ſhall be peace, and thine exactors righteouſneſs*, &c.; *and they ſhall ſee eye to eye, when the Lord ſhall bring again the captivity of Zion*:—And that when we are endeavouring to perpetuate the memory of theſe worthies, or commemorate what the Lord did for and by our forefathers, in the days of old, we may be ſo auſpicious as to have ſomewhat to declare of his goodneſs and wonderful works done for us in our day and generation alſo.

And if the following ſheets ſhall in the leaſt through divine grace, under the management of an over-ruling providence (which claims the care of directing every mean to its proper end) prove uſeful to the reclaiming of neutrals from backſliding courſes, to the confirming of halters, and the encouraging of others to the like fortitude and vigorous zeal, to contend for our moſt valuable privileges (whether of a civil or a religious nature), then I ſhall think all my pains recompenſed, and the end gained. For that many may be found *ſtanding in the way, to ſee and aſk for the good old paths, and walk therein, cleaving to the law and to the teſtimony*, would be the joy, and is the earneſt deſire of one, impartial reader, who remains thy friend and well-wiſher in the truth,

John Howie.

Lochgoin,
July 21, 1775.

N. B. If any perſon or perſons have or ſhall object to this or the former edition, that in tranſcribing theſe lives (particularly thoſe who were formerly in print) I have curtailed them in favours of my own particular ſentiment; I muſt here let them know, that it is entirely falſe; for I never omitted any thing to my knowledge, that I thought would

be for the benefit of the public, where I had room to insert it: For I could heartily wish, that these lives were in whole re-printed; in the mean time, I cannot help thinking, that such reflections are or would be but a very slender or ungenteel requital for my past pains and labour.

ADVERTISEMENT to the Public, concerning this Edition.

THAT, after what I formerly observed on the subject in the foregoing pages, it were needless to add any thing farther here, than to notice to the Reader, that besides a number of small corrections, there are four lives added, and upwards of fifty other additions or short improvements;—only as Mr. Vetch's life and practice, especially since the Revolution, was not so consonant to the rest as could have been wished, it was desired by some friends to be deleted; but others alledging that he was a sufferer, and that his life being once providentially cast into this number, it might be accounted an injury, if not to the book, yet to the purchasers of this edition, therefore I have abridged it as concisely as possible, and placed it in its own proper place, in the end; which is no more nor no less freedom used with his memory, than what has been done with others as deserving, might I say, as faithful as he: besides his life in full still stands entire in the first edition, which may be either consulted or printed again at pleasure.

I AM further to acquaint the reader, that I have been sometimes solicited by acquaintance to write another volume of the wicked lives and characters of some of the late wicked persecutors; but not finding proper materials for all that should have had a place in this catalogue, I have presumed to add, by way of appendix unto this edition, a short sketch or historical account of the wicked lives and miserable deaths of some of the most notable apostate church-men and violent persecutors, from the Reformation to the Revolution, which it is hoped will be no ways unapt unto the subject, and, through a divine blessing, may not want its own proper use; for

for while we are made to behold the Lord's admirable goodneſs and mercy, yea miracles of mercy, extended towards his church and people, we, at the ſame time, have a view of his diſpleaſure and the ſeverity of his judgments inflicted upon his and their enemies, according to his own promiſe, *I will puniſh them that afflict thee*, and even in this life; which muſt be an eminent accompliſhment, diſplay and illuſtration of divine revelation, in oppoſition to all deiſtical ſcribblers.—*The righteouſneſs of the perfect ſhall direct his way; but the wicked ſhall fall by his own wickedneſs*, &c. But to inſiſt no further, I remain as above,

JOHN HOWIE.

LOCHGOIN,
June, 1781.

THE INTRODUCTION.

CHRISTIANITY ſeems to have made its appearance in Scotland in a very early period, being, according to ſome writers, propagated in this kingdom by the Apoſtles themſelves; ſome ſaying that Simon Zelotes, others that Paul was ſome time in this part of the world; but as this opinion is not ſupported by proper vouchers, it merits only the regard due to conjecture, not the attention which an undoubted narrative calls for.

ANOTHER, and more probable account, is, that during the perſecution raiſed by Domitian, (who was the twelfth and laſt Cæſar, about A. D. 96.) ſome of the diſciples of the apoſtle John fled into our Iſland, and there taught the religion of Jeſus. It does not ſeem that Chriſtianity made any very rapid progreſs for a conſiderable time. The firſt account of the ſucceſs of the goſpel that can be depended on, is that about A. D. 203. King Donald I. with his Queen, and ſeveral courtiers were baptized, and continued afterwards to promote the intereſt of Chriſtianity, in oppoſition to Pagan idolatry. But the invaſion of the Emperor Severus ſoon diſturbed this king's meaſures, ſo that for the ſpace of more than ſeventy years after, religion was on the decline, and the idolatry of the Druids prevailed; they were an order of Heathen prieſts, who performed their rites in groves of oak trees; this was a ſpecies of Paganiſm of great antiquity, being that kind of idolatry to which the Jews were often revolting, of which mention is made in the

the lives of Ahab, Manaſſeh, *&c.* in the books of the kings. Theſe Druids likewiſe poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of civil power, being the ordinary arbitrators in almoſt all controverſies, and highly eſteemed by the people; this made it a very difficult taſk to eſtabliſh a religion ſo oppoſite to, and ſubverſive of that inſtitution: but the difficulties which Chriſtianity has in every age and country had to encounter, have ſerved its intereſt, and illuſtrated the power and grace of its divine Author. Theſe Druids were expelled by king Cratilinth, about the year 277, who took ſpecial care to obliterate every memorial of them; and from this period we may date the true æra of Chriſtianity in Scotland, becauſe from this time forward, until the perſecution under the emperor Dioclesian, in the beginning of the fourth century, there was a gradual increaſe of the true knowledge of God and religion, that perſecution became ſo hot in the ſouth parts of Britain, as to drive many, both preachers and profeſſors, into Scotland, where they were kindly received, and had the Iſle of Man (then in poſſeſſion of the Scots) given them for their reſidence, and a ſufficient maintenance aſſigned them. King Cratilinth built a church for them, which was called the church of our SAVIOUR, in the Greek, σωτηρ, and is now by corruption SODOR, in Icolumbkill, one of the weſtern iſles. They were not employed, like the Druidical prieſts, in whoſe place they had come, in ſettling the worldly affairs of men, but gave themſelves wholly to divine ſervices, in inſtructing the ignorant, comforting the weak, adminiſtring the ſacraments, and training up diſciples to the ſame ſervices.

WHETHER theſe Refugees were the antient Culdees or a different ſet of men, is not eaſily determined, nor would be very material, though it could. The Culdees (from *cultores Dei*, worſhippers of God) flouriſhed at this time, they were called μοναχοι, or Monks, from the retired religious lives which they

led

led; the cells into which they had retired, were, after their deaths, moſtly converted into churches, and to this day retain their names, as Cell or Kill or church of Marnock; Kil-Patrick, Kil-Malcolm, *&c.* The Culdees choſe ſuperintendents from among themſelves, whoſe office obliged them to travel the country, in order to ſee that every one diſcharged his duty properly: but they were utter ſtrangers to the lordly power of the modern Prelate, having no proper dioceſe, and only a temporary ſuperintendency, with which they were veſted by their brethren, and to whom they were accountable. It was an inſtitution, in the ſpirit of it, the ſame with the privy cenſures of miniſters among Preſbyterians.

DURING the reigns of Cratilinth, and Fincormac his ſucceſſor, the Culdees were in a flouriſhing ſtate: but after the death of the latter, both the church and ſtate of Scotland went into diſorder. Maximus the Roman Præfect, ſtirred up the Picts to aid him againſt the Scots, who were totally defeated, their King Ewing, with moſt part of the nobility, being ſlain. This overthrow was immediately ſucceeded by an edict commanding all the Scots, without exception, to depart the kingdom againſt a certain day, under pain of death. This drove them entirely into Ireland and the weſtern iſles of Denmark and Norway, excepting a few eccleſiaſtics, who wandered about from place to place. This bloody battle was fought about the year 380, at the water of Dunne in Carrick.

AFTER an exile of 44, or according to Buchanan, 27 years which the Scots endured, the Picts became ſenſible of their miſtake, in aſſiſting the Romans againſt them, and accordingly ſtrengthened the hands of the few who remained, and invited the fugitives back into their own land. Theſe were joined by ſome foreigners, and returned with Fergus II. (then in Denmark) upon their head, their enterpriſe was the more ſucceſsful, that at this time many of the Roman forces

forces were called home. Their king was crowned with the uſual rites in his own country, and the news of his ſucceſs drew great numbers to him, in ſo much that he recovered all the country out of which the Scots had been expelled; moſt of the foreign forces returned home, except the Iriſh, who poſſeſſed the country of Galloway for their reward. This ſucceſsful undertaking happened about the year 404, or as others would have it, 420.

THE Culdees were now recalled out of all their lurking places, reſtored to their livings, and had their churches repaired; at this time they poſſeſſed the peoples eſteem to a higher degree than ever: but this tranquility was again interrupted by a more formidable enemy than before. The Pelagian hereſy had now gained conſiderable ground in Britain, it is ſo called from Pelagius a Monk at Rome; its chief articles are, 1. That original ſin is not inherent. 2. That faith is a thing natural. 3. That good works done by our own ſtrength, of our own free-will, are agreeable to the law of God, and worthy of heaven.--- Whether all, or only part of theſe errors then infected the Scottiſh church, is uncertain; but Celeſtine, then biſhop of Rome, embraced this opportunity to ſend Palladius among them, who, joining with the orthodox of ſouth Britain, reſtored peace to that part of the church, by ſuppreſſing the hereſy. Eugenius the ſecond, being deſirous that this church ſhould likewiſe be purged of the impure leaven, invited Palladius hither, who obtaining liberty from Celeſtine, and being enjoined to introduce the hierarchy as opportunity ſhould offer, came into Scotland, and ſucceeded ſo effectually in his commiſſion, as both to confute Pelagianiſm and new-model the government of the church.

THE church of Scotland knew no officers veſted with pre-eminence above their brethren, nor had any thing to do with the Roman pontiff, until the year 450.

450. Bede says, that "Palladius was sent unto the "Scots who believed in Christ, as their first bishop.*" Boetius likewise says, "that Palladius was the first "of all who did bear holy magistracy among the "Scots, being made bishop by the Great Pope." Fordun in his chronicle, tells us, that "before the "coming of Palladius, the Scots had for teachers of "the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, Presby-"ters only, or Monks, following the customs of the "primitive church †."

But we are not even to fix the æra of diocesan Bishops so early as this, for there were no such office-bearers in the church of Scotland, until the reign of Malcolm II. in the eleventh century. During the first 1000 years after Christ, there were no divided dioceses, nor superiorities over others, but they governed in the church in common with Presbyters; so that they were no more than nominally bishops, possessing little or nothing of that lordly dignity, which they now, and for a long time past have enjoyed. Spotiswood (history page 29.) himself testifies, that the Scottish bishops before the eleventh century, exercised their functions indifferently in every place to which they came. Palladius may be said to have rather laid the foundation of the after degeneracy of the church of Scotland, than to have built that superstructure of corruption and idolatry which afterwards prevailed, because she continued for near two hundred years in a state comparatively pure and unspotted, when we cast our eyes on the following times.

About the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century, a number of pious and wise men flourished in the country, among whom was Kentigern, commonly called Mungo, some of these persons were employed by Oswald a Northumbrian king, to

* Vid. Bede's ecclesiastical history, lib. i. ch. 13. Buch. history, book v. † Book iii. cap. 8.

to inſtruct his people; they are repreſented by Bede, as eminent for their love to God and knowledge of the holy ſcriptures: the light of the goſpel by their means broke into other parts of the Saxon dominions, which long maintained an oppoſition to the growing uſurpation of the church of Rome, which after the middle of this century was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by Auſtin's diſciples.

BESIDES theſe men, the church of Scotland at this time ſent many other worthy and ſucceſsful miſſionaries into foreign parts, particularly France, and Germany. Thus was Scotland early privileged, and thus were her privileges improven: But ſoon *the gold became dim, and the moſt fine gold was changed.*

POPERY came now by degrees to ſhow her horrid head; the aſſiduity of Auſtin and his diſciples in England, was attended with melancholy conſequences to Scotland, by fomenting diviſions, corrupting her princes with Romiſh principles, and inattention to the lives of her clergy, the Papal power ſoon came to be univerſally acknowledged. In the ſeventh century a hot conteſt aroſe betwixt Auſtin and his diſciples on the one part, and the Scots and northern Saxons on the other, about the time of keeping Eaſter, immerſing three times in baptiſm, ſhaving of prieſts, *&c.* which theſe laſt would not receive, nor ſubmit to the authority that impoſed them; each refuſed miniſterial communion with the other party, until an arbitral deciſion was given by Oſwy king of the Northumbrians, at Whitby in Yorkſhire, in favours of the Romaniſts, when the opinions of the Scots were exploded, and the modiſh fooleries of Papal Hierarchy were eſtabliſhed. This deciſion, however, was far from putting an end to the confuſion which this diſſention had occaſioned; the Romaniſts urged their rites with rigour, the others rather choſe to yield their places than conform: their diſcouragements daily increaſed, as the clerical power was augmented, In the

year 886, they obtained the act exempting them from taxes, and all civil profecutions before temporal judges, and ordaining that all matters concerning them ſhould be tried by their biſhops, who were at this time veſted with thoſe powers, which are now in the hands of commiſſaries, reſpecting matrimonial cauſes, teſtaments, *&c.* They were likewiſe by the ſame ſtatute impowered to make canons, try heretics, *&c.* and all future kings were ordained to take an oath at their coronation, for maintaining theſe privileges to the church. The convention of eſtates which paſſed this act was held at Forfar, in the reign of that too indulgent prince, Gregory.

MALCOLM III. Alexander, David, *&c.* ſucceſſively ſupported this dignity by erecting particular biſhopricks, abbeys, and monaſteries; the ſame ſuperſtitious zeal ſeized the nobility of both ſexes, ſome giving a third, others more, and others their whole eſtates, for the ſupport of pontifical pride and ſpiritual tyranny, which ſoon became inſupportable, and opened the eyes of the nation, ſo that they diſcovered their miſtake in raiſing the clerical authority to ſuch a height. Accordingly, we find the nobles complaining of it to Alexander III. who reigned after the middle of the thirteenth century, but he was ſo far from being able to afford them redreſs, that when they were excommunicated by the church on account of this complaint, to prevent greater evils, he was obliged to cauſe the nobility ſatisfy both the avarice and arrogance of the clergy, who had now reſolved upon and begun a journey to Rome, with a view to raiſe as great commotions in Scotland, as Thomas Becket had lately made in England.

THE Pope's power was now generally acknowledged over Chriſtendom, particularly in our nation, for which, in return, the church of Scotland was declared free from all foreign ſpiritual juriſdiction, that of the "Apoſtolic ſee only excepted." This bull was occaſioned

occaſioned by an attempt of one Roger biſhop of York, in the year 1159, to raiſe himſelf to the dignity of Metropolitan of Scotland, and who found means to be Legate of this kingdom, but loſt that office upon the remonſtrance of the Scottiſh clergy: which likewiſe procured the above bull in their favours, with many other favours of a like nature at this time conferred upon them, by all which they were exempted from any other juriſdiction than that of Rome, in ſo much that we find pope Boniface VIII. commanding Edward of England to ceaſe hoſtilities againſt the Scots, alledging that "the ſovereignty of Scotland belonged to the church;" which claim ſeems to have been founded in the papal appointment for the unction of the Scots kings, which was firſt uſed on king Edgar, A. D. 1098. and at that time regarded by the people as a new mark of royalty, but which, as it was the appointment of the Pope, was really the mark of the beaſt.

THERE were now in Scotland all orders of Monks and Friars, Templars, or Red Monks, Trinity Monks of Aberdeen, Cillernian Monks, Carmelite, Black and Grey Friars, Carthuſians, Dominicans, Franciſcans, Jacobites, Benedictines, *&c.* which ſhows to what a height Antichriſt had raiſed his head in our land, and how readily all his oppreſſive meaſures were complied with by all ranks.

BUT the reader muſt not think that during the period we have now reviewed, there were none to oppoſe this torrent of ſuperſtition and idolatry; for from the firſt appearance of the Romiſh Antichriſt in this kingdom, God wanted not witneſſes for the truth, who boldly ſtood forth for the defence of the bleſſed and pure goſpel of Chriſt: Mention is firſt made of Clemens and Samſon, two famous Culdees, who in the ſeventh century ſupported the authority of Chriſt as the only king and head of his church, againſt the uſurped power of Rome, and who rejected the ſuper-

ſtitious rites of Antichriſt, as contrary to the ſimplicity of goſpel inſtitutions. The ſucceeding age was no leſs remarkable for learned and pious men, to whom Scotland gave birth, and whoſe praiſe was in the churches abroad; particularly Joannes Scotus, who wrote a book upon the Euchariſt, condemned by Leo IX. in the year 1030, long after his death. In the ninth century, a convention of eſtates was held at Scoon for the reformation of the clergy, their lives and converſations being at that time a reproach to common decency and good manners; not to ſay, piety and religion. The remedies provided at this convention, diſcover the nature of the diſeaſe. It was ordained, that church-men ſhould reſide upon their charge; that they ſhould not intermeddle with ſecular affairs, but inſtruct the people, and be good examples in their converſations; that they ſhould not keep hawks, hounds, nor horſes for their pleaſure, *&c.* And if they failed in the obſervance of theſe injunctions, they were to be fined for the firſt, and depoſed for the ſecond tranſgreſſion. Theſe laws were made under King Conſtantine II. but his ſucceſſor Gregory rendered them abortive by his indulgence. The age following this, is not remarkable for witneſſes to the truth, but hiſtorians are agreed, that there were ſtill ſome of the Culdees who lived and miniſtred apart from the Romaniſts, and taught the people that Chriſt was the only propitiation for ſin, and that his blood could only waſh them from the guilt of it, in oppoſition to the indulgences and pardons of the Pope. Mr. Alexander Shields ſays, that the Culdees tranſmitted their teſtimony to the Lollards *, and Pope John XXII. in his bull for anointing King Robert Bruce, complains that there were many heretics in Scotland; ſo that we may ſafely affirm there never was any very great period of time without witneſſes for the truth and againſt the groſs corruptions of the church of Rome. Some of our kings themſelves oppoſed the Pope's ſupremacy, and prohibited his Legates

* Hind let looſe, period II. page 11, prior edition.

Legates from entering their dominions; the moſt remarkable inſtance of this kind is that of Robert Bruce. After his having defeated the Engliſh at Bannock-burn, they became ſuppliants to the Pope for his mediation, who accordingly ſent a Legate into Scotland, propoſing a ceſſation of arms, till the Pope ſhould hear and decide the quarrel betwixt the two crowns, that he might be informed of the right which Edward had to the crown of Scotland; to this king Robert replied, "that the Pope could "not be ignorant of that buſineſs, becauſe it had "been often explained to his predeceſſors, in the "hearing of many cardinals then alive, who could "tell him if they pleaſed, what inſolent anſwers "pope Boniface received from the Engliſh, while "they were deſired to deſiſt from oppreſſing the "Scots: And now (ſaid he) when it hath pleaſed "God to give us the better by ſome victories, by "which we have not only recovered our own, but "can make them live as good neighboors, they "have recourſe to ſuch treaties, ſeeking to gain time "in order to fall upon us again with greater force: "But in this his holineſs muſt excuſe me, for I will "not be ſo unwiſe as to let the advantage I have "ſlip out of my hand." The Legate regarding this anſwer as contemptuous, interdicted the kingdom and departed: but K. Robert paying little regard to ſuch proceedings, followed hard after the Legate, and entering England, waſted all the adjacent countries with fire and ſword.

IN the beginning of the fifteenth century, the reformation from Popery began to dawn in Scotland; at this time there was pope againſt pope, nay ſometimes three of them at once, all excommunicating one another; which ſchiſm laſted for about thirty years, and by an over-ruling providence contributed much to the downfal of Antichriſt, and to the revival of real religion and learning in Scotland, and many parts in Europe; for many embracing the opportu-

nity

nity now afforded to them, began to ſpeak openly againſt the hereſy, tyranny, and immorality of the clergy. Among thoſe who preached publicly againſt theſe evils were John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, John Wickliff in England, and John Resby, an Engliſhman and ſcholar of Wickliff's in Scotland, who came hither about the year 1407, and was called in queſtion for ſome doctrines which he taught againſt the Pope's ſupremacy; he was condemned to the fire, which he endured with great conſtancy. About ten years after, one Paul Craw a Bohemian and follower of Huſs, was accuſed of hereſy before ſuch as were then called Doctors of theology. The articles of charge were, that he followed Huſs and Wickliff in the opinion of the ſacrament of the ſupper, who denied that the ſubſtance of bread and wine were changed by virtue of any words, or that auricular confeſſion to prieſts, or praying to ſaints departed were lawful. He was committed to the ſecular judge, who condemned him to the fire at St. Andrews, where he ſuffered, being gagged when led to the ſtake, that he might not have the opportunity of making his confeſſion ——Both the above-mentioned martyrs ſuffered under Henry Wardlaw biſhop of St. Andrews, who founded that univerſity, 1412; which might have done him honour, had he not imbrued his hands in innocent blood.

THESE returnings of the goſpel light were not confined to St. Andrews, but Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham, and other places in the weſt of Scotland were alſo thus favoured about the ſame time; for we find that Robert Blackatter, the firſt arch-biſhop of Glaſgow, *anno* 1494, cauſed ſummon before King James IV. and his great council at Glaſgow, George Campbel of Ceſſnock, Adam Reid of Barſkimming, and a great many others, moſtly perſons of diſtinction, opprobriouſly called the Lollards of Kyle, from one Lollard an eminent preacher among the antient Waldenſes, for maintaining that images ought not to be worſhipped;

worſhipped; that the relicts of ſaints ſhould not be adored, *&c.* But they anſwered their accuſers with ſuch conſtancy and boldneſs, that it was judged moſt prudent to diſmiſs them with an admonition, to content themſelves with the faith of the church, and to beware of new doctriues.

THUS have we brought this ſummary of church-affairs in Scotland, down to the time of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, whoſe life ſtands upon the head of this collection: for he was the next ſufferer on account of oppoſition to Romiſh tyranny and ſuperſtition in our country.

THE

The following BOOKS to be had at the Shop of JOHN BRYCE, Printer and Bookseller, oppoſite Gibſon's-Wynd, *Salt-market*.

BOOKS IN OCTAVO.

MR. RALPH ERSKINE's Works, in 10 large vols
Trail's ſermons, 3 vols
Pike and Hayward's caſes of conſcience, with the ſpiritual companion
Dickenſon's religious letters
Neil's 23 ſermons on important ſubjects
Durham's expoſition of the ten commands
Owen on the CXXX Pſalm
Sibb's ſoul's conflict, together with the bruiſed reed and ſmoaking flax
Dickſon's truth's victory over error
Durham's unſearchable riches of Chriſt, in fourteen communion ſermons
Adamſon's loſs and recovery of elect ſinners
Rawlin's ſermons on juſtification
Durham's 72 ſermons on the LIII of Iſaiah
Watt's Logick
Marſhal on ſanctification
Erſkine's ſcripture ſongs
Shield's faithful contendings
Welwood's glimpſe of glory
Blackwell's ſacred ſcheme
Ridgley's body of divinity, in Folio

The following ARTICLES to be had Stitched,

ACT, Declaration and Teſtimony
The Doctrine of Grace
The full ſtate of the marrow controverſy
The holy life of Mr John Janeway
The life of Mr John Livinſton
Borland's hiſtory of Darien
Form of proceſs uſed in kirk courts
Mr Graham's four diſcourſes on covenanting

Where alſo may be had, Bibles gilt and plain, New Teſtaments, pſalm books, confeſſions of faith, Catechiſms large and ſmall, Proverbs, Syllabing Catechiſms, Brown's Catechiſm, Henry's catechiſm, Muckarſie's catechiſm, Oliphant's catechiſm, Proof catechiſm, Mother's catechiſm, Watt's catechiſm, Watt's ſongs for children, Paper and Pens, Letter caſes and Pocket-books &c. &c.

THE LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THE SCOTS WORTHIES.

The Life of Mr. PATRICK HAMILTON.

HE was born about the year of our Lord 1503, and was nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother; he was alſo related to king James V. of Scotland. He was early educated with a deſign for future high preferment, and had the abbey of *Ferm* given him, for the purpoſe of proſecuting his ſtudies; which he did with great aſſiduity.

In order to complete this laudable deſign, he reſolved to travel into Germany. The fame of the univerſity of Wittemberg was then very great, and drew many to it from diſtant places, among which our Hamilton was one. He was the firſt who introduced public diſputations upon faith and works, and ſuch theological queſtions, into the univerſity of Marpurg, in which he was aſſiſted by Francis Lambert; by whoſe converſation he profited not a little.—Here he became acquainted with theſe eminent reformers, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, beſides other learned men of their ſociety. By theſe diſtinguiſhed maſters he was inſtructed in the knowledge of the true religion, which he had little opportunity to become acquainted with in his own country, becauſe the ſmall remains of it which were in Scotland at this time, were under the yoke of oppreſſion which we have already ſhown in the cloſe of the introduction.—He made an amazing proficiency in this moſt important ſtudy, and became ſoon as zealous in the profeſſion of the true faith, as he had been diligent to attain the knowledge of it.

—This drew the eyes of many upon him, and while they were waitng with impatience to ſee what part he would act, he came to this reſolution, to return into his own country, and there in the face of all dangers to communicate the light which he had received.

Accordingly, being as yet a youth, and not much paſt twenty-three years of age, he began, ſowing the ſeed of God's word where-ever he came, expoſing the corruptions of the Romiſh church, and pointing out the errors which had crept into the Chriſtian religion as profeſſed in Scotland.—He was favourably received and followed by many, unto whom he readily *ſhowed the way of God more perfectly*. His reputation as a ſcholar and courteous demeanour, contributed not a little to his uſefulneſs in this good work.

The city of St. Audrews was at this time the grand rendezvous of the Romiſh clergy, and may, with no impropriety, be called the metropolis of the kingdom of darkneſs. James Beaton was arch-biſhop, Hugh Spence dean of divinity, John Waddel rector, James Simſon official, Thomas Ramſay canon and dean of the abbey, with the ſeveral ſuperiors of the different orders of monks and friars.—It could not be expected, that Mr Hamilton's conduct would be long concealed from ſuch a body as this. Their reſentment againſt him ſoon roſe to the utmoſt heights of perſecuting rage; particularly the arch-biſhop, who was chancellor of the kingdom, and otherwiſe very powerful, became his inveterate enemy. But being not leſs politic than cruel, the arch-biſhop concealed his wicked deſign againſt him, until he had drawn him into the ambuſh prepared for him, which he effected by prevailing on him to attend a conference at St. Andrews.—Being come thither, Alexander Campbel prior of the black friars, who had been appointed to exert his faculties in reclaiming him, had ſeveral private interviews with him, in which he ſeemed to acknowledge the force of Mr. Hamilton's objections againſt the prevailing conduct of the clergy and errors of the Romiſh church. Such perſuaſions as Campbel uſed to bring him back to popery, had rather the tendency to confirm him in the truth. The arch-biſhop and inferior clergy appeared to make conceſſions to him, allowing that many things ſtood in need of reformation, which they could wiſh had been brought about. Whether they were ſincere in theſe acknowledgments, or only intended to conceal their bloody deſigns, and render the innocent and unſuſpecting victim of their rage more ſecure, is a queſtion to which this anſwer may be returned, That had they been ſincere, the conſciouſneſs that Mr. Hamilton ſpoke truth,

truth, would perhaps have warded off the blow, for, at leaſt ſome longer time, or divided their councils and meaſures againſt him. That neither of theſe was the caſe will now appear.—He was apprehended under night, and committed priſoner to the caſtle: at the ſame time, the young king was, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the clergy, prevailed upon to undertake a pilgrimage to St. Dotheſs in Roſſ-ſhire, that he might be out of the way of any applications made to him for the life of Mr. Hamilton, which there was reaſon to believe would be granted. This meaſure affords full proof, that notwithſtanding the friendly conferences which they kept up with him for ſome time, they had reſolved on his ruin from the beginning: but ſuch inſtances of Popiſh diſſembling were not new even in Mr. Hamilton's time.

The next day after his impriſonment, he was brought before the arch-biſhop and his convention, and there charged with maintaining and propagating ſundry heretical opinions; and though articles of the utmoſt importance had been debated betwixt him and them, they reſtricted their charge to ſuch trifles as *pilgrimage*, *purgatory*, *praying to ſaints*, and *for the dead*; perhaps becauſe theſe were the grand pillars upon which Antichriſt built his empire, being the moſt lucrative doctrines ever invented by men. We muſt, however, take notice that Spotſwood afterwards archbiſhop of that ſee, aſſigns the following grounds for his ſuffering, 1. That the corruption of ſin remains in children after their baptiſm. 2. That no man by the power of his free-will can do any good. 3. That no man is without ſin ſo long as he liveth. 4. That every true Chriſtian may know himſelf to be in a ſtate of grace. 5. That a man is not juſtified by works but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a man good, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works, yet the ſame ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man. 7. That faith, hope and charity are ſo linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all. 8. That God is the cauſe of ſin, in this ſenſe, that he withdraweth his grace from man; and grace withdrawn, he cannot but ſin. Theſe articles with the following make up the whole charge, (1.) That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſalvation. (2.) That actual penance cannot purchaſe the remiſſion of ſin. (3.) That there is no purgatory, and that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Chriſt's paſſion. (4.) That the pope is Antichriſt, and that every prieſt hath as much power as he.——For theſe articles, and becauſe he refuſed to abiure them, he was condemned as an obſtinate heretic, and

delivered to the ſecular power by the arch-biſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, three biſhops, and fourteen underlings, who all ſet their hands to the ſentence, which, that it might have the greater authority, was likewiſe ſubſcribed by every perſon of note in the univerſity, among whom the earl of Caſſils was one, then not exceeding thirteen years of age. The ſentence follows as given by Mr. Fox, in his acts and monuments, vol. II. p. 1108.

"*CHRISTI nomine invocato*: We James, by the mercy of God, arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, with the counſel, decree and authority of the moſt reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, profeſſors of the holy ſcripture and maſters of the univerſity, aſſiſting us for the time, ſitting in judgment, within our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, in the cauſe of heretical pravity, againſt Mr Patrick Hamilton, abbot or penſionary of Ferm, being ſummoned to appear before us, to anſwer to certain articles affirmed, taught and preached by him, and ſo appearing before us, and accuſed, the merits of the cauſe being ripely weighed, diſcuſſed, and underſtood by faithful inquiſition made in Lent laſt paſſed: We have found the ſame Mr. Hamilton, many ways infamed with hereſy, diſputing, holding and maintaining divers hereſies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which is already condemned by general councils and moſt famous univerſities. And he being under the ſame infamy, we decerning before him to be ſummoned and accuſed upon the premiſes, he of evil mind, (as may be preſumed) paſſed to other parts, forth of the realm, ſuſpected and noted of hereſy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath preſumed to preach wicked hereſy.

"We have found alſo, that he hath affirmed, publiſhed and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked hereſies after that he was ſummoned to appear before us and our council: That man hath no free-will: That man is in ſin ſo long as he liveth: That children, incontinent after their baptiſm, are ſinners: All Chriſtians that be worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know that they are in grace: No man is juſtified by works, but by faith only: Good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: That faith, hope and charity are ſo knit, that he that hath the one hath the reſt, and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the reſt, *&c.* with divers other hereſies and deteſtable opinions; and hath perſiſted ſo obſtinate in the ſame, that

that by no counſel nor perſuaſion, he may be drawn therefrom, to the way of our right faith.

"All theſe premiſes being conſidered, we having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counſel and and advice of the profeſſors of the holy ſcripture, men of law and others aſſiſting us for the time, do pronounce, determine and declare the ſaid Mr. Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confeſſing, and maintaining of the foreſaid hereſies, and his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and moſt famous univerſities) to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and puniſhed, like as we condemn, and define him to be puniſhed, by this our ſentence definitive, depriving and ſentencing him, to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the ſecular power, to be puniſhed, and his goods to be confiſcated.

"This our ſentence definitive, was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrews, the laſt day of the month of February, *anno* 1527. being preſent, the moſt reverend fathers in Chriſt and lords, Gawand biſhop of Glaſgow, George biſhop of Dunkelden, John biſhop of Brecham, William biſhop of Dunblane, Patrick, prior of St. Andrews, David abbot of Aberbrothock, George abbot of Dunfermline, Alexander abbot of Cambuſkeneth, Henry abbot of Lendors, John prior of Pitterweeme, the dean and ſubdean of Glaſgow, Mr. Hugh Spence, Thomas Ramſay, Allan Meldrum, *&c.* In the preſence of the clergy and the people."

The ſame day that this doom was pronounced, he was alſo condemned by the ſecular power; and in the afternoon of that ſame day, (for they were afraid of an application to the king on his behalf) he was hurried to the ſtake, the fire being prepared, immediately after dinner, before the old college.—Being come to the place of martyrdom, he put off his clothes and gave them to a ſervant who had been with him of a long time, ſaying, "This ſtuff will not "help me in the fire, yet will do thee ſome good; I have "no more to leave thee, but the enſample of my death, "which, I pray thee, keep in mind; for albeit the ſame be "bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet it is the en-"trance to everlaſting life, which none can inherit who "deny Chriſt before this wicked generation." Having ſo ſaid, he commended his ſoul into the hands of God, with his eyes fixed towards heaven, and being bound to the

the ſtake in the midſt of ſome coals, timber, and other combuſtibles, a train of powder was made, with a deſign to kindle the fire, but did not ſucceed, the exploſion only ſcorching one of his hands and face. In this ſituation he remained until more powder was brought from the caſtle, during which time his comfortable and godly ſpeeches were often interrupted, particularly by friar Campbel calling upon him "to recant, pray to our lady and ſay, *Salve re-*"*gina.*" Upon being repeatedly diſturbed in this manner by Campbel, Mr. Hamilton ſaid, "Thou wicked man, "thou knoweſt that I am not an heretic, and that it is the "truth of God, for which I now ſuffer; ſo much didſt "thou confeſs unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal "thee to anſwer before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt:" By this time the fire was kindled, and the noble martyr yielded his ſoul to God, crying out, "How long, O Lord, ſhall "darkneſs overwhelm this realm? How long wilt thou "ſuffer this tyranny of men?" And then ended his ſpeech with Stephen, ſaying, "Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit."

Friar Campbel became ſoon after diſtracted, and died within a year after Mr. Hamilton's martyrdom, under the moſt awful apprehenſions of the Lord's indignation againſt him.—The Popiſh clergy abroad congratulated their friends in Scotland, upon their zeal for the Romiſh faith diſcovered in the above tragedy.—But it rather ſerved the cauſe of reformation than retarded it, eſpecially when the people began to compare deliberately the behaviour of Mr. Hamilton and friar Campbel together, they were induced to inquire more narrowly into the truth than before. The reader will find a very particular account of the doctrines maintained by Mr. Hamilton in Knox's hiſtory of the reformation of Scotland nigh the beginning.

The Life of Mr. GEORGE WISHART.

THIS gentleman was a brother of the laird of Pittarro in Mearns, and was educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, where his diligence and progreſs in uſeful learning, ſoon made him be reſpected. From an ardent deſire to promote the truth in his own country, he returned to it in the ſummer of 1544, and began teaching a ſchool in the town of Montroſe; which he kept for ſome time with great applauſe. He is particularly celebrated for his uncommon eloquence, and agreeable manner of communication. The

ſecond

ſequel of this narrative will inform the reader, That he poſſeſſed the ſpirit of prophecy to an extraordinary degree, and was at the ſame time humble, modeſt, charitable and patient, even to admiration. One of his own ſcholars gives gives the following picture of him, "That he was a man of "a tall ſtature, black-hair'd, long-bearded, of a graceful "perſonage, eloquent, courteous, ready to teach and de-"ſirous to learn; that he ordinarily wore a French cap, a "frieze gown, plain black hoſe, and white bands and hand "cuffs; that he frequently gave away different parts of his "apparel to the poor; in his diet he was very moderate, "eating only twice a day, and faſting every fourth day; his "lodging, bedding, and ſuch other circumſtances, were "correſpondent to the things already mentioned." But as theſe particulars are rather curious than inſtructive, we ſhall ſay no more of them.

After he left Montroſe, he came to Dundee, where he acquired ſtill greater fame, in public lectures on the epiſtle to the Romans; inſomuch that the Romiſh clergy began to think ſeriouſly on the conſequences which they ſaw would inevitably enſue, if he was ſuffered to go on, pulling down that fabric of ſuperſtition and idolatry, which they with ſo much pains had reared; they were particularly diſguſted at the reception which he met with in Dundee, and immediately ſet about projecting his ruin.

From the time that Mr. Patrick Hamilton ſuffered, until this period, papal tyranny reigned by fire and faggot without controul. In the year 1539, cardinal David Beaton ſucceeded his uncle in the ſee of St. Andrews, and carefully trod the path his uncle had marked out; to ſhow his own greatneſs, and to recommend himſelf to his ſuperior of Rome, he accuſed Sir John Borthwick of hereſy, whoſe goods were confiſcated, and himſelf burnt in effigy (for being forewarned of his danger, he had eſcaped out of the country). After this he ſuborned a prieſt to forge a will of K. James V. who died about this time, declaring himſelf, with the earls of Huntly, Argyle and Murray to be regents of the kingdom: The cheat being diſcovered, the earl of Arran was elected governor, and the cardinal was committed priſoner to the caſtle of Dalkeith; he ſoon found means to eſcape from his confinement, and prevailed with the regent to break all his promiſes to the party who had elected him into that office, and to join with him in imbruing his hands in the blood of the ſaints. Accordingly, ſeveral profeſſors of the town of Perth were arraigned, condemned

demned, hanged and drowned; others were ſent into baniſhment, and ſome were ſtrangled in private. We have departed thus far from the courſe of our narrative, to ſhew the reader, that the vacancies betwixt the reſpective lives in this collection, were as much remarkable for perſecution, as the particular inſtances which are ſet before him in the lives themſelves.

It was this cardinal who, incenſed at Mr. Wiſhart's ſucceſs in Dundee, prevailed with one Robert Mill (formerly a profeſſor of the truth, and who had been a ſufferer on that account, but who was now a man of conſiderable influence in that town,) to give Mr Wiſhart a charge in the queen and governor's names, to trouble them no more with his preaching in that place. This commiſſion was executed by Mill one day, in public, juſt as Mr Wiſhart had ended his ſermon. Upon hearing it, he kept ſilence for a little with his eyes turned towards heaven, and then caſting them on the ſpeaker with a ſorrowful countenance, he ſaid, "God is my witneſs, that I never minded your "trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more "grievous unto me than it is unto yourſelves; but ſure I "am, to reject the word of God, and drive away his meſ"ſengers, is not the way to ſave you from trouble, but to "bring you into it: When I am gone, God will ſend you "meſſengers, who will not be afraid either for burning or "baniſhment. I have, at the hazard of my life, remain"ed among you, preaching the word of ſalvation; and "now, ſince you yourſelves refuſe me, I muſt leave my "innocence to be declared by God. If it be long well "with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth; and if "unexpected trouble come upon you, remember this is "the cauſe, and turn to God by repentance, for he is mer"ciful." Theſe words being pronounced, he came down from the pulpit or preaching place. The earl of Marſhal and ſome other noblemen who were preſent at the ſermon, entreated him earneſtly to go to the north with them, but he excuſed himſelf, and took journey for the weſt country, where he was gladly received by many.

Being come to the town of Air, he began to preach the goſpel with great freedom and faithfulneſs. But Dunbar, the then arch-biſhop of Glaſgow, being informed of the great concourſe of people who crouded to his ſermons, at the inſtigation of cardinal Beaton, went to Air with the reſolution to apprehend him; the biſhop firſt took poſſeſſion of the church, to prevent him from preaching in it. The news of this brought Alexander earl of Glencairn, and

and ſome gentlemen of the neighbourhood, immediately to the town; they offered to put Mr. Wiſhart in the church, but he would not conſent, ſaying, "The biſhop's ſermon would not do much hurt, and that, if they pleaſed, he would go to the market-croſs:" which he did, and preached with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſeveral of his hearers, formerly enemies to the truth, were converted on that occaſion. During the time Mr. Wiſhart was thus employed, the biſhop was haranguing ſome of his underlings and paraſites in the church; having no ſermon to give them, he promiſed to be better provided againſt a future occaſion, and ſpeedily left the town,

Mr. Wiſhart continued with the gentlemen of Kyle after the arch-biſhop's departure, and being deſired to preach next Lord's day at the church of Mauchlin, he went thither with that deſign; but the ſheriff of Air had, in the night-time, put a garriſon of ſoldiers in the church to keep him out. Hugh Campbel of Kinzeancleugh with others of the pariſh were exceedingly offended at ſuch impiety, and would have entered the church by force; but Mr. Wiſhart would not ſuffer it, ſaying, "Brethren, it is the word of "peace which I preach unto you, the blood of no man "ſhall be ſhed for it this day; Jeſus Chriſt is as mighty in "the fields as in the church, and he himſelf, while he "lived in the fleſh, preached oftner in the deſart, and up-"on the ſea-ſide, than in the temple of Jeruſalem." Upon this the people were appeaſed, and went with him to the edge of a muir on the ſouth-weſt ſide of Mauchlin, where having placed himſelf upon a ditch-dyke, he preached to a great multitude who reſorted to him; he continued ſpeaking for more than three hours, God working wondrouſly by him, inſomuch that Laurence Rankin the laird of Sheld, a very profane perſon, was converted by his means; the tears ran from his eyes, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, and the whole of his after-life witneſſed that his profeſſion was without hypocriſy. While in this country, Mr. Wiſhart often preached with moſt remarkable ſucceſs, at the church of Galſton and other places. At this time and in this part of the country, it might be truly ſaid, That *the harveſt was* GREAT, *but the labourers were* FEW.

After he had been about a month thus employed in Kyle, he was informed, That the plague had broke out in Dundee the fourth day after he had left it, and that it ſtill continued to rage in ſuch a manner that great numbers were ſwept off every day; this affected him ſo much, that

he reſolved to return again unto them: Accordingly he took leave of his friends in the weſt, who were filled with ſorrow at his departure. The next day after his arrival at Dundee, he cauſed intimation to be made that he would preach; and for that purpoſe choſe his ſtation upon the head of the eaſt-gate, the infected perſons ſtanding without, and thoſe that were whole within: his text was Pſalm cvii. 20. *He ſent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their deſtruction.* By this diſcourſe he ſo comforted the people, that they thought themſelves happy in having ſuch a preacher, and intreated him to remain with them while the plague continued; which he complied with, preaching often and taking care that the poor ſhould not want neceſſaries more than the rich; in doing which he expoſed himſelf to the infection, even where it was moſt malignant, without reſerve.

During all this his ſworn adverſary the cardinal had his eye cloſe upon him, and bribed a prieſt called Sir John Wighton, to aſſaſſinate him; he was to make the attempt as Mr. Wiſhart came down from the preaching place, with the expectation of eſcaping among the crowd after the deed was done. To effect this, he poſted himſelf at the foot of the ſteps with his gown looſe, and a dagger under it in his hand. Upon Mr. Wiſhart's approach, he looked ſternly upon the prieſt, aſking him, What he intended to do? and inſtantly clapped his hand upon the hand of the prieſt that held the dagger, and took it from him. Upon which he openly confeſſing his deſign, a tumult immediately enſued, and the ſick without the gate ruſhed in, crying, To have the aſſaſſin delivered to them; then Mr. Wiſhart interpoſed and defended him from their violence, telling them, He had done him no harm, and that ſuch as injured the one injured the other likewiſe; ſo the prieſt eſcaped without any harm.

The plague was now conſiderably abated, and he determined to pay a viſit to the town of Montroſe, intending to go from thence to Edinburgh, to meet the gentlemen of the weſt. While he was at Montroſe, he adminiſtred the ſacrament of our Lord's ſupper in both kinds of the elements, and preached with ſucceſs. Here he received a letter directed to him from his intimate friend the laird of Kinnier, acquainting him, That he had taken a ſudden ſickneſs, and requeſting him to come to him with all diligence. Upon this, he immediately ſet out on his journey, attended by ſome honeſt friends of Montroſe, who out of affection would accompany him part of the way. They had

had not travelled above a quarter of a mile, when all of a ſudden he ſtopped, ſaying to the company, "I am for-"bidden by God to go this journey. Will ſome of you be "pleaſed to ride to yonder place (pointing with his finger "to a little hill), and ſee what you find, for I apprehend "there is a plot againſt my life:" whereupon he returned to the town, and they who went forward to the place, found about ſixty horſemen ready to intercept him: By this the whole plot came to light: they found that the letter had been forged; and, upon their telling Mr. Wiſhart what they had ſeen, he replied, "I know that I ſhall end "my life by the hands of that wicked man, (meaning the "cardinal) but it will not be after this manner."

The time which he had appointed for meeting the weſt-country gentlemen at Edinburgh, drawing near, he undertook that journey, much againſt the inclination and advice of the laird of Dun; the firſt night after leaving Montroſe, he lodged at Innergowrie, about two miles from Dundee, with one James Watſon a faithful friend, where, being laid in bed, he was obſerved to riſe a little after midnight, and to go out into an adjacent garden, that he might give vent to his ſighs and groans without being obſerved; but being followed by two men, William Spaldin and John Watſon, at a diſtance, in order that they might obſerve his motions, they ſaw him proſtrate himſelf upon the ground, weeping and making ſupplication for near an hour, and then return to his reſt. As they lay in the ſame apartment with him, they took care to return before him, and upon his coming into the room they aſked him, (as if ignorant of all that had paſt) where he had been? But he made no anſwer, and they ceaſed their interrogations. In the morning they aſked him again, Why he roſe in the night, and what was the cauſe of ſuch ſorrow? (for they told him all that they had ſeen him do) he anſwered with a dejected countenance, "I wiſh you had been in your beds, which "had been more for your eaſe, for I was ſcarce well occu-"pied." But they praying him to ſatisfy their minds further, and to communicate ſome comfort unto them, he ſaid, "I will tell you, that I aſſuredly know my travail "is nigh an end, therefore pray to God for me, that I "may not ſhrink when the battle waxeth moſt hot."—Hearing theſe words, they burſt out into tears, ſaying, That was but ſmall comfort to them. To this he replied, "God will ſend you comfort after me; this realm ſhall be "illuminated with the light of Chriſt's goſpel, as clearly "as any realm ever was ſince the days of the apoſtles; the

"houſe of God ſhall be built in it; yea, it ſhall not lack "(whatſoever the enemies ſhall deviſe to the contrary) the "very cope ſtone; neither ſhall this be long in doing, for "there ſhall not many ſuffer after me. The glory of God "ſhall appear, and truth ſhall once triumph in deſpite of "the devil, but, alas, if the people become unthankful, the "plagues and puniſhments which ſhall follow will be fear-"ful and terrible." After this prediction, which was accompliſhed in ſuch a remarkable a manner afterwards, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived at Leith about the 10th of December, where being diſappointed of a meeting with the weſt-country gentlemen, he kept himſelf retired for ſome days, and then became very uneaſy and diſcouraged, and being aſked the reaſon, he replied, "I have "laboured to bring people out of darkneſs, but now I "lurk as a man aſhamed to ſhew himſelf before men:" by this they underſtood that he deſired to preach, and told him that they would gladly hear him; but the danger into which he would throw himſelf thereby, prevented them from adviſing him to it, he anſwered, "If you and others "will hear me next Sabbath, I will preach in Leith, let "God provide for me as beſt pleaſeth him;" which he did upon the parable of the ſower, Matth. xiii. After ſermon, his friends adviſed him to leave Leith, becauſe the regent and cardinal were ſoon to be in Edinburgh, and that his ſituation would be dangerous on that account; he complied with this advice, and reſided with the lairds of Brunſton, Longniddry and Ormiſton, by turns; the following ſabbath he preached at Innereſk both fore and after noon, to a crowded audience, among whom was Sir George Douglas, who after the ſermon publicly ſaid, "I know that the go-"vernor and cardinal ſhall hear that I have been at this "preaching, (for they were now come to Edinburgh) ſay "unto them, that I will avow it, and will not only main-"tain the doctrine which I have heard, but alſo the perſon "of the teacher to the uttermoſt of my power;" which open and candid declaration was very grateful to the whole congregation. During the time of this ſermon, Mr. Wiſhart perceived two grey friars ſtanding in the entry of the church, and whiſpering to every perſon that entered the door; he called out to the people to make room for them, becauſe, ſaid he, "perhaps they come to learn;" and then addreſſed them, "requeſting them to come forward, and "hear the word of truth;" but they ſtill continued to trouble the people, upon which he reproved them in the following manner: "O ye ſervants of Satan, and deceivers of

"the

"ſouls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth, nor ſuf-
"fer others to hear it? depart and take this for your portion,
"God ſhall ſhortly confound and diſcloſe your hypocriſy
"within this realm; ye ſhall be abominable unto men, and
"your places and habitations ſhall be deſolate."

The two ſabbaths following he preached at Tranent, and in all his ſermons after leaving Montroſe, he more or leſs hinted that his miniſtry was near an end. The next place he preached at was Haddington, where his congregation was at firſt very throng, but the following day very few attended him, which was thought to be owing to the influence of the earl of Bothwel, who, at the inſtigation of the cardinal, had inhibited the people from attending him, for his authority was very conſiderable in that part of the country. At this time he received a letter from the gentlemen of the weſt, declaring, That they could not keep the diet appointed at Edinburgh; this, with the reflection that ſo few attended his miniſtrations at Haddington, grieved him exceedingly. He called upon Mr. Knox, who then attended him, and told him, That he was weary of the world, ſince he perceived that men were become weary of God.—Notwithſtanding the anxiety and diſcouragement which he laboured under, he went immediately to the pulpit, and ſharply rebuking the people of that town for their neglect of the goſpel, he told them, "That ſore and fearful
"ſhould be the plagues that ſhould enſue; that fire and
"ſword ſhould waſte them; that ſtrangers ſhould poſſeſs
"their houſes, and chaſe them from their habitations."
This prediction was ſoon after verified, when the Engliſh took and poſſeſſed that town, while the French and Scots beſieged it in the yeer 1548 This was the laſt ſermon which he preached, in which, as had for ſome time been uſual with him, he ſpoke of his death as near at hand; and after it was over, he bade his acquaintance farewel, as if it had been for ever. He went to Ormiſton, accompanied by the lairds of Brunſton and Ormiſton, and Sir John Sandilands, the younger of Calder. Mr. Knox was alſo deſirous to have gone with him, but Mr. Wiſhart deſired him to return, ſaying, "One is enough for a ſacrifice at
"this time."

Being come to Ormiſton, he entered into ſome ſpiritual converſation in the family, particularly concerning the happy ſtate of God's children, appointed the 51ſt pſalm, according to an old verſion then in uſe, to be ſung, and then recommended the company to God; he went to bed ſome time ſooner than ordinary; about midnight the earl of Bothwel beſet

ſet the houſe, ſo as none could eſcape, and then called upon the laird, declaring the deſign to him, and intreating him not to hold out, for it would be to no purpoſe, becauſe the cardinal and governor were coming with all their train; but if he would deliver Mr. Wiſhart up, Bothwel promiſed upon his honour that no evil ſhould befal him. Being inveigled with this, and conſulting with Mr. Wiſhart who requeſted that the gates ſhould be opened, ſaying, "God's will be done,* the laird complied. The earl of Bothwel entered, with ſome gentlemen, who ſolemnly proteſted, That Mr. Wiſhart ſhould receive no harm, but that he, *viz.* Bothwel, would either carry him to his own houſe, or return him again to Ormiſton in ſafety: Upon this promiſe hands were ſtricken, and Mr. Wiſhart went along with him to Elphiſton where the cardinal was, after which he was firſt carried to Edinburgh, then to the earl of Bothwel's houſe (perhaps upon pretence of fulfilling the engagement which Bothwel had come under to him) after which he was re-conducted to Edinburgh, where the cardinal had now aſſembled a convocation of prelates for reforming ſome abuſes, but without effect. Buchanan ſays, that he was apprehended by a party of horſe detached by the cardinal for that purpoſe; that at firſt the laird of Ormiſton refuſed to deliver him up, upon which the cardinal and regent both poſted thither, but could not prevail until the earl of Bothwel was ſent for, who ſucceeded by flattery and fair promiſes, not one of which were fulfilled.

Mr. Wiſhart remained at Edinburgh only a few days, until the blood-thirſty cardinal prevailed with the governor to deliver up this faithful ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt unto his tyranny, and was accordingly ſent to St. Andrews; and being adviſed to it by the arch-biſhop of Glaſgow, he would have got a civil judge appointed to try him, if David Hamilton of Preſton, a kinſman to the regent, had not remonſtrated againſt it, and repreſented the danger of attacking the ſervants of God, who had no other crime laid to their charge, but that of preaching the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. This ſpeech, which Buchanan gives at large, affected the governor in ſuch a manner, that he abſolutely refuſed the cardinal's requeſt, upon which he replied in anger, "That he "had only ſent to him out of mere civility, without any "need for it, for that he with his clergy had power ſuffi-"cient to bring Mr. Wiſhart to condign puniſhment."—Thus was this ſervant of God left in the hands of that proud and mercileſs tyrant, the religious part of the nation loudly complaining of the governor's weakneſs.

Mr.

Mr. Wiſhart being now in St. Andrews, the cardinal without delay cauſed ſummon the biſhops and ſuperior clergy to meet at that place on the 27th of February 1546, to deliberate upon a queſtion about which he was already reſolved. The next day after this convocation, Mr. Wiſhart received a ſummons in priſon, by the dean of the town, to anſwer to-morrow, for his heretical doctrine, before the judges. The next day, the cardinal went to the place of judgement, in the abbey church, with a train of armed men marching in warlike order; immediately Mr. Wiſhart was ſent for from the ſea-tower, which was his priſon, and being about to enter the door of the church, a poor man aſked alms of him, to whom he threw his purſe. When he came before the cardinal, John Wirnam the ſub-prior went up into the pulpit by appointment, and made a diſcourſe upon the nature of hereſy from Matth. xiii. which he did with great caution, and yet in ſuch a way as applied more juſtly to the accuſers, for he was a ſecret favourer of the truth. After him came up one John Lauder, a moſt virulent enemy of religion, who acted the part of Mr. Wiſhart's accuſer, he pulled out a long roll of maledictory charges againſt Mr. Wiſhart, and dealt out the Romiſh thunder ſo liberally as terrified the ignorant by-ſtanders, but did not in the leaſt diſcompoſe this meek ſervant of Chriſt; he was accuſed of diſobedience to the governor's authority, for teaching that man had no free-will, and for contemning faſting, (all which he abſolutely refuſed) and for denying that there are ſeven ſacraments; that auricular confeſſion, extreme unction, and the ſacrament of the altar, ſo called, are ſacraments; that we ſhould pray to ſaints; and for ſaying, That it was neceſſary for every man to know and underſtand his baptiſm; that the pope hath no more power than another man; that it is as lawful to eat fleſh upon Friday as upon Sunday; that there is no purgatory, and that it is vain to build coſtly churches to the honour of God, and for condemning conjuration, the vows of ſingle life, the curſings of the holy church, *&c.* While Lauder was reading theſe accuſations, he had put himſelf into a moſt violent ſweat, frothing at the mouth and calling Mr. Wiſhart a runagate traitor, and demanded an anſwer, which he made in a ſhort and modeſt oration: At which they cried out with one conſent againſt him in a moſt tumultuous manner; by which he ſaw, they were reſolved to proceed againſt him to the utmoſt extremity, he therefore appealed to a more equitable and impartial judge. Upon which Lauder (repeating the ſeveral titles of the cardinal) aſked him, "If

"my

"my lord cardinal was not an equitable judge?" Mr. Wiſhart replied, "I do not refuſe him, but I deſire the "word of God to be my judge, the temporal eſtates, with "ſome of your lordſhips, becauſe I am my lord governor's "priſoner." After ſome ſcornful language thrown out both againſt him and the governor, they proceeded to read the articles againſt him a ſecond time, and hear his anſwers, which he made with great ſolidity of judgment: After which they condemned him to be burnt as an heretic, paying no regard to his defences, nor to the emotions of their own conſciences, but thought that by killing him they ſhould do *God good ſervice.* Upon this reſolution, (for their final ſentence was not yet pronounced) Mr. Wiſhart kneeled down and prayed in the following manner.

"O immortal God, how long wilt thou ſuffer the rage "of the ungodly, how long ſhall they exerciſe their fury "upon thy ſervants, who further thy word in this world, "ſeeing they deſire to choke and deſtroy thy true doctrine "and verity, by which thou haſt ſhewed thyſelf unto the "world, which was drowned in blindneſs and ignorance of "thy name? O Lord, we know ſurely that thy true ſer-"vants muſt ſuffer for thy name's ſake, both perſecution, "affliction and troubles in this preſent life, which is but a "ſhadow, as thy prophets and apoſtles have ſhewed us, but "yet we deſire thee, merciful Father, that thou wouldſt "preſerve, defend and help thy congregation, which thou "haſt choſen from before the foundation of the world, "and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy "true ſervants in this preſent life."

After this, the common people were removed until their definitive ſentence ſhould be pronounced, which being ſo ſimilar to Mr. Hamilton's, need not be here inſerted. This being done, he was re-committed to the caſtle for that night; in his way thither, two friars came to him requeſting him to make his confeſſion to them, which he refuſed, but deſired them to bring Mr. Wirnam who had preached that day, to him; who being come, after ſome diſcourſe with Mr. Wiſhart, he aſked him, If he would receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper? Mr. Wiſhart anſwered, "Moſt wil-"lingly, if I may have it adminiſtered according to Chriſt's "inſtitution, under both kinds, of bread and wine." Hereupon the ſub-prior went to the biſhops, and aſked, If they would permit the ſacrament to be given to the priſoner? But the cardinal, in all their names, anſwered, That it was not reaſonable to give any ſpiritual benefit to an obſtinate heretic condemned by the church.

All

All this night Mr. Wiſhart ſpent in prayer, and next morning the captain of the caſtle gave him notice that they had denied him the ſacrament, and at the ſame time invited him to breakfaſt with him, which Mr. Wiſhart accepted, ſaying, "I will do that very willingly, and ſo much "the rather, becauſe I perceive you to be a good Chriſtian, "and a man fearing God." All things being ready, and the family aſſembled to breakfaſt, Mr. Wiſhart turning himſelf to the captain, ſaid, "I beſeech you, in the name "of God, and for the love ye bear to our Saviour Jeſus "Chriſt, to be ſilent a little while, till I have made a ſhort "exhortation, and bleſſed this bread which we are to eat, "ſo that I may bid you farewel." The table being covered and bread ſet upon it, he ſpake about the ſpace of half an hour, of the inſtitution of the ſupper, and of our Saviour's death and paſſion, exhorting thoſe who were preſent to mutual love and holineſs of life. Then, giving thanks, he brake the bread, diſtributing a part to thoſe about him, who were diſpoſed to commnnicate, intreating them to remember that Chriſt died for them, and to feed on it ſpiritually; then taking the cup, he bade them remember that Chriſt's blood was ſhed for them; And having taſted it himſelf, he delivered it unto them, and then concluding with thankſgiving and prayer, he told them, "That he "would neither eat nor drink more in this life," and retired to his chamber.

Soon after, by the appointment of the cardinal, two executioners came to him, and arraying him in a black linen coat, they faſtened ſome bags of gun-powder about him, put a rope about his neck, a chain about his waiſt, and bound his hands behind his back, and in this dreſs they led him out to the ſtake, near the cardinal's palace; oppoſite to the ſtake they had placed the great guns of the caſtle, leſt any ſhould attempt to reſcue him. The fore tower, which was immediately oppoſite to the fire, was hung with tapeſtry, and rich cuſhions were laid in the windows, for the eaſe of the cardinal and prelates, while they beheld the ſad ſpectacle. As he was going to the ſtake, it is ſaid, that two beggars aſked alms of him, and that he replied, "I want my hands wherewith I uſed to give you alms, but "the merciful Lord vouchſafe to give you all neceſſaries, "both for ſoul and body." After this the friars came about him, urging him to *pray to our lady*, &c. to whom he anſwered, "Ceaſe, tempt me not, I intreat you."

Having mounted a ſcaffold prepared on purpoſe, he turned towards the people and declared that "he felt much

"joy within himself in offering up his life for the name "of Christ, and told them that they ought not to be of- "fended with the good word of God, because of the af- "flictions I have endured, or the torments which ye "now see prepared for me; but I intreat you, that you "love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer pa- "tiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's sake, "which is your everlasting comfort; but for the true gos- "pel which was given me by the grace of God, I suffer "this day with a glad heart. Behold, and consider my "visage, ye shall not see me change my colour; I fear not "this fire, and I pray that you may not fear them that slay "the body, but have no power to slay the soul. Some "have said that I taught that the soul shall sleep till the "last day, but I know surely, and my faith is such, that "my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night." Then he prayed for his accusers, that they might be forgiven, if, through ignorance or evil design, they had forged lies upon him. After this the executioner asked his forgiveness, to whom he replied, "Come hither to me;" and when he came, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo, here is a token "that I forgive thee, do thine office." Being raised up from his knees, he was bound to the stake, crying with a loud voice *O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me; Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands:* whereupon the executioner kindled the fire, and the powder that was fastened to his body blew up. The captain of the castle perceiving that he was still alive, drew near, and bid him be of good courage, whereupon Mr. Wishart said, "This flame hath scorched my body, yet it hath not daunt- "ed my spirit; but he who, from yonder place behold- "eth us with such pride, shall within a few days lie in the "same as ignominiously as he is now seen proudly to rest "himself." But as he was thus speaking, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck so strait that he spoke no more; and thus, like another Elijah, he took his flight by a fiery chariot into heaven, and obtained the martyr's crown on the 1st of March, 1546.

Thus lived, and thus died this faithful witness of Jesus Christ; he was early marked out as a sacrifice to papal tyranny, being delated to the bishop of Brichen for an heretic, because he taught the Greek new Testament to his scholars, while he kept school at Montrose; he was summoned by him, to appear before him, but escaped into England, and at the university of Cambridge completed his education, and was himself an instructor of others; During the whole

whole time he was in his own country, he was hunted as a *partridge in the mountains*, until the cardinal got him brought to the ſtake. Through the whole of his ſufferings, his meekneſs and patience were very remarkable, as was that uncommon meaſure of the ſpirit of prophecy which he poſſeſſed; witneſs the circumſtances relative to Dundee, Haddington, the reformation from popery, and the cardinal's death, all of which were foretold by him, and ſoon after accompliſhed.

The popiſh clergy rejoiced at his death, and extolled the cardinal's courage, for proceeding in it againſt the governor's order; but the people very juſtly looked upon him as both a prophet and a martyr. It was alſo ſaid, that abſtracting from the grounds of his ſuffering, his death was no leſs than murder, in regard no writ was obtained for it, and the clergy could not burn any without a warrant from the ſecular power. This ſtirred up Norman, and John Leſlies of the family of Rothes, William Kircaldie of Grange, James Melvil of the family of Carnbee, Peter Carmichael and others, to avenge Mr. Wiſhart's death. Accordingly upon the 28th of May, 1546, (not three months after Mr. Wiſhart ſuffered) they ſurprized the caſtle early in the morning, and either ſecured or turned out the perſons who were lodged in it; came to the cardinal's door, who was by this time alarmed, and had ſecured it, but upon their threatening to force open the door, he opened it, (relying partly upon the ſanctity of his office, and partly on his acquaintance with ſome of them) crying, "I am a "prieſt, I am a prieſt;" but this had no effect upon them, for James Melvil having exhorted him in a ſolemn manner to repentance, and having apprized him, that he was now to avenge Mr. Wiſhart's death, he ſtabbed him twice or thrice; which ended his wretched days. Theſe perſons, with ſome others who came in to them, held the caſtle out for near two years, being aſſiſted by England; they had the governor's eldeſt ſon with them, for he had been put under the cardinal's care, and was in the caſtle at the time they ſurprized it. The caſtle was at laſt beſieged by the French, and ſurrendered upon having the lives of all that were in it ſecured.

Betwixt this and the time of Mr. Walter Mill's ſufferings, whoſe life follows, one Adam Wallace, *alias* Fean, a ſimple but very zealous man, was taken at Winton, and was brought to his trial in the Blackfriars church in Edinburgh, where he was charged with articles of hereſy, ſimilar to thoſe with which others before him had been charged.

He was condemned and burnt in the caſtle-hill, ſuffering with great patience and reſolution.

There were others condemned before that time, among whom were Robert Forreſter gentleman, Sir Duncan Simſon prieſt, Friar Killore, Friar Beveridge, and dean Thomas Forreſt a canon, regular and vicar of Dollar, who were all burnt at one ſtake upon the caſtle-hill of Edinburgh, February 1538.

The Life of Mr. WALTER MILL.

HE was born about the year 1476, was educated in the Popiſh religion, and made prieſt of Lunan in the ſhire of Angus, where he remained until he was accuſed by the biſhop of St. Andrews of having left off ſaying maſs, which he had done long before this time, being condemned by the cardinal on that account, in the year 1538.; but he eſcaped the flames for this time, by flying into Germany, where he married a wife, and was more perfectly inſtructed in the true religion; after which he returned home, but kept himſelf as retired as poſſible; during which time he went about reproving vice and inſtructing people in the grounds of religion, which coming at length to the ears of the eccleſiaſtics, in 1558, he was, by order of the biſhops, apprehended in Dyſart in the ſhire of Fife by two prieſts, and impriſoned in the caſtle of St. Andrews, where the Papiſts, both by threatening and flattery, laboured with him to recant, offering him a place in the abbey of Dunfermline all the days of his life, if he would deny what he had already taught. But continuing conſtant in his opinions, he was brought to a trial before the biſhops of St. Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caithneſs, *&c.* who were aſſembled in the cathedral of St. Andrews. When he came to make his defence, he was ſo old, feeble and lame, that it was feared none would hear him; but as ſoon as he began to ſpeak, he ſurprized them all, his voice made the church to ring, and his quickneſs and courage amazed his very enemies.

At firſt he kneeled and prayed for ſome time, after which one Sir Andrew Oliphant a prieſt, called to him to ariſe, and anſwer to the articles of charge, ſaying, "You "keep my lord of St. Andrews too long here;" nevertheleſs

leſs he continued ſome time in prayer, and when he aroſe, ſaid, "I ought to obey God more than man. I ſerve a "mightier Lord than your lord is, and whereas you call "me *Sir Walter*, they call me *Walter*; I have been too "long one of the pope's knights: Now ſay what you have "to ſay."

Oliphant *began his Interrogations as follows:*

Olip. Thou ſayeſt there are not ſeven ſacraments?

Mill. Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptiſm, and take you all the reſt.

Oliph. What think you of a prieſt's marriage?

Mill. I think it a bleſſed bond ordained by God, and approved of by Chriſt, and free to all ſorts of men; but ye abhor it, and in the meanwhile take other men's wives and daughters: Ye vow chaſtity, and keep it not.

Oliph. How ſayeſt thou that the maſs is idolatry?

Mill. A lord or king calleth many to dinner, they come and ſit down, but the lord himſelf turneth his back, and eateth up all; and ſo do you.

Olip. Thou denieſt the ſacrament of the altar to be the real body of Chriſt in fleſh and blood?

Mill. The ſcriptures are to be underſtood ſpiritually and not carnally, and ſo your maſs is wrong, for Chriſt was once offered on the croſs for ſin, and will never be offered again, for then he put an end to all ſacrifice.

Oliph. Thou denieſt the office of a biſhop?

Mill. I affirm that thoſe you call biſhops do no biſhop's work, but live after ſenſual pleaſure, taking no care of Chriſt's flock, nor regarding his word.

Oliph. Thou ſpeakeſt againſt pilgrimage, and ſayeſt, It is a pilgrimage to whoredom?

Mill. I ſay pilgrimage is not commanded in ſcripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, except in brothel-houſes.

Oliph. You preach privately in houſes, and ſometimes in the field?

Mill. Yea, and on the ſea alſo when ſailing in a ſhip.

Then ſaid *Oliphant*, "If you will not recant, I will pro-"nounce ſentence againſt you."

To this he replied, "I know I muſt die once, and there-"fore as Chriſt ſaid to Judas, *What thou doſt, do quickly*: "you ſhall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am "corn and not chaff: I will neither be blown away by the "wind, nor burſt with the flail, but will abide both."

Then

Then Oliphant, as the mouth of the court, was ordered to pronounce ſentence againſt him, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal judge, and burnt as an heretic. But they could not procure one as a temporal judge to condemn him. One Learmond, then provoſt of the town, and bailie of the biſhop's regality, refuſed it, and went out of town; the people of the place were ſo moved at his conſtancy, and offended at the wrong done to him, that they refuſed to ſupply ropes to bind him, and other materials for his execution, whereby his death was retarded for one day. At laſt one Somerville, a domeſtic of the biſhop, undertook to act the part of temporal judge, and the ropes of the biſhop's pavilion were taken to ſerve the purpoſe.

All things being thus prepared, he was led forth by Somerville with a guard of armed men to his execution; being come to the place, ſome cried out to him to recant, to whom he anſwered, "I marvel at your rage, ye hypo-"crites, who do ſo cruelly purſue the ſervants of God; as "for me, I am now eighty-two years old, and cannot live "long by courſe of nature; but an hundred ſhall riſe out "of my aſhes, who ſhall ſcatter you, ye hypocrites and "perſecutors of God:s people; and ſuch of you as now "think yourſelves the beſt, ſhall not die ſuch an honeſt "death as I now do; I truſt in God, I ſhall be the laſt who "ſhall ſuffer death, in this faſhion, for this cauſe in this "land." Thus his conſtancy increaſed as his end drew near. Being ordered by Oliphant to go up to the ſtake, he refuſed, and ſaid, "No, I will not go, except thou "put me up with thy hand, for by the law of God I am "forbidden to put hands to myſelf, but if thou wilt put "to thy hand, and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee "me go up gladly." Then Oliphant putting him foreward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, ſaying, *Introibo ad altare Dei*, and deſired that he might be permitted to ſpeak to the people; he was anſwered by Oliphant, "That he had ſpoken too much already, and the "biſhops were exceedingly diſpleaſed with what he had "ſaid." But ſome youths took his part, and bid him ſay on what he pleaſed; he firſt bowed his knees and prayed, then aroſe and ſtanding upon the coals addreſſed the people to this effect, "Dear friends, the cauſe why I ſuffer "this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge, though "I acknowledge myſelf a miſerable ſinner before God, "but only for the defence of the truths of Jeſus Chriſt

"ſet

"ſet forth in the old and new Teſtament; I praiſe God "that he hath called me among the reſt of his ſervants, to "ſeal up his truth with my life; as I have received it of "him, ſo I again willingly offer it up for his glory; there- "fore, as ye would eſcape eternal death, be no longer ſe- "duced with the lies of biſhops, abbots, friars, monks, "and the reſt of that ſect of Antichriſt, but depend only "upon Jeſus Chriſt and his mercy, that ſo ye may be de- "livered from condemnation."—During this ſpeech, loud murmurs and lamentations were heard among the multitude, ſome admiring the patience, boldneſs and conſtancy of this martyr, others complaining of the hard meaſures and cruelty of his perſecutors. After having ſpoken as above, he prayed a little while, and then was drawn up and bound to the ſtake, and the fire being kindled, he cried, "Lord, have mercy on me: Pray, pray, good peo- "ple, while there is time." And ſo cheerfully yielded up his ſoul into the hands of his God on the twenty-eighth of April, *anno* 1558, being then about the eighty-ſecond year of his age.

The fortitude and conſtancy of this martyr affected the people ſo much, that they heaped up a great pile of ſtones on the place where he had been burned, that the memory of his death might be preſerved, but the prieſts gave orders to have it taken down and carried away, denouncing a curſe on any who ſhould lay ſtones there again; but that anathema was ſo little regarded, that what was thrown down in the day-time was raiſed again in the night, until at laſt the papiſts carried away the ſtones to build houſes in or about the town, which they did in the night, with all poſſible ſecreſy.

The death of this martyr brought about the downfal of popery in Scotland, for the people in general were ſo much inflamed, that reſolving openly to profeſs the truth, they bound themſelves by promiſes, and ſubſcriptions of oaths, That before they would be thus abuſed any longer they would take arms, and reſiſt the papal tyranny, which they at laſt did.

The Life of JAMES STUART, *Earl of Moray.*

HE was a natural ſon of K. James V. and brother by the father's ſide to Mary queen of Scots; in his infancy he was put under the celebrated George Buchanan, who inſtilled ſuch principles into his mind in early life, as by the divine bleſſing made him an honour to the Scottiſh nation.

The reader cannot expect a very minute detail of all the heroic and patriotic deeds of this worthy nobleman, conſidering the ſtation which he filled, and his activity in the diſcharge of the duties belonging to it.

He was the principal agent in promoting the work of reformation from popery. On the firſt dawning of it in the year 1555, he attended the preaching of Mr. John Knox at Calder, where he often wiſhed that his doctrine had been more public, which was an open profeſſion of his love and zeal for the true religion.

He went over to France with ſome other Scottiſh noblemen at the time of his ſiſter's marriage with the dauphine, where his companions were ſuppoſed to have peen poiſoned, for they died in France: He eſcaped by the interpoſition of a kind providence, but retained a weak and diſordered ſtomach all his life; this did not however unfit him for theſe ſervices which he did to religion and his country after this.

In the year 1556, he and Argyle wrote to Mr. Knox at Geneva, to return to Scotland, in order to further the reformation. Upon which, after having been detained ſome time at Diep, Mr Knox returned in the year 1559, and went to St. Johnſtoun, where the reforming congregation reſorted to him; which coming to the ears of the queen-regent, ſhe ſent the earl of Argyle and Lord James (for that was the earl of Moray's title at this time) to know the intent of ſo great an aſſembly. Mr. Knox returned this anſwer, That "her enterprize would not proſper in the end, ſeeing that "ſhe intended to fight againſt God, &c." Upon receiving this reply, ſhe ſummoned them to depart from the town of St. Johnſtoun; but afterwards hearing of the daily increaſe of their numbers, ſhe gave them leave to depart peaceably, with many fair promiſes, that they ſhould meet with no further danger. On which they obeyed and left the town, but they had no ſooner done ſo, than ſhe with her French guards entered it in a moſt outrageous manner, telling

telling the inhabitants, That no faith ſhould be kept with heretics.—This flagrant breach of promiſe provoked Lord James to that degree, that he left the queen, and joined the lords of the congregation (for ſo they were afterwards called). Aſſoon as the queen got intelligence of this, ſhe ſent a threatening letter to him and Argyle (for they ſtuck together on almoſt all occaſions) commanding them to return, but to no purpoſe; for they went to Fife, and there began to throw down and remove the monuments of idolatry: Here they continued for ſome time; but being informed that the queen intended to go to Stirling, they went off from Perth late in the night, and entered Stirling with their aſſociates where they immediately demoliſhed the monaſteries, and purged the churches of idolatry. Such was the zeal of theſe worthy noblemen for the intereſt of the reformed religion in Scotland.

From Stirling they marched for Edinburgh, purging all the ſuperſtitious relicts of idolatry out of Linlithgow in their way.—Theſe ſummary proceedings alarmed the queen regent, inſomuch that her zeal for the Romiſh idolatry, gave way to her fears about her civil authority. To make the conduct of theſe reformers the more odious to the unthinking part of the nation, ſhe gave out that they were in open rebellion againſt her, and that they made a pretence of religion, but that the real deſign was to ſet lord James on the throne (there being now no male-heir to the crown). Theſe inſinuations ſhe found means to tranſmit to lord James himſelf, in a letter ſaid to be forged in the names of Francis and Mary the king and queen of France, wherein he was further upbraided with ingratitude on account of the favours they pretended that th y had ſhown him, and threatened to lay down his arms and return to his allegiance. To this letter, (notwithſtanding there were ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect it was forged) he nevertheleſs returned a reſolute anſwer, declaring that he was not conſcious to himſelf, either in word or deed, of any offence either againſt the regent or laws; but in regard the nobility had undertaken the reformation of religion, which was delayed, and ſeeing they aimed at nothing but the glory of God, he was willing to bear the reproach which the enemies of religion would load him with, neither was it juſt for him to deſert that cauſe which had Chriſt himſelf for its head and defender, whom, unleſs they would voluntarily deny, they could not give up that enterprize in which they were imbarked.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the lords of the congregation being then in and about Edinburgh, there were to the number of 3000 French landed at Leith at different times, to ſupport the queen regent, between whom and the lords of the congregation there were ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, with little ſucceſs on either ſide; yet the lords retired to Stirling, leaving the French for a time maſters of the field, but not without apprehenſions of danger from the arrival of an Engliſh fleet, which was then expected. In the mean time, they went over to Fife, ſpreading devaſtation every where around them without reſiſtance: Whereupon the queen regent thus expreſſed herſelf, "Where is John Knox's God now, my God is ſtronger, even now in Fife." This impious boaſt laſted not long, for Argyle and lord James went to the town of Dyſart immediately to ſtop their career along the coaſt. The French were 4000 ſtrong, beſides the Scots who adhered to them; the army of the congregation were not above 600 men, yet they behaved with ſuch courage and reſolution, as for twenty days ſucceſſively they faced this army, and for each man ehey loſt in every ſkirmiſh, the French loſt four. As an evidence of the uncommon attention which theſe two noblemen beſtowed on this buſineſs, they never put off their cloaths during the whole time, and ſlept but little.

In the month of June the queen regent died, and a little after her Francis king of France died likewiſe, by which Scotland was delivered from this foreign army.——About this time lord James went over to France, to viſit his ſiſter Mary; after ſettling matters in Scotland as well as he could, he was attended by a ſplendid retinue, but appears to have met with a cold reception: After ſeveral converſations with Queen Mary, ſhe told him, That ſhe intended to return home. During his ſtay at Paris, he met with many inſults on account of his known attachment to the reformed religion: A box containing ſome valuable things was ſtole from him; ſeveral perſons were likewiſe hired to aſſaſſinate him in the ſtreet: he was apprized of his danger by an old friend of his own, but not before he was almoſt involved in it, being inſtantly ſurrounded by a rabble, calling out *Hugenot*, *hugenot*, and throwing ſtones; he made his way through them on horſeback. Soon after this he left Paris, and returned home in May 1561, with a commiſſion from the queen, appointing him regent until her return, which was in Auguſt following, when, as Knox expreſſes it, "Dolour and darkneſs came along with "her," for tho' juſtice and equity were yet adminiſtered,

and

and crimes were puniſhed, becauſe the adminiſtration of civil affairs was yet in the hands of lord James, who for his management of public concerns was beloved by all, yet upon the queen's arrival, French levity and diſſipation ſoon corrupted the court to a very high degree.

About this time a banditti called the moſs-troopers broke in upon the borders of Scotland, committing very alarming depredations, by robbing and murdering all that came in their way. The queen ſent lord James with a ſmall force to oppoſe them, not with the intention that he might have the opportunity of acquiring military reputation, but to expoſe him to danger, that, if poſſible, ſhe might get rid of him, for his popularity made her very uneaſy, and his fidelity and boldneſs in reproving her faults, and withſtanding her tyrannical meaſures, made him ſtill more the object of her hatred and diſguſt. But, contrary to the expectations of many, God ſo proſpered him in this expedition, that in a ſhort time he brought twenty-eight ring-leaders of this band to public execution, and obliged the reſt to give hoſtages for their better behaviour in time-coming. Thus he returned crowned with laurels, and was immediately created earl of Marr, and in the February following he was made earl of Moray, with the univerſal approbation of all good men. Some thought this act of the queen was intended by her to conciliate his affections, and make him of her party. About this time he married a daughter of the earl of Marſhal, according to Knox, (Buchanan ſays, the earl of March); the marriage was made publicly in the church of Edinburgh; after the ceremony was over, the preacher (probably Mr. Knox) ſaid to him, "Sir, the "church of God hath received comfort by you, and by "your labours unto this day; if you prove more faint "therein afterward, it will be ſaid that your wife hath "changed your nature, &c."

It may be obſerved, that hitherto the nobility appeared very much united in their meaſures for promoting the intereſt of religion; this was ſoon at an end, for the noblemen at court broke out into factions: Among whom the earl of Bothwel, envying the proſperity of Moray, ſtirred up ſome feuds between him and the Hamiltons, which increaſed to that height, that they laid a plot for his life, which Bothwel took in hand to execute, while he was with the queen his ſiſter at Falkland; but the earl of Arran deteſting ſuch an action, ſent a letter privately to the earl of Moray diſcovering the whole conſpiracy, by which he eſcaped that danger: Bothwel fled from juſtice into France,

but his emiſſaries were not leſs active in his abſence than they had been while he headed them in perſon, for another deſign was formed againſt his life, by one Gordon, while he was with the queen at Dumbarton. But this proved ineffectual alſo.

Soon after, the queen received letters from the pope and her uncles the Guiſes of France, requeſting her to put the earl of Moray out of the way, becauſe, they found by experience, that their intereſt in Scotland could not proſper while he was alive; upon this the faction againſt him became more inſolent and appeared in arms: they were at firſt ſuppreſſed, but ſoon aſſembled again, to the number of eight hundred men: This body he was obliged to fight, with little more ſtrength, in which he could confide, than an hundred horſe; notwithſtanding this diſparity, by the divine bleſſing, he obtained a complete victory, killing of them a hundred and twenty, and taking a hundred priſoners, among whom were Huntly himſelf and his two ſons; it is ſaid he did not loſe a ſingle man. He returned to Aberdeen with the priſoners, late in the night, where he had appoiuted a miniſter of the goſpel to meet him, with whom he returned thanks to God for ſuch a deliveranee, exceeding the expectations of all men.

The earl of Bothwel was ſoon after this re-called by the queen from France; upon his arrival, Moray accuſed him for his former treaſonable prectices, and commenced a proceſs at law againſt him. Bothwel knew he could not ſtand an open ſcrutiny, but relied upon the queen's favour, which he knew he poſſeſſed in a very high degree, and which increaſed ſo much the more as her enmity to Moray on account of his popularity was augmented. This led her to join more warmly in the conſpiracy with Bothwel againſt his life; a new plot was the reſult of their joint deliberations, which was to be executed in the following manner; Moray was to be ſent for, with only a few attendants, to ſpeak with the queen at Perth, where Lord Darnly (then in ſuit to her for marriage) was; they knew that Moray would ſpeak his mind freely, upon which they were to quarrel with him, in the heat of which David Rizzio was to ſtrike the firſt blow, and all the reſt were to follow: But of this deſign alſo he got previous intelligence by a friend at the court, nevertheleſs he reſolved to go, until adviſed by one Patrick Ruthven; he turned aſide to his mother's houſe, and there ſtaid till this ſtorm was over alſo.

The

The earl of Moray foreſeeing what would be the conſequence of the queen's marriage with Lord Darnly *, ſet himſelf to oppoſe it, but finding little attention paid to any thing he ſaid on that ſubject in the convention of eſtates, he choſe rather to abſent himſelf for ſome time, and accordingly retired to the border, where he ſtaid until the queen's marriage with Darnly was over.

The remarkable tragical events which ſucceeded, diſguſted Moray more and more at the court; with theſe the public are well acquainted: The murder of Darnly, and Mary's after-marriage with the aſſaſſin of her huſband, has occaſioned too much ſpeculation of late years, not to be known to every one in the leaſt acquainted with the Scottiſh hiſtory. Moray now found it impoſſible to live at a court where his implacable enemy was ſo highly honoured; Bothwel inſulted him openly; whereupon he aſked leave of the queen to travel abroad, and ſhe, being willing to get rid of him at all events, granted his deſire, upon his promiſe not to make any ſtay in England. He went over to France, where he remained until he heard that the queen was in cuſtody in Loch-levin, and that Bothwel had fled to Denmark; and then returned home. Upon his arrival he was made regent, by the joint conſent of the queen and nobles, *anno* 1567, during the young king's minority.

He entered on the exerciſe of his office as regent, in the ſpring following, and reſolved with himſelf to make a tour through the whole kingdom to ſettle the courts of juſtice, to repair what was wrong, *&c.* But his adverſaries the Hamiltons, perceiving, that by the prudence and diligence of this worthy nobleman, the intereſt of religion would be revived, than which nothing could be more diſagreeable to them, who were diſſipated and licentious in an extreme degree, they could not endure to be regulated by law, and never ceaſed crying out againſt his adminiſtration. They fixed up libels in different places, full of dark inſinuations, by which it was underſtood that his deſtruction

* The queen and Darnly became ſo irreconcileable, that as he never reſted until he had cauſed the Italian Rizzio to be murdered, the queen never reſted till ſhe cauſed her huſband to be murdered, and divine juſtice after all never reſted till it had cauſed her to be murdered; ſo that blood followed blood, till the whole knot was deſtroyed.

DE FOE's memoirs, p. 59.

tion was meditating †. Some aſtrologers told him that he would not live beyond ſuch a day; by which it appeared they were not ignorant of the deſigns formed againſt him. All this had no effect upon his reſolution; his common reply was, That "he knew well enough he muſt die one "time or other, and that he could not part with his life "more nobly, than by procuring the public tranquillity of "his native country." He cauſed ſummon a convention of eſtates to meet at Glaſgow for the redreſs of ſome grievances, which that part of the country particularly laboured under.

But while he was thus engaged, he received intelligence that the queen had eſcaped from Lochlevin caſtle, and was come to Hamiltoun, where thoſe of her faction were aſſembling with the utmoſt haſte, whereupon a hot diſpute aroſe in council, whether the regent, and his attendants ſhould repair to the young king at Stirling, or ſtay and obſerve the motions of the queen and her party; but in the very time of theſe deliberations, a hundred choſen men arrived in town from Lothian, and many more from the adjacent country were approaching: This made them reſolve to ſtay where they were, and refreſh themſelves for one day, after which they determined to march out and face the enemy. But the queen's army, being 6500 ſtrong, reſolved to make their way by Glaſgow to lodge the queen in Dumbarton caſtle, and afterwards either to fight the regent, or protract the war at pleaſure.

The regent being let into this deſign of the enemy, drew his army out the town, to obſerve which way they intended to paſs; he had not above 4000 men; they diſcovered the queen's army paſſing along the ſouth-ſide of the river Clyde. Moray commanded the foot to paſs the bridge, and the horſe to ford the river, and marched out to

† Sir James Melvil of Halhill, in his memoirs, from page 173 to page 178, ſeems to inſinuate, that altho' the earl of Moray was at firſt of a gentle nature, religiouſly educated, well inclined, good, wiſe, *&c.* yet when he was advanced to the helm of government, through the mean of flatterers, he became more proud and rough in his proceedings, which, together with his too remiſs conduct anent his own preſervation after ſo many warnings, was the cauſe of his own ruin.—And ſays further, That he was compelled ſometimes to receive and apply divers ſentences of Solomon concerning chancellors and rulers to this good regent, which he ordered him to commit to writing that he might carry them in his pocket: But before he was ſlain, this different gloſs on the life and character of Moray is contradicted, in ſubſtance, by the hiſtorians, Knox and Buchanan.

to a ſmall village, called Langſide, upon the river Cart. They took poſſeſſion of a riſing ground before the enemy could well diſcover their intention, and drew up in the order of battle. The earls of Morton, Semple, Hume and Patrick Lindſay on the right, and the earls of Marr, Glencairn, Monteith with the citizens of Glaſgow, were on the left, and the muſqueteers were placed in the valley below. The queen's army approaching, a very briſk but ſhort engagement enſued; the earl of Argyle, who was commander in chief of the queen's troops, falling from his horſe, they gave way, ſo that the regent obtained a complete victory; but, by his clement conduct, there was very little blood ſpilt in the purſuit. The queen, who all the while remained with ſome horſe at about the diſtance of a mile from the place of action, ſeeing the rout, eſcaped and fled for England, and the regent returned to Glaſgow, where they returned thanks to God for their deliverance from popery and papiſts, who threatened to overturn the work of God among them. This battle was fought upon the 13th of May, 1568.

After this the regent ſummoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh; which the queen's party laboured to hinder, with all their power. In the mean time, letters were received from the queen of England, requiring them to put off the meeting of parliament until ſhe was made acquainted with the whole matter, for ſhe ſaid, She could not bear with the affront which her kinſwoman ſaid ſhe had received from her ſubjects.—The parliament however aſſembled, and after much reaſoning it was reſolved to ſend commiſſioners to England to vindicate their conduct; but none conſenting to undertake this buſineſs, the regent reſolved upon going himſelf, and accordingly choſe three gentlemen, two miniſters, two lawyers, and Mr. George Buchanan to accompany him; and with a guard of 100 horſe they ſet out, and arrived at York, the appointed place of conference, on the 4th of October. After ſeveral meetings with the Engliſh commiſſioners to little purpoſe, the queen called the regent up to London. that ſhe might be better ſatisfied by perſonal converſation with him, about the ſtate of theſe affairs. But the ſame difficulties ſtood in his way here as at York; he refuſed to enter upon the accuſation of his ſiſter the queen of Scots, unleſs Elizabeth would engage to protect the king's party, provided the queen was found guilty.

But, while matters were thus remaining in ſuſpence at London, Mary had ſtirred up a new commotion in Scotland

land by means of one James Balfour, ſo that the regent found himſelf exceedingly embarraſſed, and therefore reſolved to bring the matter to a concluſion as ſoon as poſſible. After ſeveral interviews with the queen and council, in which the regent and his party ſupported the ancient rights of their country, and wiped off the aſperſions many had thrown on themſelves, which Buchanan narrates at large, book XIX, A deciſion was given in their favours, and the regent returned home loaded with honours by Elizabeth, and attended by the moſt illuſtrious of the Engliſh court, eſcorted by a ſtrong guard to Berwick, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 2d of February, where he was received with acclamations of joy, particularly by the friends of the true religion.

During his adminiſtration, many ſalutary laws in favour of civil and religious liberty, were made, which rendered him more and more the object of popiſh malice. At laſt they reſolved at all events to take his life; the many unſucceſsful attempts formerly made, only ſerved to render them more bold and daring. Though the queen was now at a diſtance, yet ſhe found means to encourage her party, and perhaps the hope of delivering her at length, gave ſtrength to their reſolution. One James Hamilton of Bothwel-haugh, nephew to the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, incited by his uncle and others, undertakes to make away with the regent, when a convenient opportunity offered itſelf: He firſt lay in wait for him at Glaſgow, and then at Stirling, but both failed him; after which, he thought Linlithgow the moſt proper place for perpetrating that execrable deed; his uncle had a houſe near the regent's, in which he concealed himſelf, that he might be in readineſs for the aſſaſſination. Of this deſign the regent got intelligence likewiſe, but paid not that regard to the danger he was expoſed to, which he ſhould; and would go no other way than that in which it was ſuſpected the ambuſh was laid; he truſted to the fleetneſs of his horſe in riding ſwiftly by the ſuſpected place; but the great concourſe of people who crouded together to ſee him, ſtopped up the way. Accordingly, he was ſhot from a wooden balcony, the bullet entering a little below the navel, came out at the reins, and killed the horſe of George Douglas behind him: The aſſaſſin eſcaped by a back-door. The regent told his attendants that he was wounded, and returned to his lodgings; it was at firſt thought the wound was not mortal, but his pain increaſing, he began to think of death. Some about him told him, That this was the

fruit

fruit of his lenity, in ſparing ſo many notorious offenders, and among the reſt his own murderer; but he replied, "Your importunity ſhall not make me repent my clemen-"cy." Having ſettled his private affairs, he committed the care of the young king to the nobles there preſent, and without ſpeaking a reproachful word of any, he departed this life on the 24d of January, 1570. according to Buchanan, 1571. but according to Spotiſwood, 1569.

Thus fell the earl of Moray (whom hiſtorians ordinarily call, The good regent) after he had eſcaped ſo many dangers: He was certainly a worthy governor. Both Buchanan and Spotſwood give him the following character: "His "death was lamented by all good men, who loved him as "the public father of his country, even his enemies con-"feſſed his merit when dead; they admired his valour in "war, his ready diſpoſition for peace, his activity in buſi-"neſs, in which he was commonly very ſucceſsful; the di-"vine favour ſeemed to ſhine on all his actions; he was ve-"ry merciful to offenders, and equitable in all his deciſions. "When the field did not call for his preſence, he was bu-"ſied in the adminiſtration of juſtice; by which means the "poor were not oppreſſed, and the terms of law-ſuits were "ſhortened.—His houſe was like a holy temple; after "meals he cauſed a chapter of the bible to be read, and "aſked the opinions of ſuch learned men as were preſent "upon it, not out of a vain curioſity, but from a deſire to "learn, and reduce to practice what it contained *." In a word, he was both in his public and private life, a pattern worthy of imitation, and happy would it be for us, that our nobles were more diſpoſed to walk in the paths which he trode;—for, "Above all his virtues, which were not a "few, he ſhined in piety towards God, ordering himſelf and "his family in ſuch a ſort as did more reſemble a church "than a court; for therein, beſides the exerciſe of devoti-"on, which he never omitted, there was no wickedneſs to "be ſeen, nay not an unſeemly or wanton word to be heard. "A man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongſt the "beſt governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed, and "therefore to this day honoured with the title of *The good* "*Regent* ‡."

* Buchanan's hiſtory, vol. II. P. 392.
‡ Spotſwood's hiſtory, P. 234.

The Life of Mr. JOHN KNOX.

MR. KNOX was born in Gifford near Haddington in East Lothian, in the year 1505. His father was related to the antient houſe of Ranferlie. When he left the grammar ſchool, he was ſent to the univerſity of St. Andrews, to ſtudy under Mr. John Mair, (a man of conſiderable learning at that time), and had the degree of maſter of arts conferred upon him, while very young. He excelled in philoſophy and polemical divinity, and was admitted into church orders before the uſual time appointed by the canons. Then laying aſide all unneceſſary branches of learning, he betook himſelf to the reading of the antients, particularly Auguſtine's and Jerome's works, with whom he was exceedingly pleaſed. He profited conſiderably by the preaching of Thomas Guilliam, a black friar, of ſound judgment and doctrine; his diſcourſes led him to ſtudy the holy ſcriptures more cloſely, by which his ſpiritual knowledge was increaſed, and ſuch a zeal for the intereſt of religion begotten in him, as he became the chief inſtrument in accompliſhing the primitive reformation.

He was a diſciple of Mr. George Wiſhart (as the reader has already ſeen in the account of his life), which procured him the hatred of the Popiſh clergy, who could not endure that light which diſcovered their idolatrous darkneſs.

After the death of cardinal Beaton, he retired into the caſtle of St. Andrews, where he was confined for ſome time, but the caſtle being obliged to ſurrender to the French, he became their priſoner, and was ſent aboard the gallies, from whence he made his eſcape about the year 1550, and went to England, where he preached for ſeveral years in Berwick, Newcaſtle and London, with great applauſe; his fame at laſt reached the years of king Edward VI. who offered him a biſhopric, which he rejected, as contrary to his principles.

During his ſtay in England, he was called before the council, and required to anſwer the following queſtions:

1. Why he refuſed the benefice provided for him at London?

2. Whether he thought that no Chriſtian might ſerve in the eccleſiaſtical miniſtration, according to the laws and rites of the realm of England?

3. If kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent?

To

To the firſt he ſaid, That his conſcience witneſſed to him that he might profit more in ſome other place than in London. To the ſecond, That many things needed reformation in the miniſtry of England, without which no miniſter did or could diſcharge his duty before God; for no miniſter in England had authority to ſeparate the leprous from the whole, which was a chief part of his office, and that he refuſed no office which might in the leaſt promote God's glory and the preaching of Chriſt's goſpel. And to the third he replied, That Chriſt's action was moſt perfect, that it was moſt ſafe to follow his example, and that kneeling was a human invention. The anſwer which he gave to this queſtion, occaſioned a conſiderable deal of altercation betwixt the council and him. There were preſent the biſhops of Canterbury and Ely, the lord treaſurer, the earls of Northampton, Shrewſbury, *&c.* the lord chamberlain and the ſecretaries: After long reaſoning with him, he was deſired to take the matter into farther conſideration, and ſo was diſmiſſed.

After the death of king Edward, he retired to Geneva, but ſoon left that place and went to Francfort, upon the ſolicitation of the Engliſh congregation there; their letter to him was dated September 24th, 1554. While he was in this city, he wrote his admonition to England, and was ſoon involved in troubles, becauſe he oppoſed the Engliſh liturgy, and refuſed to communicate after the manner it enjoined. Meſſrs Iſaac and Parry, ſupported by the Engliſh doctors, not only got him diſcharged to preach, but accuſed him before the magiſtrates of high treaſon againſt the emperor's ſon Philip and the queen of England, and to prove the charge, they had recourſe to the above-mentioned admonition, in which they alledged he had called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. But the magiſtrates perceiving the deſign of his accuſers, and fearing leſt he ſhould ſome way or other fall into their hands, gave him ſecret information of his danger, and requeſted him to leave the city, for they could not ſave him if he ſhould be demanded by the queen of England in the emperor's name; and having taken the hint, he returned to Geneva.

Here he wrote an admonition to London, Newcaſtle and Berwick; a letter to Mary dowager of Scotland; an appeal to the nobility, and an admonition to the commons of his own country; and his firſt blaſt of the trumpet, *&c.* He intended to have blown this trumpet three times, if queen Mary's death had not prevented him; underſtand-

ing that an anſwer was to be given to his firſt blaſt, he deferred the publication of the ſecond, till he ſaw what anſwer was neceſſary for the vindication of the firſt.

While he was at Geneva, he contracted a cloſe intimacy with Mr. John Calvin, with whom he conſulted on every emergency. In the end of harveſt 1654, he returned home upon the ſolicitation of ſome of the Scots nobility, and began privately to inſtruct ſuch at reſorted to him in the true religion, among whom were the laird of Dun, David Forreſt and Elizabeth Adamſon, ſpouſe to James Baron burgeſs of Edinburgh. The idolatry of the maſs particularly occupied his attention, as he ſaw ſome remarkable for zeal and godlineſs drawn aſide by it; both in public and private he expoſed its impiety and danger; his labours ſucceeded ſo far, as to draw off ſome and alarm many others: In a converſation upon this ſubject at the laird of Dun's houſe in preſence of David Forreſt, Mr. Robert Lockhart, John Willock and William Maitland junr. of Lethington, he gave ſuch ſatisfactory anſwers to all the objections which were ſtarted by the company, that Maitland ended the converſation, ſaying, "I ſee very well that "all our ſhifts will ſerve nothing before God, ſeeing they "ſtand us in ſo ſmall ſtead before men." From this time forward the maſs was very little reſpected.

Mr. Knox continued a month at the laird of Dun's, preaching every day; the principal gentlemen of that country reſorted to his miniſtry. From thence he went to Calder, where the earl of Argyle (then lord Lorn) and lord James (afterwards earl of Moray) heard his doctrine, and highly approved of it.—During the winter he taught in Edinburgh, and in the beginning of the ſpring went to Kyle, where he preached in different places: The earl of Glencairn ſent for him to Finlaſton, where, after ſermon, he adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper, and then returned to Calder.

The people being thus inſtructed, began to refuſe all ſuperſtition and idolatry, and ſet themſelves to the utmoſt of their power to ſupport the true preaching of the goſpel. This alarmed the inferior popiſh clergy ſo much, that they came from all quarters complaining to the biſhops; whereupon Mr. Knox was ſummoned to appear in the black friars church of Edinburgh on the 15th of May following: which appointment he reſolved to obſerve, and accordingly came to Edinburgh in company with the laird of Dun, and ſeveral other gentlemen, but the diet did not hold, becauſe the biſhops were afraid to proceed further againſt him, ſo that,

that, on the ſame day that he ſhould have appeared before them, he preached to a greater audience in Edinburgh than ever he had done before. The earl of Marſhal being deſired by Lord Glencairn to hear Mr. Knox preach, complied, and was ſo delighted with his doctrine, that he immediately propoſed that ſomething ſhould be done to draw the queen regent to hear him likewiſe; he made this propoſal in a letter, which was delivered into her own hand by Glencairn. When ſhe had read it, ſhe gave it to Beaton *, arch-biſhop of Glaſgow, ſaying in ridicule, "Pleaſe "you, my lord, to read a paſquille."

About this time (1555) he received a letter from the Engliſh congregation at Geneva (who were not in communion with the congregation of that name at Francfort), in which they beſeech him, in the name of God, that as he was their choſen paſtor, he would ſpeedily come to them: In obedience to this call, he ſent his wife and mother-in-law before him to Dieppe, but by the importunity of ſome gentlemen he was prevailed on to ſtay ſome time behind them in Scotland, which he ſpent in going about exhorting the ſeveral congregations in which he had preached, to be fervent in prayer, frequent in reading the ſcriptures, and in mutual conferences till God ſhould give them greater liberty. The earl of Argyle was ſolicited to preſs Mr. Knox's ſtay in this country, but he could not ſucceed. Mr. Knox told them, That, if they continued earneſt in the profeſſion of the faith, God would bleſs theſe ſmall beginnings, but that he muſt for once go and viſit that little flock which the wickedneſs of men had compelled him to leave; and being thus reſolved, he went immediately to Geneva. As ſoon as he was gone, the biſhops cauſed ſummon him to their tribunal, and for *non*-compearance they burnt him *in effigy* on the croſs of Edinburgh; from which unjuſt ſentence, when he heard of it, he appealed to the nobility and commons of Scotland.

Upon the receipt of a letter dated March 10, 1556, ſubſcribed by the earls of Glencairn, Erſkine, Argyle, and Moray

* In the memoirs of the duke of Sully, prime miniſter to Henry IV of France. Vol. I. page 392. Edin. edit. 1773, there is the following note: James de Bethune, arch biſhop of Glaſgow in Scotland, came to Paris in quality of ambaſſador in ordinary from the queen of Scotland, and died there in 1603, aged 66 years, having 57 years ſuffered great vicſſitudes of fortune, ſince the violent death of cardinal de Bethune archbiſhop of St. Andrews his uncle, which happened in 1646: His epitaph may be ſtill ſeen in the church of St. John de Lateran.

Moray, Mr. Knox reſolved to return again into Scotland. Committing the care of his flock at Geneva to Mr. John Calvin, and coming to Dieppe, he wrote from thence to Mrs. Anna Locke, a declaration of his opinion of the Engliſh ſervice-book, expreſſing himſelf thus, "Our captain "Chriſt Jeſus and Satan his adverſary are now at open de- "fiance, their banners are diſplayed, and the trumpet is "blown on both ſides for aſſembling their armies: our "maſter calleth upon his own, and that with vehemency, "that they may depart from Babylon, yea he threateneth "death and damnation to ſuch as either in their forehead "or right-hand have the mark of the beaſt, and a portion "of this mark are all theſe dregs of papiſtry, which are "left in your great book of England (*viz.* croſſing in bap- "tiſm, kneeling at the Lord's table, mnmbling or ſinging "of the litany, *&c. &c.*) any one jot of which diabolical "inventions will I never counſel any man to uſe, *&c.*"

He was detained in this place much longer than expectation, which obliged the Scots nobility to renew their ſolicitations; which he complied with, and arrived in Scotland on the ſecond of May 1559, being then 54 years old. —He preached firſt at Dundee and afterwards at St. Johnſtoun, with great ſucceſs. About this time the queen put ſome preachers to the horn, prohibiting all upon pain of rebellion to comfort, relieve, or aſſiſt them; which enraged the multitude to that degree, that they would be reſtrained, neither by the preachers nor magiſtrates, from pulling down the images and other monuments of idolatry in St. Johnſtoun: which being told to the queen, it ſo enraged her, that ſhe vowed to deſtroy man, woman and child, in that town, and burn it to the ground. To execute this threat, ſhe cauſed her French army to march towards the place, but being informed that multitudes from the neighbouring country were aſſembling in the town for the defence of its inhabitants, her impetuoſity was checked, and ſhe reſolved to uſe ſtratagem where force could not avail her; accordingly ſhe ſent the earls of Argyle and Moray, to learn what was their deſign in ſuch commotions, Mr. Knox, in name of the reſt, made anſwer, "That the "preſent troubles ought to move the hearts of all the true "ſervants of God, and lovers of their country, to conſider "what the end of ſuch tyrannical meaſures would be, by "which the emiſſaries of Satan ſought the deſtruction of "all the friends of religion in the country. Therefore "I moſt humbly require of you, my lords, to tell the "queen, in my name, that we, whom ſhe, in her blind

"rage

"rage doth thus perſecute, are the ſervants of God, faithful "and obedient ſubjects of this realm, and that the religion "which ſhe would maintain by fire and ſword, is not the "true religion of Jeſus Chriſt, but expreſly contrary to the "ſame; a ſuperſtitious device of men, which I offer my-"ſelf to prove, againſt all who, in Scotland, maintain the "contrary, freedom of debate being allowed, and the "word of God being the judge. Tell her from me, that "her enterprize ſhall not ſucceed in the end, for ſhe fights "not againſt man only, but againſt the eternal God, *&c.*" Argyle and Moray promiſed to deliver this meſſage, and Mr. Knox preached a ſermon, exhorting them to conſtancy, adding, "I am perſuaded that this promiſe" (meaning the promiſe ſhe had made to do them no harm if they would leave the town peaceably) "ſhall be no longer kept "than the queen and her Frenchmen can get the upper "hand;" which accordingly happened when ſhe took poſſeſſion of the town, and put a garriſon of French in it. This breach of promiſe diſguſted the earls of Argyle and Moray to that degree, that they forſook her and joined the congregation. Having aſſembled with the laird of Dun and others, they ſent for Mr. Knox, who, in his way to them preached in Crail in Anſtruther, intending to preach next day at St. Andrews.

This deſign coming to the ears of the biſhop, he raiſed 100 ſpearmen, and ſent this meſſage to the lords, "That "if John Knox offered to preach there, he ſhould have a "warm military reception;" They, in their turn, forewarned Mr. Knox of his danger, and diſſuaded him from going; he made anſwer, "God is my witneſs, that I ne-"ver preached Jeſus Chriſt in contempt of any man, nei-"ther am I concerned about going thither: tho' I would "not willingly injure the worldly intereſt of any creature, I "cannot, in conſcience, delay preaching to-morrow, if I "am not detained by violence; as for fear of danger to my "perſon, let no man be ſolicitous about that, for my "life is in the hand of him whoſe glory I ſeek, and there-"fore I fear not their threats, ſo as to ceaſe from doing "my duty, when of his mercy God offereth the occaſion. "I deſire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me, "only I crave audience, which if denied to me here, at "this time, I muſt ſeek further where I may have it." The lords were ſatisfied that he ſhould fulfil his intention, which he did, with ſuch boldneſs and ſucceſs (without any interruption), that the magiſtrates and people of the town immediately

mediately after ſermon agreed to remove all monuments of idolatry; which they did, with great expedition.

After this, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued between the queen and lords of the congregation. But at laſt, the queen ſickened and died, and a general peace, which laſted for ſome time, was procured, during which, the commiſſioners of the Scots nobility (anno 1560), were employed in ſettling miniſters in different places. Mr. Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, where he continued until the day of his death.

The ſame year the Scots confeſſion was compiled and agreed upon; and that the church might be eſtabliſhed upon a good foundation, a commiſſion and charge was given to Mr. Knox and five others, to draw up a form of government and diſcipline of the church. When they had finiſhed it, they preſented it to the nobility, by whom it was afterwards ratified and approved of.

But this progreſs which was daily making in the reformation, ſoon met with a ſevere check by the arrival of queen Mary from France in Auguſt 1561.; with her came popery and all manner of profanity; the maſs was again publicly ſet up, at which the religious part of the nation were highly offended, and none more than Mr. Knox, who ceaſed not to expoſe the evil and danger of it on every occaſion: On which account the queen and court were much exaſperated. They called him before them, and charged him as guilty of high treaſon. The queen being preſent, produced a letter, wrote by him, wherein it was alledged that he had convocated her majeſty's lieges againſt law; whereupon a long reaſoning enſued between him and ſecretary Lethington upon the contents of ſaid letter; in which Mr. Knox gave ſuch ſolid and bold anſwers, in defence of himſelf and doctrine, that at laſt he was acquitted by the lords of the council, to the no ſmall diſpleaſure of the queen and thoſe of the popiſh party.

Mr. Knox, in a conference with the queen about this time, ſaid, "If princes exceed their bounds, they may be "reſiſted even by power, for there is no greater honour "and obedience to be paid to princes than God hath com-"manded to be given to father and mother. If children "join together againſt their father ſtricken with a frenzy, "and ſeeking to ſlay his own children, apprehend him, take "his ſword or other weapons from him, bind his hands, "and put him in priſon till his frenzy overpaſs, do they "any wrong, or will God be offended with them for hin-"dering their father from committing horrible murder?—

Even

"Even ſo, madam, if princes will murder the children of "God their ſubjects, their blind zeal is but a mad frenzy. "To take the ſword from them, to bind them, and to caſt "them into priſon till they be brought to a ſober mind, "is not diſobedience, but juſt obedience, becauſe it agree-"eth with the word of God." The queen hearing this, ſtood for ſome time as one amazed, and changed countenance. No appearance was, at this time, of her impriſonment *.

After the queen's marriage with Henry earl of Darnly, a proclamation was made in 1565, ſignifying, That foraſmuch as certain rebels who, under the colour of religion, (meaning thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of the court) intended nothing but the ſubverſion of the commonwealth, therefore they charged all manner of men, under pain of life, lands, and goods, to reſort and meet their majeſties at Linlithgow on the 24th of Auguſt. Upon Sabbath the 19th, the king came to the high church of Edinburgh, where Mr. Knox preached from theſe words, *O Lord our Lord, other lords, beſide thee, have had the dominion over us*, &c. In his ſermon he took occaſion to ſpeak of wicked princes, who, for the ſins of a people, were ſent as ſcourges upon them, and alſo ſaid, "That God ſet in that room "boys and women; and that God juſtly puniſhed Ahab "and his poſterity, becauſe he would not take order with "the harlot Jezebel." Theſe things enraged the king to a very high degree. Mr. Knox was immediately ordered before the council, who went thither attended by ſome of the moſt reſpectable citizens; when called in, the ſecretary ſignified that the king was much offended with ſome words in his ſermons, (as above-mentioned), and ordered him to abſtain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days; to which Mr. Knox anſwered, That he had ſpoken nothing but according to his text, and if the church would command him either to ſpeak or refrain from ſpeaking, he would obey ſo far as the word of God would permit him. Nevertheleſs, for this and another ſermon which he preached before the lords, in which he ſhewed the bad conſequences that would follow upon the queen's being married to a papiſt, he muſt be, by the queen's order, prohibited from preaching for a conſiderable time.

It cannot be expected, that we ſhould enumerate all the indefatigable labours, and pertinent ſpeeches which, on ſundry occaſions, he made to the queen, nor the oppoſition which he met with in promoting the work of reforma-

* Vide Calderwood's hiſtory, page 31.

tion; theſe will be found at large in the hiſtories of theſe times.

The popiſh faction now found, that it would be impoſſible to get their idolatry re-eſtabliſhed, while the reformation was making ſuch progreſs, and while Mr. Knox and his aſſociates had ſuch credit with the people.——They therefore ſet other engines to work, than theſe they had hitherto uſed; they ſpared no pains to blaſt his reputation by malicious calumnies, and even by making attempts upon his life; for, one night as he was ſitting at the head of a table in his own houſe, with his back to the window, (as was his cuſtom), he was fired at from the other ſide of the ſtreet, on purpoſe to kill him; the ſhot entered at the window, but he being near to the other ſide of the table, the aſſaſſin miſſed his mark: the bullet ſtruck the candleſtick before him, and made a hole in the foot of it: Thus was *he that was with him, ſtronger than they that were againſt him.*

Mr. Knox was an eminent wreſtler with God in prayer, and like a prince prevailed; the queen regent herſelf gave him this teſtimony, when, upon a particular occaſion, ſhe ſaid, She was more afraid of his prayers than of an army of ten thouſand men. He was likewiſe warm and pathetic in his preaching, in which ſuch prophetical expreſſions as dropt from him, had the moſt remarkable accompliſhment; as an inſtance of this, when he was confined in the caſtle of St. Andrews, he foretold both the manner of their ſurrender, and their deliverance from the French gallies; and when the lords of the congregation were twice diſcomfited by the French army, he aſſured them, in the mean time, that the Lord would proſper the work of reformation. Again, when queen Mary refuſed to come and hear ſermon, he bid them tell her, Thet ſhe would yet be obliged to hear the word of God whether ſhe would or not; which came to paſs at her arraignment in England. At another time he thus addreſſed himſelf to her huſband Henry, lord Darnly, while in the king's ſeat in the high church of Edinburgh, "Have you for the pleaſure of that dainty dame "caſt the pſalm book in the fire; the Lord ſhall ſtrike both "head and tail;" both king and queen died violent deaths. He likewiſe ſaid, when the caſtle of Edinburgh held out for the queen againſt the regent, that "the caſtle ſhould "ſpue out the captain (meaning the laird of Grange) with "ſhame, and that he ſhould not come out at the gate, but "over the wall, and that the tower called Davies tower "ſhould run like a ſand-glaſs;" which was fulfilled in a

ſe

few years after, the ſame captain being obliged to come over the wall on a ladder, with a ſtaff in his hand, and the ſaid forework of the caſtle running down like a ſand brae.

On the 24th of January 1570, Mr. Knox being in the pulpit, a paper was put into his hands among others, containing the names of the ſick people to be prayed for; the paper contained theſe words, "Take up the man whom "you accounted another God," (this alluded to the earl of Moray who was ſlain the day before). Having read it he put it in his pocket, without ſhewing the leaſt diſcompoſure. After ſermon, he lamented the loſs which both church and ſtate had met with in the death of that worthy nobleman, (meaning the regent) ſhewing, that God takes away good and wiſe rulers from a people in his wrath, and, at laſt, ſaid, "There is one in the company who maketh that hor-"rible murder, at which all good men have occaſion to be "ſorrowful, the ſubject of his mirth; I tell him, he ſhall "die in a ſtrange land, where he ſhall not have a friend "near him to hold up his head," One Mr. Thomas Maitland being the author of that inſulting ſpeech, and hearing what Mr. Knox ſaid, confeſſed the whole to his ſiſter the lady Trabrown, but ſaid, That John Knox was raving to ſpeak of he knew not whom; ſhe replied with tears, That none of Mr. Knox's threatenings fell to the ground. This gentleman afterwards went abroad, and died in Italy, on his way to Rome, having no man to aſſiſt him.

Mr. Knox's popularity was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that the malignant party, finding it impoſſible to alienate the hearts of the people from him, began now openly to work his deſtruction, fortifying the town and caſtle with their garriſons; they vented their malice againſt him by many furious threatenings. Upon which he was urged by his friends to leave Edinburgh for his own ſafety, which at laſt he did in May 1571, and went to St. Andrews, where the earl of Morton (who was then regent), urged him to inaugurate the archbiſhop of that ſee. This he declined, with ſolemn proteſtations againſt it, and denounced an anathema on the giver and receiver. Though he was then very weak in body, he would not refrain from preaching, and was obliged to be ſupported by his ſervant Richard Bannantyne, in going to church; and, when in the pulpit, he behoved to reſt ſometime before he could proceed to preach, but before he ended his ſermon, he became ſo vigorous and active, that he was like to have broken the pulpit to pieces.

Here he continued till the end of Auguſt 1572, when the civil broils were a little abated, upon which receiving a letter from Edinburgh, he returned to his flock. He was now much oppreſſed with the infirmities of old age, and the extraordinary fatigues he had undergone; the death of the good regent, the earl of Moray, had made deep impreſſions on him, but when he heard of the maſſacre of Paris *, and the murder of the good admiral Coligni, theſe melancholy news almoſt deprived him of his life. Upon finding his diſſolution approaching, he prevailed with the council and kirk-ſeſſion of Edinburgh, to concur with him in admitting one Mr. James Lawſon as his ſucceſſor, who was at that time profeſſor of philoſophy in the college of Aberdeen; he wrote a letter to Mr. Lawſon, intreating him to accept of this charge, adding this poſtſcript, *Accelera, mi frater, alioqui ſero venies*; i. e. Make haſte, my brother, otherwiſe you will come too late, meaning, that if he came not ſpeedily, he would find him dead: which words had this effect on Mr. Lawſon, that he ſet out immediately, making all poſſible haſte to Edinburgh, where, after he had preached twice to the full ſatisfaction of the people, the ninth of November was appointed for his admiſſion unto that congregation. Mr. Knox (though then ſtill weaker) preached upon that occaſion with much power, and with the greateſt comfort to the hearers. In the cloſe of his ſermon, he called God to witneſs, that he had walked in a good conſcience among them, not ſeeking to pleaſe men, nor ſerving his own nor other men's inclinations, but in all ſincerity and truth preaching the goſpel of Chriſt. Then praiſing God, who had given them one in his room, he exhorted them to ſtand faſt in the faith they had received, and having prayed fervently for the divine bleſſing upon them, and the increaſe of the Spirit upon their new paſtor, he gave them his laſt farewel, with which the congregation were much affected.

Being carried home, that ſame day he was confined to his bed, and, on the thirteenth of the month, was ſo enfeebled,

* In the ſpace of two or three days, there were about 70000 proteſtants murdered in cold blood in Paris, and other parts of France. This maſſacre was begun in the night of St. Bartholomew's day in the reign of Charles IX. of that kingdom; the king of Navarre, afterward Henry the Great, narrowly eſcaped on that occaſion, for he was then at Paris, on account of the ſolemnization of his marriage with Charles's ſiſter, which marriage the papiſts had contrived, in order to draw as many proteſtants into that city as poſſible, that they might have them in their power. See the account of this mournful event at large in Sully's memoirs, volume I.

feebled, that he was obliged to lay aſide his ordinary reading of the ſcripture. The next day he would riſe out of bed, being aſked, what he intended by getting out of bed? he replied, he would go to church, thinking that had been the Lord's day; he told them, he had been all the night meditating upon the reſurrection of Chriſt, which he ſhould have preached on in order after the death of Chriſt, which he had finiſhed the ſabbath before. He had often deſired of God, that he would end his days in teaching, and meditating upon that doctrine; which deſire ſeems to have been granted to him. Upon monday the 17th, the elders and deacons being come to him, he ſaid, "The time is "approaching, for which I have long thirſted, wherein I "ſhall be relieved and be free from all cares, and be with "my Saviour for ever; and now, God is my witneſs, whom "I have ſerved with my ſpirit in the goſpel of his Son, "that I have taught nothing but the true and ſolid doc-"trines of the goſpel, and that the end which I purpoſed "in all my doctrine, was to inſtruct the ignorant, to con-"firm the weak, to comfort the conſciences of thoſe that "were humbled under the ſenſe of their ſins, and to "denounce the threatenings of God's word againſt ſuch as "were rebellious. I am not ignorant, that many have "blamed me, and yet do blame my too great rigour and "ſeverity, but God knoweth, that, in my heart, I never "hated the perſons of thoſe againſt whom I thundered "God's judgments; I did only hate their ſins, and labour-"ed, according to my power, to gain them to Chriſt; that "I did forbear none of whatſoever condition, I did it out "of the fear of my God, who placed me in this function of "the miniſtry, and I know will bring me to an account." Then he exhprted them to conſtancy, and intreated them never to join with the wicked, but rather to chooſe with David to flee to the mountains, than to remain with ſuch company. After this exhortation to the elders and deacons, he charged Mr. David Lindſay and Mr. James Lawſon to take heed to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them overſeers: To Mr. Lawſon in particular, he ſaid, "Fight the good fight, do the work of "the Lord with courage and with a willing mind; and "God from above bleſs you and the church whereof you "have the charge, againſt which the gates of hell ſhall not "prevail." Then by prayer he recommended the whole company preſent to the grace of God, and afterwards deſired his wife, or Richard Bannantyne to read the 17th chapter of John, a chapter of the Epheſians, and the 33d

chapter

chapter of Iſaiah daily, after he was unable to read himſelf: Sometimes he deſired part of Mr. Calvin's ſermons in French to be read to him. One time when reading theſe ſermons, they ſuppoſed him to be ſleeping, and aſked him, If he heard what was read? he replied, "I hear, I praiſe "God, and underſtand far better."

One day after this, Mr. David Lindſay coming to ſee him, he ſaid unto him: "Well, brother, I thank God "I have deſired all this day to have had you, that I might "ſend you to that man in the caſtle, the laird of Grange, "whom you know I have loved dearly. Go, I pray you, and "tell him from me, in the name of God, that unleſs he "leave that evil courſe wherein he has entered, neither "ſhall that rock (meaning the caſtle of Edinburgh, which "he then kept out againſt the king) afford him any help, "nor the carnal wiſdom of that man, whom he counteth "half a god (meaning young Lethington), but he ſhall be "pulled out of that neſt, and brought down over the wall "with ſhame, and his carcaſe ſhall be hung before the ſun, "ſo God hath aſſured me." When Mr. David delivered this meſſage, the captain ſeemed to be much moved, but after a little conference with Lethington, he returned to Mr. Lindſay, aad diſmiſſed him with a diſdainful countenance and anſwer. When he reported this to Mr. Knox, he ſaid, "Well, I have been earneſt with my God anent "that man, I am ſorry that it ſhould ſo befal his body, "yet God aſſureth me, there is mercy for his ſoul. But "for the other (meaning Lethington), I have no warrant "to ſay that it ſhall be well with him." The truth of this ſeemed to appear in a ſhort time thereafter; for it was thought that Lethington poiſoned himſelf to eſcape public puniſhment; he lay unburied in the ſteeple of Leith until his body was quite corrupted; but Sir William Kirkaldie of Grange was, on the third of Auguſt next, executed at the croſs of Edinburgh; he cauſed Mr. Lindſay to repeat Mr. Knox's words concerning him a little before his execution, and was much comforted by them; he ſaid to Mr. Lindſay, (who accompanied him to the ſcaffold) "I hope, "when men ſhall think I am gone, I ſhall give a token of "the aſſurance of God's mercy to my ſoul, according to "the ſpeech of that man of God." Accordingly, when he was caſt over the ladder, with his face towards the eaſt, when all preſent thought he was dead, he lifted up his hands, which were bound, and let them fall ſoftly down again, as if praiſing God for his great mercy towards him.

See

See Spotſwood's hiſtory, page 266, 272. and Calderwood's hiſtory, page 62, 63.

Another of Mr. Knox's viſitors deſired him to praiſe God for the good he had done. He anſwered, "Fleſh of "itſelf is too proud, and needs nothing to puff it up," and proteſted that he only laid claim to the free mercy of God in Chriſt among others. To the earl of Morton (who was then about to receive the regency, the earl of Moray being dead) he was heard to ſay, "My lord, God hath given you "many bleſſings; he hath given you high honour, birth, "great riches, many good friends, and is now to prefer "you to the government of the realm: In his name, I "charge you, that you will uſe theſe bleſſings better in "time to come, than you have done in time paſt: in all "your actions ſeek firſt the glory of God, the furtherance "of his goſpel, the maintenance of his church and mini-"ſtry, and then be careful of the king, to procure his good "and the welfare of the kingdom. If you act thus, God "will be with you; if otherwiſe, he ſhall deprive you of "all theſe benefits, and your end ſhall be ſhameful and ig-"nominious." This threatening, Morton, to his melancholy experience, confeſſed was literally accompliſhed. At his execution in June 1581, he called to mind Mr. Knox's words, and acknowledged, that in what he had ſaid to him he had been a true prophet.

Upon the Lord's day, November 23, after he had lain for ſome time very quiet, he ſaid, "If any man be pre-"ſent, let him come and ſee the work of God;" for he thought (as was ſuppoſed) then to have expired. His ſervant having been ſent for Mr. Johnſton writer, he burſt forth into theſe words, "I have been in meditation theſe two "laſt nights upon the troubled kirk of God, deſpiſed in "the world, but precious in his ſight. I have called to "God for her, and commended her to Chriſt her head: I "have been fighting againſt Satan, who is ever ready for "the aſſault; I have fought againſt ſpiritual wickedneſſes "and have prevailed; I have been as it were in heaven, "and have taſted of its joys." After ſermon, ſeveral perſons came to viſit him; one aſked him (upon perceiving his breathing ſhortened), If he had any pain? He anſwered, "I have no more pain than he that is now in "heaven, and am content, if it pleaſe God, to lie here "ſeven years." Many times, when he was lying as if aſleep, he was in meditation, and was heard to ſay, "Lord, grant "true paſtors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may "be retained. Reſtore peace again to this commonwealth

"with

"with godly rulers and magiſtrates. O ſerve the Lord in "fear, and death ſhall not be troubleſome to you. Bleſ- "ſed is the death of thoſe that have part in the death of "Jeſus. Come, Lord Jeſus, ſweet Jeſus, into thy hand "I commend my ſpirit."

That night, Dr. Preſton being come to him, and was told by ſome of his conſtant attendants that he was often very uneaſy in his ſleep, the doctor aſked him after he awoke, how he did, and what made him mourn ſo heavily in his ſleep, he anſwered, "In my life-time, I have been "often aſſaulted by Satan, and many times he hath caſt my "ſins in my teeth, to bring me to deſpair; yet God gave "me ſtrength to overcome his temptations: and now that "ſubtile ſerpent, who never ceaſeth to tempt, hath taken "another courſe, and ſeeks to perſuade me, that all my "labours in the miniſtry, and the fidelity I have ſhowed "in that ſervice have merited heaven and immortality. "But bleſſed be God, that he hath brought to my mind "that ſcripture, *What haſt thou that thou haſt not received*, "and *not I, but the grace of God which is in me*, with which "he hath gone away aſhamed, and ſhall no more return, "and now I am ſure my battle is at an end, and that I "ſhall ſhortly, without pain of body or trouble of ſpi- "rit, change this mortal and miſerable life, for that hap- "py and immortal life that ſhall never have an end."

Having, ſome time before, given orders for making his coffin, he roſe out of bed, Nov. 24. about ten o'clock, and put on his hoſe and doublet, and ſat up about the ſpace of half an hour, and then returned to bed again. Being aſked by Kingincleugh, if he had any pain, he anſwered, "No "pain, but ſuch as, I truſt, will ſoon put an end to this "battle, yea, I do not eſteem that pain to me, which is the "beginning of eternal joy." In the afternoon he cauſed his wife to read the 15th chapter of 1 Cor. When it was ended, he ſaid, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" A little after, "I commend my ſoul, ſpirit and body into thy "hands, O Lord." About five o'clock at night, he ſaid to his wife, "Go, read where I caſt my firſt anchor;" this was the 17th chapter of John, which ſhe read, together with part of Calvin's ſermons on the Epheſians. They then went to prayer, after which Dr. Preſton aſked him, If he heard the prayer? he anſwered, "Would to God that "you and all men had heard it as I have done; I praiſe "God for that heavenly ſound;" adding, "Lord Jeſus, "receive my ſpirit" His ſervant, Richard Bannantyne, hearing him give a long ſigh, ſaid, "Now, Sir, the time

"you

"you have long called to God for, doth inſtantly come, "and, ſeeing all natural power fails, give us ſome ſign, "that you live upon the comfortable promiſes which you "have ſo often ſhewed to us." At this ſpeech he lifted up one of his hands, and immediately after, without any ſtruggle, as one falling aſleep, he departed this life about eleven o'clock at night, finiſhing his Chriſtian warfare, he entered into the joy of his Lord, to receive a crown of righteouſneſs prepared for him (and ſuch as him), from before the foundation of the world.

He was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles (now that ſquare called the parliament cloſs), upon Wedneſday the 26th of November. His funeral was attended by the earl of Morton regent, other lords, and a great multitude of people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave, the earl of Morton ſaid, "There lies a man, who, in his life, "never feared the face of man: who hath been often "threatened with dag and dagger, but hath ended his days "in peace and honour."

He was low in ſtature and of a weakly conſtitution, which made Mr. Thomas Smeaton, one of his contemporaries, ſay, "I know not if ever God placed a more godly "and great ſpirit in a body ſo little and frail. I am cer- "tain, that there can ſcarcely be found another, in whom "more gifts of the Holy Ghoſt for the comfort of the "church of Scotland, did ſhine. No one ſpared himſelf "leſs, no one more diligent in the charge committed to "him, and yet no one was more the object of the hatred "of wicked men, and more vexed with the reproach of "evil ſpeakers; but this was ſo far from abating, that it "rather ſtrengthened his courage and reſolution in the ways "of God." Beza calls him the great apoſtle of the Scots. His faithfulneſs in reproving ſin, in a manner that ſhewed he was not to be awed by the fear of man, made up the moſt remarkable part of his character, and the ſucceſs wherewith the Lord bleſſed his labours, was very ſingular, and is enough to ſtop the mouth of every enemy againſt him.

His works are, an admonition to England; an application to the Scots nobility, &c.; a letter to Mary the queen-regent; a hiſtory of the reformation; a treatiſe on predeſtination; the firſt and ſecond blaſt of the trumpet; a ſermon preached Auguſt 1565, on account of which he was for ſome time prohibited from preaching. He left alſo ſundry manuſcripts, ſermons, tracts, &c. which have never been printed.

The Life of Mr. GEORGE BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in Lennoxſhire (commonly called the ſherriffdom of Dumbarton), in Scotland, in a country town, ſituated near the river or water of Blane *, in the year of our Lord 1506, about the beginning of February, of a family rather ancient than rich. His father died of the ſtone, in the flower of his age, whilſt his grand-father was yet alive, by whoſe extravagance, the family, which was but low before, was now almoſt reduced to the extremity of want. Yet ſuch was the frugal care of his mother Agnes Herriot, that ſhe brought up five ſons and three daughters to men's and women's eſtate. Of the five ſons, George was one. His uncle, James Herriot, perceiving his promiſing ingenuity in their own country ſchools, took him from thence, and ſent him to Paris. There he applied himſelf to his ſtudies, and eſpecially to poetry; having partly a natural genius that way, and partly out of neceſſity, (becauſe it was the only method of ſtudy propounded to him in his youth). Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himſelf fell dangerouſly ſick; and being in extreme want, was forced to go home to his friends. After his return to Scotland, he ſpent almoſt a year in taking care of his health; then he went into the army with ſome French auxiliaries, newly arrived in Scotland, to learn the military art: But that expedition proving fruitleſs, and thoſe forces being reduced by the deep ſnows of a very ſevere winter, he relapſed into ſuch an illneſs, as confined him all that ſeaſon to his bed. Early in the ſpring he was ſent to St. Andrews, to hear the lectures of John Major, who, though very old, read logic, or rather ſophiſtry, in that univerſity. The ſummer after, he accompanied him into France; and there he fell into the troubles of the Lutheran ſect, which then began to increaſe. He ſtruggled with the difficulties of fortune almoſt two years, and at laſt was admitted into the Barbaran college, where he was grammar profeſſor almoſt three years. During that time, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſils, one of the young Scottiſh nobles, being in that country, was much

* Spotſwood ſays he was born within the pariſh of Killearn, and houſe of Drunmakill. Hiſtory, page 325.

much taken with his ingenuity and acquaintance; ſo that he entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him into Scotland.

Afterwards, having a mind to return to Paris to his old ſtudies, he was detained by the king, and made tutor to James his natural ſon. In the mean time, an elegy made by him, at leiſure times, came into the hands of the Franciſcans; wherein he writes, that he was ſolicited in a dream by St. Francis, to enter into his order. In this poem there were one or two paſſages that reflected on them very ſeverely; which thoſe ghoſtly fathers, notwithſtanding their profeſſion of meekneſs and humility, took more heinouſly, than men (having obtained ſuch a vogue for piety among the vulgar) ought to have done, upon ſo ſmall an occaſion of offence. But finding no juſt grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the ſcore of religion; which was their common way of terrifying thoſe they did not wiſh well to. Thus, whilſt they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater enemy to their licentiouſneſs, and rendered him more inclinable to the Lutheran cauſe. In the mean time, the king, with Magdalen his wife, came from France, not without the reſentment of the prieſthood; who were afraid that the royal lady, having been bred up under her aunt the queen of Navarre, ſhould attempt ſome innovation in religion. But this fear ſoon vaniſhed upon her death, which followed ſhortly after.

Next, there aroſe jealouſies at court about ſome of the nobility, who were thought to have conſpired againſt the king; and, in that matter, the king being perſuaded the Franciſcans dealt inſincerely, he commanded Buchanan, who was then at court, (though he was ignorant of the diſguſts betwixt him and that order), to write a ſatyr upon them. He was loath to offend either of them, and therefore, though he made a poem, yet it was but ſhort, and ſuch as might admit of a doubtful interpretation, wherein he ſatisfied neither party; not the king, who would have had a ſharp and ſtinging invective; nor the fathers neither, who looked on it as a capital offence, to have any thing ſaid of them but what was honourable. So that receiving a ſecond command to write more pungently againſt them, he began that miſcellany, which now bears the title of The Franciſcan, and gave it to the king. But ſhortly after, being made acquainted by his friends at court, that cardinal Beaton ſought his life, and had offered the king a ſum

of money as a price for his head, he eſcaped out of priſon, and fled for England *. But there alſo things were at ſuch an uncertainty, that the very ſame day, and almoſt with one and the ſame fire, the men of both factions (proteſtants and papiſts) were burnt; Henry VIII. in his old age, being more intent on his own ſecurity, than the purity or reformation of religion. This uncertainty of affairs in England, ſeconded by his ancient acquaintance with the French, and the courteſy natural to them, drew him again into that kingdom.

As ſoon as he came to Paris, he found cardinal Beaton, his utter enemy, ambaſſador there; ſo that, to withdraw himſelf from his fury, at the invitation of Andrew Govean, he went to Bourdeaux.——There he taught three years in the ſchools, which were erected at the public coſt. In that time he compoſed four tragedies, which were afterwards occaſionally publiſhed. But that which he wrote firſt, called The Baptiſt, was printed laſt, and next the Medea of Euripides. He wrote them in compliance with the cuſtom of the ſchool, which was to have a play written once a-year, that the acting of them might wean the French youth from allegories, to which they had taken a falſe taſte, and bring them back, as much as poſſible, to a juſt imitation of the ancients. This affair ſucceeding even almoſt beyond his hopes, he took more pains in compiling the other two tragedies, called Jephtha and Alceſtes, becauſe he thought they would fall under a ſeverer ſcrutiny of the learned. And yet, during this time, he was not wholly free from trouble, being haraſſed with the menaces of the cardinal on the one ſide, and of the Franciſcans on the other; For the cardinal had wrote letters to the arch-biſhop of Bourdeaux, to apprehend him; but, providentially, thoſe letters fell into the hands of Buchanan's beſt friends. However, the death of the king of Scots, and the plague, which then raged over all Aquitain, diſpelled that fear.

In the interim, an expreſs came to Govean from the king of Pootugal, commanding him to return, and bring with him ſome men, learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues;

* In the midſt of theſe evils, he (the king) cauſed to put hands on that notable man Mr. George Buchanan; But by the merciful providence of God he eſcaped the rage of thoſe that ſought his life, although with great difficulty, and remains alive to this day, (anno 1566) to the glory of God, the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of thoſe who delight in learning and virtue.

KNOX's hiſtory.

tongues, that they might read the liberal arts, and eſpecially the principles of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, in thoſe ſchools which he was then building with a great deal of care and expence. Buchanan, being addreſſed to, readily conſented to go for one. For, whereas he ſaw that all Europe beſides, was either actually in foreign or domeſtic wars, or juſt upon the point of being ſo, that one corner of the world was, in his opinion, likelieſt to be free from tumults and combuſtions; and beſides his companions in that journey were ſuch, that they ſeemed rather his acquaintances and familiar friends, than ſtrangers or aliens to him; for many of them had been his intimates for ſeveral years, and are well known to the world by their learned works, as Micholaus Gruchius, Gulielmus Garentæus, Jacobus Tevius, and Elias Vinetus. This was the reaſon that he did not only make one of their ſociety, but alſo perſuaded a brother of his, called Patrick, to do the ſame. And truly the matter ſucceeded excellently well at firſt, till, in the midſt of the enterprize, Andrew Govean was taken away by a ſudden death, which proved mighty prejudicial to his companions; For, after his deceaſe, all their enemies endeavoured firſt to enſnare them by treachery, and ſoon after ran violently upon them as it were with open mouth; and their agents and inſtruments being great enemies to the accuſed, they laid hold of three of them, and haled them to priſon; whence, after a long and lothſome confinement, they were called out to give in their anſwers, and, after many bitter taunts, were remanded to priſon again; and yet no accuſer did appear in court againſt them. As for Buchanan, they inſulted moſt bitterly over him, as being a ſtranger, and knowing alſo, that he had very few friends in that country, who would either rejoice in his proſperity, ſympathize with his grief, or revenge the wrongs offered to him. The crime laid to his charge, was the poem he wrote againſt the Franciſcans; which he himſelf, before he went from France, took care to get excuſed to the king of Portugal; neither did his accuſers perfectly know what it was, for he had given but one copy of it to the king of Scots, by whoſe command he wrote it. They farther objected "his eating of fleſh in Lent;" though there is not a man in all Spain but uſes the ſame liberty. Beſides, he had given ſome fly ſide-blows to the monks, which, however, nobody but a monk himſelf could well except againſt.

Moreover, they took it heinouſly ill, that, in a certain familiar diſcourſe with ſome young Portugueſe gentlemen, upon mention made of the Euchariſt, he ſhould affirm, that,

that, in his judgment, Auſtin was more inclinable to the party condemned by the church of Rome. Two other witneſſes (as ſome years after it came to his knowledge), *viz.* John Tolpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius of Sub alpine Liguria, had witneſſed againſt him, that they had heard from divers creditable perſons, "That Buchanan was "not orthodox as to the Roman faith and religion."

But to return to the matter; after the inquiſitors had wearied both themſelves and him for almoſt half a year, at laſt, that they might not ſeem to have cauſeleſly vexed a man of ſome name and note in the world, they ſhut him up in a monaſtery for ſome months, there to be more exactly diſciplined and inſtructed by the monks, who (to give them their due), though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were men otherwiſe neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour.

This was the time he took to form the principal part of David's pſalms into Latin verſe. At laſt he was ſet at liberty; and ſueing for a paſs, and accommodations from the crown, to return into France, the king deſired him to ſtay where he was, and allotted him a little ſum for daily neceſſaries and pocket expences, till ſome better proviſion might be made for his ſubſiſtence. But he, tired out with delay, as being put off to no certain time, nor on any ſure grounds of hope; and having got the opportunity of a paſſage in a ſhip then riding in the bay of Liſbon, was carried over into England. He made no long ſtay in that country, though fair offers were made him there; for he ſaw that all things were in a hurry and combuſtion, under a very young king; the nobles at variance one with another, and the minds of the commons yet in a ferment, upon the account of their civil combuſtions. Whereupon he returned into France, about the time that the ſiege of Metz was raiſed. There he was in a manner compelled by his friends to write a poem concerning that ſiege; which he did, though ſomewhat unwillingly, becauſe he was loth to interfere with ſeveral of his acquaintances, and eſpecially with Mellinus Sangelaſius, who had compoſed a learned and elegant poem on that ſubject. From thence he was called over into Italy, by Charles de Coſſe of Breſcia, who then managed matters with very good ſucceſs in the Gallic and Liguſtic countries about the Po. He lived with him and his ſon Timoleon, ſometimes in Italy, and ſometimes in France, the ſpace of five years, till the year 1560; the greateſt part of which time he ſpent in the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, that ſo he might be able to make a more exact

act judgment of the controverſies in religion, which employed the thoughts, and took up all the time of moſt of the men of theſe days. It is true, theſe diſputes were ſilenced a little in Scotland, when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guiſes of France; ſo he returned thither, and became a member of the church of Scotland, 1560 †.

Some of his writings, in former times, being, as it were, redeemed from ſhipwreck, were by him collected and publiſhed: the reſt, which were ſcattered up and down in the hands of his friends, he commited to the diſpoſal of providence ‡. After his return, he profeſſed philoſophy in St. Andrews, and in the year 1565, he was appointed tutor to James VI. king of Scotland; and in 1568, went with the regent to the court of England, at which time and place he did no ſmall honour to his country.

Sir James Melvil, in his memoirs, page 234, gives him the following character.—"He was a Stoic philoſopher, "who looked not far before him; too eaſy in his old age; "ſomewhat revengeful againſt thoſe who had offended "him:" But notwithſtanding, "a man of notable endow-"ments, great learning, and an excellent Latin poet; he "was much honoured in foreign countries; pleaſant in "converſation, into which he happily introduced ſhort "moral maxims, which his invention readily ſupplied him "with upon any emergency. He was buried at Edinburgh "in the common place, though worthy to have been laid "in marble, as in his life pompous monuments he uſed to "contemn and deſpiſe."

† A little before his death, he returned home from court to viſit his friends, during which time king James ſent him ſeveral meſſages, and, at laſt, a very threatening letter to return in twenty days, but he, finding his death approaching, ſent him back a letter of admonition relative to the government of his kingdom, and well-being of his council, and, at the end, told him, that he could run the hazard of his majeſty's diſpleaſure without danger, for that "by the "time limited, he would be where few kings or great men ſhould "be honoured to enter;" at reading which it is ſaid the king wept.

‡ His works that are now extant, make two folio volumes.—His treatiſe, de jure regni apud Scotos, was condemned by act of parliament, about two years after his death, which happened at Edinburgh on the 28th of September, 1582. Theſe pamphlets going under the name of the witty exploits of George Buchanan, ſeem to be ſpurious, although it is true he pronounced many witty expreſſions, many of which have (I ſuppoſe) never been committed to writing, and ſome of which I could mention, were it here neceſſary.

The

The Life of Mr. ROBERT ROLLOCK.

MR. ROLLOCK was descended from the antient family of the Livingstons. He was born about the year 1555. His father, David Rollock, sent him to Stirling to be educated for the university under Thomas Buchanan, where his genius, modesty and sweetness of temper soon procured to him the particular friendship of his master, which subsisted ever after. From this school, he went to the university of St Andrews, where he prosecuted his studies for four years; at the end of which, his progress had been so great, that he was chosen professor of philosophy, the duties of which office he discharged with applause for other four years, until, about the year 1581, he was invited, by the magistrates of Edinburgh, to a profession in their university, which was, not long before this time, founded by K. James VI. He complied with their invitation, at the earnest desire of Mr James Lawson, who succeeded Mr Knox. His reputation, as a teacher, soon drew a number of students to that college, which was soon afterwards much enlarged, by being so conveniently situated in the capital of the kingdom. At first he had the principal weight of academical business laid upon him, but in process of time, other professors were chosen from among the scholars which he educated. After which, his chief employment was to exercise the office of principal, by superintending the several classes, to observe the proficiency of the scholars, to compose such differences as would arise among them, and to keep every one to his duty. Thus was the principality of that college, in his time, a useful institution, and not what it is now, little better than a mere sine-cure.——Every morning, he called the students together, when he prayed among them, and one day in the week, he explained some passage of scripture to them, in the close of which, he was frequently very warm in his exhortations, which wrought more reformation upon the students, than all the laws which were made, or discipline which was exercised besides. After the lecture was over, it was his custom to reprove such as had been guilty of any misdemeanour through the week. *How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!* He was likewise very attentive to such as were advanced in their studies, and intended the ministry. His care was produc-

tive

tive of much good to the church. He was as diligent in his own ſtudies, as he was careful to promote thoſe of others.—Notwithſtanding all this buſineſs in the univerſity, he preached every Lord's day in the church, with ſuch fervency and demonſtration of the Spirit, that he became the inſtrument of converting many to God. About this time he alſo wrote ſeveral commentaries on different paſſages of ſcripture. His expoſition of the epiſtles to the Romans and Epheſians, coming into the hands of the learned Beza, he wrote to a friend of his, telling him, That he had an incomparable treaſure, which for its judiciouſneſs, brevity and elegance of ſtyle had few equa's.

He wes choſen moderator to the aſſembly held at Dundee, *anno* 1567, weerein matters went not altogether in favours of Preſbytery; but this cannot be imputed to him, although Calderwood in his hiſtory, page 403. calls him "a man ſimple in matters of the church." He was one of thoſe commiſſioned by the aſſembly to wait on his majeſty about ſeating the churches of Edinburgh, but in the mean time he ſickened, and was confined to his houſe. Afterwards, at the entreaty of his friends, he went to the country for the benefit of the air; at firſt he ſeemed as if growing better, but his diſtemper ſoon returned upon him with greater violence than before: This confined him to his bed. He committed his wife (for he had no children) to the care of his friends. He deſired two noblemen, who came to viſit him, to go to the king, and intreat him in his name to take care of religion and preſerve it to the end, and that he would eſteem and comfort the paſtors of the church; for the miniſtry of Chriſt, though low and baſe in the eyes of men, yet it ſhould at length ſhine with great glory. When the miniſters of Edinburgh came to him, he ſpoke of the ſincerity of his intentions in every thing done by him, in diſcharge of the duties belonging to the office with which he had been veſted. As night drew on, his diſtemper increaſed, and together therewith his religious fervor was likewiſe augmented. When the phyſicians were preparing ſome medicines, he ſaid, "Thou, Lord, wilt heal "me;" and then began, praying for the pardon of his ſins through Chriſt, and profeſſed that he counted all things but dung for the croſs of Chriſt. He prayed farther, that he might have the preſence of God in his departure, ſaying, "Hitherto have I ſeen thee darkly, through the glaſs of "thy word: O Lord, grant that I may have the eternal en"joyment of thy countenance, which I have ſo much de"ſired and longed for;" and then ſpoke of the reſurrec-

tion and eternal life, after which he bleſſed and exhorted every one preſent according as their reſpective circumſtances required.

The day following, when the magiſtrates of Edinburgh came to ſee him, he exhorted them to take care of the univerſity, and nominated a ſucceſſor to himſelf. He recommended his wife to them, declaring, that he had not laid up one halfpenny of his ſtipend, and therefore hoped they would provide for her; to which requeſt they aſſented, and promiſed to ſee her comfortably ſupplied. After this he ſaid, "I bleſs God, that I have all my ſenſes entire, "but my heart is in heaven, and, Lord Jeſus, why ſhouldſt "not thou have it? it has been my care, all my life, to "dedicate it to thee; I pray thee, take it, that I may live "with thee for ever." Then, after a little ſleep, he awaked, crying, "Come, Lord Jeſus, put an end to this miſe-"rable life; haſte, Lord, and tarry not; Chriſt hath re-"deemed me, not unto a frail and momentary life, but "unto eternal life. Come, Lord Jeſus, and give that life "for which thou haſt redeemed me." Some of the people preſent, bewailing their condition when he ſhould be takeu away, he ſaid unto them, "I have gone through all "the degrees of this life, and am come to my end, why "ſhould I go back again? help me, O Lord, that I may "go thro' this laſt degree with thy aſſiſtance, &c." And when ſome told him, that the next day was the Sabbath, he ſaid, "O Lord, ſhall I begin my eternal Sabbath from "thy Sabbath here." Next morning, feeling his death approaching, he ſent for Mr. Balcanquhal, who, in prayer with him, deſired the Lord, if he pleaſed, to ſpare his life, for the good of the church, he ſaid, "I am weary of this "life; all my deſire is, that I may enjoy the celeſtial life, "that is hid with Chriſt in God," And, a little after, "Haſte, Lord, and do not tarry, I am weary both of nights "and days. Come, Lord Jeſus, that I may come to thee. "Break theſe eye-ſtrings and give me others. I deſire to "be diſſolved, and to be with thee. O Lord Jeſus, thruſt "thy hand into my body and take my ſoul to thyſelf. O "my ſweet Lord, let this ſoul of mine free, that it may "enjoy her huſband." And when one of the by-ſtanders ſaid, Sir, let nothing trouble you, for now your Lord makes haſte, he ſaid, "O welcome meſſage, would to "God, my funeral might be to-morrow." And thus he continued in heavenly meditation and prayer, till he reſigned up his ſpirit to God, *anno* 1598, in the 54d year of his age.

His

His works are, a commentary on ſome ſelect pſalms, on the prophecy of Daniel, and the goſpel of John, with its harmony. He wrote alſo on the epiſtle to the Epheſians, Coloſſians, Theſſalonians, and Galatians; an analyſis of the epiſtles to the Romans and the Hebrews, with reſpect to effectual calling.

The Life of Mr. JOHN CRAIG.

MR. JOHN CRAIG, was a man of conſiderable learning and ſingular abilities; he travelled abroad in his youth, and was frequently delivered out of very great dangers, by the kind interpoſition of a gracious providence; an inſtance of which we have while he was in Italy: Being obliged to fly out of that country, on account of his regard for the reformation, in order to avoid being apprehended, he was obliged to lurk in obſcure places in the day-time, and travel over night; by this means any little money he had was ſoon exhauſted, and being in the extremity of want, a dog brought a purſe to him with ſome gold in it, by which he was ſupported until he eſcaped the danger of being taken.

After his return home, he was ſettled miniſter at Edinburgh, where he continued many years, and met with many trials of his fortitude and fidelity. In the year 1567, the earl of Bothwel, having obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, as preparatory to his marriage with queen Mary ſhe ſent a letter to Mr. Craig, commanding him to publiſh the banns of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwel. But the next ſabbath, having declared at length that he had received ſuch a command, he added, that he could not in conſcience obey it, the marriage being altogether unlawful, and that he would declare to the parties if preſent. He was immediately ſent for by Bothwel, unto whom he declared his reaſons with great boldneſs, and the very next Lord's day, he told the people what he had ſaid before the council, and took heaven and earth to witneſs, that he deteſted that ſcandalous marriage, and that he had diſcharged his duty to the lords, *&c.* Upon this, he was again called before the council, and reproved by them as having exceeded the bounds of his calling, he boldly anſwered, that "the bounds of his commiſſion was the word "of God, right reaſon, and good laws, againſt which he

"had said nothing;" and by all these offered to prove the said marriage scandalous, at which he was stopt, and set out of the council.

Thus Mr. Craig continued, not only a firm friend to the reformation, but a bold oppposer of every incroachment made upon the crown and dignity of the Lord Jesus Christ. In the year 1584, when an act of parliament was made that all ministers, masters of colleges, &c. should within forty-eight hours, compear and subscribe the act of parliament, concerning the king's power over all estates spiritual and temporal, and submit themselves to the bishops, &c. Upon which, Mr. Craig, John Brand and some others were called before the council, and interrogate, how he could be so bold as to controvert the late act of parliament? Mr. Craig answered, That they would find fault with any thing repugnant to God's word; at which, the earl of Arran started up on his feet, and said, They were too pert; that he would shave their head, pair their nails, and cut their toes, and make them an example unto all who should disobey the king's command and his council's orders, and forthwith charged them to appear before the king at Falkland, on the 4th of September following.

Upon their appearance at Falkland, they were again accused of transgressing the foresaid act of parliament, and disobeying the bishop's injunctions, when there arose some hot speeches betwixt Mr. Craig and the bishop of St. Andrews, at which the earl of Arran spake again most outrageously against Mr. Craig, who coolly replied, That there had been as great men set up higher, that had been brought low. Arran returned, "I shall make thee of a false friar "a true prophet;" and sitting down on his knee, he said, "Now am I humbled." "Nay," said Mr. Craig, "Mock "the servants of God as thou wilt, God will not be mock-"ed, but shall make thee find it in earnest, when thou "shalt be cast down from the high horse of thy pride, and "humbled." This came to pass a few years after, when he was thrown off his horse with a spear, by James Douglas of Parkhead, killed, and his corpse exposed to dogs and swine, before it was buried.

Mr. Craig was forthwith discharged to preach any more in Edinburgh, and the bishop of St. Andrews was appointed to preach in his place; but as soon as he entered the great church of Edinburgh, the whole congregation (except a few court-parasites) went out.—It was not long before Mr. Craig was restored to his place and office.

In

In the year 1591, when the earl of Bothwel and his accomplices, on the 27th of December, came to the king and chancellor's chamber-doors with fire, and to the queen's with a hammer, in the palace of Holyrood houſe, with a deſign to ſeize the king and the chancellor. Mr. Craig upon the 29th, preaching before the king upon the two brazen mountains in Zechariah, ſaid, "As the king had "lightly regarded the many bloody ſhirts preſented to him "by his ſubjects craving juſtice, ſo God, in his providence, "had made a noiſe of crying and fore-hammers to come "to his own doors." The king would have the people to ſtay after ſermon, that he might purge himſelf, and ſaid "If he had thought his hired ſervant (meaning Mr. Craig "who was his own miniſter) would have dealt in that man-"ner with him, he ſhould not have ſuffered him ſo long "in his houſe." Mr. Craig, (by reaſon of the throng) not hearing what he ſaid, went away.

In the year 1595, Mr. Craig being quite worn out by his labours and the infirmities of age, the king's commiſſioner preſented ſome articles to the general aſſembly, wherein, amongſt other things, he craved, That, in reſpect Mr. Craig is awaiting what hour God ſhall pleaſe to call him, and is unable to ſerve any longer, and His Majeſty deſigning to place John Duncanſon with the prince, therefore his highneſs deſired an ordinance to be made, granting any two miniſters he ſhall chooſe; which was accordingly done, and Mr. Craig died a ſhort time after this.

Mr. Craig will appear, from theſe ſhort memoirs, to have been a man of uncommon reſolution and activity. He was employed in the moſt part of the affairs of the church during the reign of queen Mary and in the beginning of that of her ſon. He compiled the national covenant, and a catechiſm, commonly called Craig's catechiſm, which was firſt printed by order of the aſſembly, in the year 1591.

The Life of Mr. DAVID BLACK.

MR. BLACK was for ſome time colleague to the worthy Mr. Andrew Melvil miniſter at St. Andrews. He was remarkable for zeal and fidelity in the diſcharge of his duty as a miniſter, applying his doctrine cloſely againſt the corruptions of that age, prevailing either among the higheſt or loweſt of the people; in conſequence of which,

he

he was, in the year 1596, cited before the council for ſome expreſſions uttered in a ſermon, alledged to ſtrike againſt the queen and council. But his brethren in the miniſtry thinking, that, by this method of procedure with him, the ſpiritual government of the houſe of God was intended to be ſubverted, they reſolved that Mr. Black ſhould decline anſwering the king and council, and, that in the mean time, the brethren ſhould be preparing themſelves to prove from the holy ſcriptures, That the judgment of all doctrine in the firſt inſtance, belonged to the paſtors of the church.

Accordingly Mr. Black, on the 18th of Nov 1596. gave in a declinature to the council to this effect, That he was able to defend all that he had ſaid, yet, ſeeing his anſwering before them to that accuſation, might be prejudicial to the liberties of the church, and would be taken for an acknowledgment of his majeſty's juriſdiction in matters merely ſpiritual, he was conſtrained to decline that judicatory. 1. Becauſe the Lord Jeſus Chriſt had given him his word for a rule, and that therefore he could not fall under the civil law, but in ſo far as, after trial, he ſhould be found to have paſſed from his inſtructions, which trial only belonged to the prophets, &c. 2 The liberties of the church and diſcipline preſently exerciſed, were confirmed by divers acts of parliament, approved of by the confeſſion of faith, and the office-bearers of the church, were now in the peaceable poſſeſſion thereof; that the queſtion of his preaching ought firſt, according to the grounds and practice foreſaid, to be judged by the eccleſiaſtical ſenate, as the competent judges thereof at the firſt inſtance. This declinature, with a letter ſent by the different preſbyteries, were, in a ſhort time, ſubſcribed by between three and four hundred miniſters, all aſſenting to and approving of it.

The commiſſioners of the general aſſembly then ſitting at Edinburgh, knowing that the king was diſpleaſed at this proceeding, ſent ſome of their number to ſpeak with his majeſty, unto whom he anſwered, That if Mr. Black would paſs from his declinature he would paſs from the ſummons; but this they would not conſent to do. Upon which, the king cauſed ſummon Mr. Black again on the 27th of November, to the council to be held on the 30th. This ſummons was given with ſound of trumpet and open proclamation at the croſs of Edinburgh; and the ſame day, the commiſſioners of the aſſembly were ordered to depart thence in twenty-four hours, under pain of rebellion.

Before the day of Mr. Black's ſecond appearance before the council, he prepared a ſtill more explicit declinature, eſpecially

eſpecially as it reſpected the king's ſupremacy, declaring, That there are two juriſdictions in the realm, the one ſpiritual and the other civil; the one reſpecting the conſcience and the other concerning external things; the one perſuading by the ſpiritual word, the other compelling by the temporal ſword; the one ſpiritually procuring the edification of the church, the other by juſtice procuring the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, which being grounded in the light of nature, proceeds from God as he is Creator, and is ſo termed by the apoſtle, 1 Pet. ii. but varying according to the conſtitution of men; the other above nature grounded upon the grace of redemption, proceeding immediately from the grace of Chriſt, only king and only head of his church, Eph. i. Col. ii. Therefore in ſo far as he was one of the ſpiritual office-bearers, and had diſcharged his ſpiritual calling in ſome meaſure of grace and ſincerity, he ſhould not, and could not lawfully be judged for preaching and applying the word of God by any civil power, he being an ambaſſador and meſſenger of the Lord Jeſus, having his commiſſion from the king of kings, and all his commiſſion is ſet down and limited in the word of God, that cannot be extended or abridged by any mortal, king or emperor, they being ſheep, not paſtors, and to be judged by the word of God, and not the judges thereof.

A decree of council was paſſed againſt him, upon which his brethren of the commiſſion directed their doctrine againſt the council. The king ſent a meſſage to the commiſſioners, ſignifying, That he would reſt ſatisfied with Mr. Black's ſimple declaration of the truth; but Mr. Bruce and the reſt replied, That if the affair concerned Mr. Black alone, they ſhould be content, but the liberty of Chriſt's kingdom had received ſuch a wound by the proclamation of laſt Saturday, that if Mr. Black's life and a dozen of others beſides, had been taken, it had not grieved the hearts of the godly ſo much, and that either theſe thngs behoved to be retracted, or they would oppoſe ſo long as they had breath. But, after a long proceſs, no mitigation of the council's ſeverity could be obtained, for Mr. Black was charged by a macer to enter his perſon in ward, on the north of the Tay, there to remain on his own expence during his majeſty's pleaſure; and, though he was, next year, reſtored back to his place at St. Andrews, yet he was not ſuffered to continue, for, about the month July that ſame year, the king and council again proceeded againſt him, and he was removed to Angus, where he continued until the day of his death. He had always been a ſevere

check

check on the negligent and unfaithful part of the clergy, but now they had found means to get free of him.

After his removal to Angus* he continued the exercise of his ministry, preaching daily unto such as resorted to him, with much success, and an intimate communion with God, until a few days before his death.

In his last sickness, the Christian temper of his mind was so much improven by large measures of the Spirit, that his conversation had a remarkable effect in humbling the hearts and comforting the souls of those who attended him, engaging them to take the easy yoke of Christ upon them. He found in his own soul also, such a sensible taste of eternal joy, that he was seized with a fervent desire to depart and to be with the Lord, longing to have the earthly house of this his tabernacle put off, that he might be admitted into the mansions of everlasting rest. In the midst of these earnest breathings after God, the Lord was wonderfully pleased to condescend to the importunity of his servant, to let him know that the time of his departure was near. Upon which, he took a solemn farewel of his family and flock with a discourse, as Mr. Melvil says *, that seemed to be spoken out of heaven, concerning the misery and grief of this life, and the inconceivable glory which is above.

The night following, after supper, having read and prayed in his family with unusual continuance, strong crying and heavy groans, he went a little while to bed, and the next day, having called his people to the celebration of the Lord's supper, he went to church, and having brought the communion-service near a close, he felt the approaches of death, and all discovered a sudden change in his countenance, so that some ran to support him; but pressing to be at his knees, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven in the very act of devotion and adoration, as in a transport of joy, he was taken away, with scarce any pain at all. Thus this holy man, who had so faithfully maintained the interest of Christ upon earth, breathed forth his soul in this extraordiuary manner, that it seemed rather like a translation than a real death. See more of him in Calderwood's history, page 335. De Foe's memoirs, page 138. Hind let loose, page 48, old edit.

* Mira et vera relatio de Davidis Black transmigratione in cœlestem patriam.

The Life of Mr. JOHN DAVIDSON.

HE was miniſter at Salt-Preſton (now known by the name of Preſton-pans), and began very early to diſcover uncommon piety and faithfulneſs in the diſcharge of his duty. He was involved in the ſufferings brought upon ſeveral miniſters on account of the raid of Ruthven *, and the enterpriſe at Stirling † *anno* 1584, on which account he fled for England, and remained there ſome conſiderable time.

Being returned to Scotland, in the year 1596, when the miniſters and other commiſſioners of the general aſſembly were met at Edinburgh for prayer, in order to a general and perſonal reconciliation (they were about four hundred miniſters, beſides elders and private chriſtians), Mr. Davidſon was choſen to preſide amongſt them. He cauſed the

† Mr Robert Montgomery, miniſter in Stirling, had made a ſimoniacal purchaſe of the Arch-biſhoprie of Glaſgow from the earl of Lennox, for which he was to give him five hundred pounds ſterling of yearly rent. Accordingly on the 8th of March 2582. Montgomery came to Glaſgow, with a number of ſoldiers, and pulled the miniſter in the pulpit by the ſleeve, ſaying, "Come down ſirrah;" the miniſter replied, "He was placed there by the kirk, and "would give place to none who intruded themſelves without or-"der." Much confuſion and bloodſhed enſued in the town. The preſbytery of Stirling ſuſpended Montgomery, in which the general aſſembly ſupported them; Lennox obtained a commiſſion from the king to try and bring the offenders to juſtice. Before that commiſſion court met, the earls of Marr and Gowrie, the maſter of Oliphant, young Lochlevin, &c. carried the king to Ruthven caſtle, and there ſupplicated him to revoke his commiſſion to Lennox. which he did: and the king ordered him to leave the country, which, after ſome delays, he alſo did, retiring to Berwick. Afterwards the perſons concerned in the affair at Ruthven, were charged to leave the realm upon pain of corporal puniſhment, becauſe the council had adjudged that affair to be treaſon againſt the king and government. The earl of Gowrie was ordered to leave the kingdom, notwithſtanding he had, at the command of the council, confeſſed that the fact at Ruthven was treaſon.

* The perſons concerned in the raid of Ruthven, aſſembled an army at Stirling and took the caſtle, from thence they ſent a ſupplication to the king to redreſs their grievances. In the mean time, the earl of Gowrie, lingering about Dundee was apprehended and committed to priſon, which diſcouraged the party at Stirling very much, ſo that they fled in the night, and got to Berwick; the captain of the caſtle and three others were hanged; Gowrie was likewiſe executed on the 2d of May 1584.

33d and 34th chapters of Ezekiel to be read, and diſcourſed upon them in a very affecting manner, ſhewing what was the end of their meeting, in confeſſing ſin and reſolving to forſake it, and that they ſhould turn to the Lord, and enter into a new league and covenant with him, that ſo, by repentance, they might be the more meet to ſtir up others to the ſame duty. In this he was ſo aſſiſted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that, within an hour after they had conveened, they began to look with another countenance than at firſt, and while he was exhorting them to theſe duties, the whole meeting were in tears, every one provoking another by his example, whereby that place might have juſtly been called *Bochim*.

After prayer, he treated one Luke xii. 22. wherein the ſame aſſiſtance was given him. Before they diſmiſſed, they ſolemnly entered into a new league and covenant, holding up their hands, with ſuch ſigns of ſincerity as moved all preſent. That afternoon, the aſſembly enacted the renewal of the covenant by particular ſynods.

In the general aſſembly held at Dundee 1598. (where the king was preſent), it was propoſed, Whether miniſters ſhould vote in parliament in the name of the church. Mr Davidſon intreated them not to be raſh in concluding ſo weighty a matter; he ſaid, "Brethren, ye ſee not how "readily the biſhops begin to creep up." Being deſired to give his vote, he refuſed, and proteſted in his own name and in the name of thoſe who ſhould adhere to him; and required that his proteſt ſhould be inſerted in the books of aſſembly. Here the king interpoſed, and ſaid, "That ſhall "not be granted, ſee if you have voted and reaſoned be-"fore:" "never Sir," ſaid Mr. Davidſon, "but without "prejudice to any proteſtation made or to be made." And then preſented his proteſtation in writing, which was handed from one to another, till it was laid down before the clerk. The king, taking it up and reading it, ſhewed it to the moderator and others about, and at laſt put it in his pocket, (ſee this proteſt and a letter ſent by him to the aſſembly 1601, in Calderwood, pages 420 and 450.) This proteſt and letter was the occaſion of farther trouble to him. For in the month of May following, he was charged to compear before the council on the 26th, and anſwer for the ſame, and was by the king committed priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh; but, on account of bodily infirmity, this place of confinement was changed to his own dwelling houſe; after which he obtained liberty to exerciſe his office in his own pariſh. When the king was going for England

land *anno* 1603, as he was paſſing through Preſton-pans, the laird of Ormiſton intreated him to relieve Mr Davidſon from his confinement to the bounds of his own pariſh, but this could not be obtained.——He likewiſe, in ſome inſtances, ſhewed that he was poſſeſſed in a conſiderable meaſure of the ſpirit of propheoy.—He was, while in Preſton, very anxious about the building of a church in that pariſh, and had, by his own private intereſt, contributed liberally to it; Lord Newbattle, having conſiderable intereſt in that pariſh, likewiſe promiſed his aſſiſtance, but afterwards receded from his engagements; upon which Mr. Davidſon told him, That theſe walls that were there begun ſhould ſtand as a witneſs againſt him, and that, ere long, God ſhould root him out of that pariſh, ſo that he ſhould not have one bit of land in the ſame; which was afterwards accompliſhed. At another time being moderator at the ſynod of Lothian, Mr John Spotſwood miniſter at Calder, and Mr James Law miniſter at Kirkliſton were brought before them for playing at the foot-ball on the ſabbath. Mr Davidſon urged that they might be depoſed, but the ſynod, becauſe of the fewneſs of the miniſters preſent, *&c.* agreed that they ſhould be rebuked, which, having accordingly done, he turned to his brethren and ſaid, "Now let "me tell you what reward you ſhall have for your lenity, "theſe two men ſhall trample on your necks, and on the "necks of the miniſters of Scotland." How true this proved was afterwards too well known, when Spotſwood was made arch-biſhop of St Andrews, and Law of Glaſgow. Being at dinner one time with Mr Bruce, who was then in great favour with the king, he told him, he ſhould ſoon be in as great diſcredit; which was likewiſe accompliſhed. At another time, when dining in the houſe of one of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh with Mr Bruce, in giving thanks, he brake forth in theſe words, "Lord, this "good man hath reſpect, for thy ſake, to thy ſervants, "but he little knoweth, that in a ſhort time, he ſhall car"ry us both to priſon;" which afterwards came to paſs, although, at the time, it grieved the baillie exceedingly. Mr Fleming, in his fulfilling of the ſcriptures, relates another remarkable inſtance of this kind—A gentleman nearly related to a great family in that pariſh, but a moſt violent hater of true piety, did, on that account, beat a poor man who lived there, although he had no manner of provocation. Among other ſtrokes which he gave him, he gave him one on the back, ſaying, "Take that for Mr "Davidſon's ſake." This mal-treatment obliged the poor

man to take to his bed; he complained moſt of the blow which he had received on his back. In the cloſe of his ſermon on the ſabbath following, Mr. Davidſon, ſpeaking of the oppreſſion of the godly, and the enmity which the wicked had to ſuch, and, in a particular manner, mentioned this laſt inſtance, ſaying, "It was a ſad time, when a profane man would thus openly adventure to vent his rage "againſt ſuch as were ſeekers of God in the place, whilſt "he could have no cauſe but the appearance of his image," and then ſaid, with great boldneſs, "He, who hath done "this, were he the laird or the laird's brother, ere a few days "paſs, God ſhall give him a ſtroke, that all the monarchs "on earth dare not challenge." Which accordingly came to paſs in the cloſe of that very ſame week, for this gentleman, while ſtanding before his own door, was ſtruck dead with lightening, and had all his bones cruſhed to pieces.

A little before his death, he happened occaſionally to meet with Mr Kerr, a young gentleman lately come from France, and dreſſed in the court faſhion. Mr Davidſon charged him to lay aſide his ſcarlet cloke and gilt rapier, for, ſaid he, "You are the man who ſhall ſucceed me in "the miniſtry of this place;" which ſurprized the youth exceedingly, but was exactly accompliſhed, for he became an eminent and faithful miniſter at that place.

Such as would ſee more of Mr Davidſon's faithful labours in the work of the miniſtry may conſult the apologetical relation, § 2. p. 30. and Calderwood, p. 310,—373.

The Life of Mr. WILLIAM ROW.

HE was a ſon of Mr. John Row miniſter at Perth, who gave him a very liberal education under his own eye. He was ſettled miniſter at Strathmiglo, in the ſhire of Fyſe, about the year 1600, and continued there for ſeveral years.

He was one of thoſe miniſters who refuſed to give public thanks for the king's deliverance from his danger in Gowrie's conſpiracy, until the truth of that conſpiracy was made to appear. This refuſal brought upon him the king's diſpleaſure; he was ſummoned to appear before the king and council at Stirling, ſoon after. On the day appointed for his compearance, two noblemen were ſent, the one before the other, to meet him on the road, and, under the pre-

tence

tence of friendſhip, to inform him, that the council had a deſign upon his life, that he might be prevailed on to decline going up to the council; the firſt met him nigh his own houſe, the ſecond a few miles from Stirling, but Mr. Row told them, that he would not, by diſobedience to the ſummons, make himſelf juſtly liable to the pains of law, and proceeded to Stirling, to the amazement of the king and his court. When challenged for diſbelieving the truth of that conſpiracy, he told them, That one reaſon of his heſitation was, That one Henderſon, who was ſaid to have confeſſed that Gowrie hired him to kill the king, and to have been found armed in his majeſty's chamber for that purpoſe, was, not only ſuffered to live, but rewarded; whereas, ſaid he, "if I had ſeen the king's life in hazard, "and not ventured my life to reſcue him, I think, I de- "ſerved not to live."

The two following anecdotes will ſhow what an uncommon degree of courage and reſolution he poſſeſſed.

Being at Edinburgh, before the aſſembly there, at which the king wanted to bring in ſome innovation, and meeting with Mr. James Melvil, who was ſent for by the king, he accompanied him to Holyrood-houſe. While Mr. Melvil was with the king, Mr. Row ſtood behind a ſcreen, and not getting an opportunity to go out with his brother undiſcovered, he overheard the king ſay to ſome of his courtiers, "This is a good ſimple man, I have ſtroked cream "on his mouth, and he will procure me a good number "of voters, I warrant you." This ſaid, Mr. Row got off, and overtaking Mr. Melvil, aſked him, what had paſſed? Mr. Melvil told him all, and ſaid, The king is well diſpoſed to the church, and intends to do her good by all his ſchemes. Mr. Row replied, The king looks upon you as a fool and a knave, and wants to uſe you as a coy duck to draw in others, and told him what he had overheard. Mr. Melvil ſuſpecting the truth of this report, Mr. Row offered to go with him, and avouch it to the king's face; accordingly, they went back to the palace, when Mr. Melvil ſeeing Mr. Row as forward to go in as he was, believed his report and ſtopped him: And next day, when the aſſembly proceeded to voting, Mr. Melvil having voted againſt what the king proponed, his majeſty would not believe that ſuch was his vote, till he, being aſked again, did repeat it.

Again, he being to open the ſynod of Perth, *anno* 1607, to which King James ſent Lord Scoon captain of his guards, to force them to accept a conſtant moderator, Scoon ſent notice to Mr. Row, That if, in his preaching, he uttered

tered ought againſt conſtant moderators, he ſhould cauſe ten or twelve of his guards diſcharge their culverins at his noſe; and when he attended the ſermon which preceded that ſynod, he ſtood up in a menacing poſture to outbrave the preacher. But Mr. Row no way diſmayed, knowing what vices Scoon was chargeable with, particularly that he was a great belly-god, drew his picture ſo like the life, and condemned what was culpable in it with ſo much ſeverity, that Scoon thought fit to ſit down, and even to cover his face. After which Mr. Row proceeded to prove that no conſtant moderator ought to be ſuffered in the church, but knowing that Scoon underſtood neither Latin nor Greek, he wiſely avoided naming the conſtant moderator in Engliſh, but always gave the Greek or Latin name for it. Sermon being ended, Scoon ſaid to ſome of the nobles attending him, You ſee I have ſcared the preacher from meddling with the conſtant moderator, but I wonder who he ſpoke ſo much againſt by the name of *præſtes ad vitam*. They told him, That it was in Greek and Latin the conſtant moderator; which ſo incenſed him, that when Mr. Row proceeded to conſtitute the ſynod in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Scoon ſaid, The devil a Jeſus is here, and when Mr. Row called over the roll to chooſe their moderator after the ancient form, Scoon would have pulled it from him; but he, being a ſtrong man, held off Scoon with the one hand, and holding the ſynod-roll in the other, called out the names of the members.

After this, Mr. Row was put to the horn, and on the 11th of June following, he and Mr. Henry Livingſtone the moderator were ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for their proceedings at the ſynod above-mentioned. Mr. Livingſton compeared, and with great difficulty obtained the favour to be warded in his own pariſh; but Mr. Row being adviſed not to compear unleſs the council would relax him from the horning, and make him free of the Scoon-comptrollers, who had letters of caption to apprehend him, and to commit him to Blackneſs. This was refuſed, and a ſearch made for him, which obliged him to abſcond and lurk among his friends for a conſiderable time.

He was ſubjected to ſeveral other hardſhips during the remainder of his life, but ſtill maintained that ſteady faithfulneſs and courage in the diſcharge of his duty, which is exemplified in the above inſtances, untill the day of his death, of which we have no certain account.

The

The Life of Mr. ANDREW MELVIL.

MR. MELVIL, after finiſhing his claſſical ſtudies, went abroad, and taught, for ſome time, both at Poictiers in France, and at Geneva. He returned to Scotland in July 1574, after having been abſent from his native country near ten years. Upon his return, the learned Beza, in a letter to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland, ſaid, "That the greateſt token of affection "the kirk of Geneva could ſhow to Scotland, was, that "they had ſuffered themſelves to be ſpoiled of Mr. An-"drew Melvil."

Soon after his return, the general aſſembly appointed him to be the principal of the college of Glaſgow, where he continued for ſome years. In the year 1576, the earl of Morton being then regent, and thinking to bring Mr. Melvil into his party, who were endeavouring to introduce epiſcopacy, he offered him the parſonage of Govan, a benefice of twenty-four chalders of grain, yearly, beſide what he enjoyed as principal, providing he would not inſiſt againſt the eſtabliſhment of biſhops, but Mr. Melvil rejected his offer with ſcorn.

He was afterwards tranſported to St. Andrews, where he ſerved in the ſame ſtation he had done at Glaſgow, and was likewiſe a miniſter of that city. Here he taught the divinity claſs, and as a miniſter continued to witneſs againſt the incroachments then making upon the rights of the church of Chriſt.

When the general aſſembly ſat down at Edinburgh, *anno* 1582, Mr. Melvil inveighed againſt the abſolute authority, which was making its way into the church, whereby he ſaid, they intended to pull the crown from Chriſt's head, and wreſt the ſceptre out of his hand, and when ſeveral articles, of the ſame tenor with his ſpeech, were preſented by the commiſſion of the aſſembly, to the king and council, craving redreſs, the earl of Arran cried out, "Is there any "here that dare ſubſcribe theſe articles." Mr. Melvil went forward and ſaid, "We dare, and will render our lives in "the cauſe," and then took up the pen and ſubſcribed. We do not find that any diſagreeable conſequences enſued at this time.

But

But in the beginning of February 1584, he was ſummoned to appear before the ſecret council on the 11th of that month, to anſwer for ſome things ſaid by him in a ſermon on a faſt day from Dan. iv. At his firſt compearance; he made a verbal defence, but being again called, he gave in a declaration with a declinature, importing that he had ſaid nothing either in that or any other ſermon tending to diſhonour the king, but had regularly prayed for the preſervation and proſperity of his majeſty; that, as by acts of parliament and laws of the church, he ſhould be tried for his doctrine by the church, he therefore proteſted for, and craved a trial by them, and particularly in the place (St Andrews) where the offence was alledged to have been committed; that as there were ſpecial laws in favour of St. Andrews to the above import, he particularly claimed the privilege of them; he farther proteſted that what he had ſaid was warranted by the word of God; that he appealed to the congregation who heard the ſermon; that he craved to know his accuſers; that if the calumny was found to be falſe, the informers might be puniſhed; that the rank and character of the informer might be conſidered, *&c. &c.*: After which he gave an account of the ſermon in queſtion, alledging that his meaning had been miſunderſtood, and his words perverted.

When he had cloſed his defence, the king and the earl of Aarran, who was then chancellor, raged exceedingly againſt him. Mr. Melvil remained undiſquieted, and replied, that they were too bold in a conſtitute Chriſtian kirk to paſs by the paſtors, *&c.* and to take upon them to judge the doctrine, and controul the meſſengers of a greater than any preſent; "that you may ſee your raſhneſs in taking upon "you that which you neither ought nor can do, (taking out a ſmall Hebrew Bible and laying it down before them,) "there are," ſaid he, "my inſtructions and warrant,—ſee "if any of you can controul me, that I have paſſed my in-"junctions." The chancellor, opening the book, put it into the king's hand, ſaying, "Sire, he ſcorneth your ma-"jeſty and the couucil." "Nay, ſaid Mr. Melvil, "I ſcorn "not, but I am in good earneſt." He was, in the time of this debate, frequently removed and inſtantly recalled, that he might not have time to conſult with his friends. They proceeded againſt him, and admitted his avowed enemies to prove the accuſation. Though the whole train of evidence, which was led, proved little or nothing againſt him, yet they reſolved to involve him in troubles, becauſe he had declined their authority, as incompetent judges of doc-

Edinburgh, during the king's will. Being informed, that, if he entered into ward, he would not be releaſed, unleſs it ſhould be to bring him to the ſcaffold, that the decree of the council was altered, and Blackneſs was appointed for his priſon, which was kept by ſome dependants on the earl of Arran, he reſolved to get out of the country. A macer gave him a charge, to enter Blackneſs in 24 hours: and, in the mean while, ſome of Arran's horſemen were attending at the weſt-port to convoy him thither: But, by the time he ſhould have entered Blackneſs, he had reached Berwick. Meſſrs. Lawſon and Balcanquhal gave him the good character he deſerved, and prayed earneſtly for him in public, in Edinburgh, which both moved the people and galled the court exceedingly.

After the ſtorm had abated, he returned to St. Andrews in 1586, when the ſynod of Fife had excommunicated P. Adamſon, pretended biſhop of St. Andrews, on account of ſome immoralities. He (Adamſon) having drawn up the form of an excommunication againſt Meſſrs. Andrew and James Melvils, and ſent out a boy, with ſome of his own creatures, to the kirk to read it, but the people paying no regard to it, the biſhop (though both ſuſpended and excommunicated) would himſelf go to the pulpit to preach, whereupon ſome gentlemen *&c.* in town conveened in the new college to hear Mr. Melvil. But the biſhop being informed that they were aſſembled on purpoſe to put him out of the pulpit and hang him, for fear of which, he called his friends together, and betook himſelf to the ſteeple; but at the entreaty of the magiſtrates and others he retired home.

This difference with the biſhop brought the Melvils again before the king and council, who (pretending that there was no other method to end that quarrel,) ordained Mr. Andrew to be confined to the Mearns, Angus, *&c.* under pretext that he would be uſeful in that country in reclaiming papiſts. And, becauſe of his ſickly condition, Mr. James was ſent back to the new college; and, the univerſity ſending the dean of faculty, and the maſters, with a ſupplication to the king in Mr. Andrew's behalf, he was ſuffered to return, but was not reſtored to his place and office untill the month of Auguſt following.

The next winter, he laboured to give the ſtudents in divinity, under his care, a thorough knowledge of the diſcipline and government of the church, which was attended with conſiderable ſucceſs; the ſpecious arguments of epiſcopacy evaniſhed, and the ſerious part both of the town

and univerſity repaired to the college to hear him, and Mr. Robert Bruce, who began preaching about this time.

After this he was choſen moderator in ſome ſubſequent aſſemblies of the church, in which ſeveral acts were made in favours of religion, as maintained in that period.

When the king brought home his queen from Denmark *anno* 1590, Mr. Melvil made an excellent oration, upon the occaſion in Latin, which ſo pleaſed the king, that he publicly declared, he had therein both honoured him and his country, and that he ſhould never be forgot; yet ſuch was the inſtability of this prince, that, in a little after this, becauſe Mr. Melvil oppoſed himſelf unto his arbritary meaſures, in graſping after an abſolute authority over the church *, he conceived a daily hatred againſt him ever after, as will appear from the ſequel.

When Mr. Melvil went, with ſome other miniſters, to the convention of eſtates at Falkland *anno* 1596, (wherein they intended to bring home the excommunicated lords who were then in exile), and though he had a commiſſion from laſt aſſembly, to watch againſt every imminent danger that might threaten the church, yet, whenever he appeared upon the head of the miniſters, the king aſked him, Who ſent for him there? To which he reſolutely anſwered, "Sire, I have a call to come here from Chriſt and his "church, who have a ſpecial concern in what you are do-"ing here, and in direct oppoſition to whom, ye are all "here aſſembled; but be ye aſſured, that no counſel taken "againſt him ſhall proſper, and I charge you, Sire, in his "name, that you, nor your eſtates here conveened, favour "not God's enemies whom he hateth." After he had ſaid this, turning himſelf to the reſt of the members, he told them, that they were aſſembled with a traiterous deſign againſt Chriſt, his church, and their native country. In the midſt of this ſpeech, he was commanded by the king to withdraw.

The commiſſion of the general aſſembly was now ſitting, and underſtanding how matters were going on at the convention, they ſent ſome of their members, among whom Mr. Melvil

* Bennet, in his memorial, ſays, That while he (James) graſped at arbitrary power, to which he diſcovered an inclination thro' the whole of his reign, it has been obſerved, and not without good reaſon, that he made himſelf mean and contemptible to all the world abroad, though affecting to ſwagger over his parliament and people at home, which he did in a manner that was far from making or ſhowing him great.

Melvil was one, to expoſtulate with the king. When they came, he received them in his cloſet. Mr. James Melvil being firſt in the commiſſion, told the king his errand, upon which he appeared angry, and charged them with ſedition, *&c.* Mr. James being a man of cool paſſion and genteel behaviour, began to anſwer the king with great reverence and reſpect; but Mr. Andrew, interrupting him, ſaid, "This is not a time to flatter, but to ſpeak plainly, for "our commiſſion is from the living God, to whom the "king is ſubject;" and then, approaching the king, ſaid, "Sire, we will always humbly reverence your majeſty in "public, bnt having opportunity of being with your ma"jeſty in private, we muſt diſcharge our duty or elſe be e"nemies to Chriſt: and now, Sire, I muſt tell you, that "there are two kingdoms, the kingdom of Chriſt, which "is the church, whoſe ſubject K. James VI. is, and of "whoſe kingdom he is not a head, nor a lord, but a mem"ber, and they, whom Chriſt hath called, and comman"ded to watch over his church, and govern his ſpiritual "kingdom, have ſufficient authority and power from him "ſo to do, which no Chriſtian king nor prince ſhould con"troul or diſcharge, but aſſiſt and ſupport, otherwiſe they "are not faithful ſubjects to Chriſt; and, Sire, when you "was in your ſwaddling clothes, Chriſt reigned freely in "this land; in ſpight of all his enemies, his officers and "miniſters were conveened for ruling his church, which "was ever for your welfare, *&c.* Will you now challenge "Chriſt's ſervants, your beſt and moſt faithful ſubjects, "for conveening together, and for the care they have of "their duty to Chriſt and you, *&c.* the wiſdom of your "council is, that you may be ſerved with all ſorts of men, "that you may come to your purpoſe, and becauſe the "miniſters and proteſtants of Scotland are ſtrong, they "muſt be weakned and brought low, by ſtirring up a par"ty againſt them, but, Sire, this is not the wiſdom of "God, and his curſe muſt light upon it, whereas, in cleav"ing to God, his ſervants ſhall be your true friends, and "he ſhall compel the reſt to ſerve you." There is little difficulty to conjecture how this diſcourſe was reliſhed by the king; however, he kept his temper, and promiſed fair things to them for the preſent, but it was the word of him whoſe ſtandard maxim was, *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, "He who knows not how to diſſemble, knows "not how to reign:" In this ſentiment, unworthy of the meaneſt among men, he gloried, and made it his conſtant rule of conduct; for in the aſſembly at Dundee *anno* 1598,

Mr. Melvil being there, he diſcharged him from the aſſembly, and would not ſuffer buſineſs to go on till he was removed.

There are other inſtances of the magnanimity of this faithful witneſs of Chriſt, which are worthy of notice. In the year 1606, when he and ſeven of his brethren, who ſtood moſt in the way of having prelacy advanced in Scotland, were called up to England, under pretence of having a hearing granted them by the king, *&c.* with reſpect to religion, but rather to be kept out of the way, as the event afterwards proved, until epiſcopacy ſhould be better eſtabliſhed in this kingdom. Soon after their arival they were examined by the king and council at Hampton-court on the 20th of September, concerning the lawfulneſs of the late aſſembly at Aberdeen. The king, in particular, aſked Mr. Melvil, whether a few clergy, meeting without moderator or clerk, could make an aſſembly? He replied, there was no number limited by law; that fewneſs of number could be no argument againſt the legality of the court, eſpecially when the promiſe was, in God's word, given to two or three conveened in the name of Chriſt; that the meeting was an ordinary eſtabliſhed by his majeſty's laws. The reſt of the miniſters delivered themſelves to the ſame purpoſe; after which Mr. Melvil, with his uſual freedom of ſpeech, ſupported the conduct of his brethren at Aberdeen; recounted the wrongs done them at Linlithgow, whereof he was a witneſs himſelf; he blamed the king's advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was then preſent, for favouring popery, and mal-treating the miniſters, ſo that the accuſer of the brethren could not have done more againſt the ſaints of God than had been done; the prelatiſts were encouraged, though ſome of them were promoting the intereſt of Popery with all their might, and the faithful ſervants of Chriſt were ſhut up in priſon; and addreſſing the advocate, perſonally, he added, "Still you think "all this is enough, but continue to perſecute the brethren "with the ſame ſpirit you did in Scotland." After ſome converſation betwixt the king and arch-biſhop of Canterbury, they were diſmiſſed with the applauſe of many preſent, for their bold and ſteady defence of the cauſe of God and truth, for they had been much miſrepreſented to the Engliſh. They had ſcarce retired from before the king, until they received a charge not to return to Scotland, nor come near the king's, queen's or princes court, without ſpecial licence and being called for. A few days after, they were again called to court, and examined before a ſelect number

number of the Scots nobility, where, after Mr. James Melvil's examination †, Mr. Andrew being called, told them plainly, "That they knew not what they were doing; "they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scot- "land, who were wont to hazard their lives and lands for "the freedom of their country, and the goſpel which they "were betraying and overturning:" But night drawing on, they were diſmiſſed.

Another inſtance of his reſolution is, that, when called before the council for having made a Latin epigram *, upon ſeeing the king and queen making an offering at the altar (whereon were two books, two baſons, and two candleſticks with two unlighted candles, it being a day kept in honour of St. Michael); when he compeared, he avowed the verſes, and ſaid, "He was much moved with indigna- "tion at ſuch vanity and ſuperſtition in a Chriſtian "church, under a Chriſtian king, born and brought up "under the pure light of the goſpel, and eſpecially before "idolators, to confirm them in idolatry, and grieve the "hearts of true profeſſors." The biſhop of Canterbury began to ſpeak, but Mr. Melvil charged him with a breach of the Lord's day, with impriſoning, ſilencing and bearing down of faithful miniſters, and with upholding antichriſtian hierarchy and popiſh ceremonies; and, ſhaking the white ſleeve of his rochet, he called them Romiſh rags, and told him, That he was an avowed enemy to all the reformed churches in Europe, and therefore he (Mr. Melvil) would profeſs himſelf an enemy to him in all ſuch proceedings, to the effuſion of the laſt drop of his blood; and ſaid, he was grieved to the heart to ſee ſuch a man have the king's ear, and ſit ſo high in that honourable council. He alſo charged biſhop Barlow with having ſaid, after the conference at Hampton-court, That the king had ſaid, he was in the church of Scotland, but not of it; and wondered that he was ſuffered to go unpuniſhed, for making the king of no religion. He refuted his ſermon which had been preached before; and was at laſt removed, and order

* Mr James Melvil was confined at laſt to Berwick, where he ended his days, Jan. 1614.

† The epigram is as follows,

Cur ſtant clauſi Anglis libri duo, regia in arca,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra ſicca duo?
Num ſenſum, cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clauſum,
Lumine cæ a ſuo, ſorde ſepulta ſuo?
Romano et ritu, dum regalem inſtruit aram
Purpuream pingit religioſa lupam.

der was given to Dr. Overwall dean of St. Pauls to receive him to his houſe, there to remain, with injunctions not to let any have acceſs to him, till his majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified. Next year he was ordered from the dean's houſe to the biſhop of Wincheſter's, where, not being ſo ſtrictly guarded, he ſometimes kept company with his brethren, but was at laſt committed to the tower of London, where he remained for the ſpace of four years.

While he was in the tower, a gentleman of his acquaintance got acceſs to him, and found him very penſive and melancholy concerning the prevailing defections amongſt many of the miniſters of Scotland, and, having lately got account of their proceedings at the general aſſembly held at Glaſgow, *anno* 1610, where the earl of Dunbar had an active hand in corrupting many with money; the gentleman, deſiring to know what word he had to ſend to his native country, got no anſwer at firſt, but, upon a ſecond enquiry, he ſaid, "I have no word to ſend, but am heavily grieved, that the glorious government of the church of Scotland ſhould be ſo defaced, and a popiſh tyrannical one ſet up; and thou, Manderſton, (for out of that family Dunbar had ſprung), hadſt thou no other thing to do, but to carry ſuch commiſſions down to Scotland, whereby the poor church is wrecked, the Lord ſhall be avenged on thee; thou ſhalt never have that grace to ſet thy foot in that kingdom again." Theſe laſt words impreſſed the gentleman to that degree, that he deſired ſome who attended the court, to get ſome buſineſs, which was managing through Dunbar's intereſt, expeded without any delay, being perſuaded that the word of that ſervant of Chriſt ſhould not fall to the ground, which was the caſe, for that earl died at Whitehall a ſhort time after, while he was building an elegant houſe at Berwick, and making grand preparations for his daughter's marriage with Lord Walden.

In 1611, after four years confinement, Mr. Melvil was, by the intereſt of the duke of Bolloigne, releaſed, on condition that he would go with him to the univerſity of Sedan, where he continued, enjoying that calm repoſe denied him in his own country, but maintaining his uſual conſtancy and faithfulneſs in the ſervice of Chriſt, which he had done through the whole of his life.

The reader will readily obſerve, that a high degree of fortitude and boldneſs appeared in all his actions; where the honour of his Lord and Maſter was concerned, the fear of man made no part of his character. He is by Spotſwood

wood ſtyled the principal agent or apoſtle of the preſbyterians in Scotland †. He did indeed aſſert the rights of preſbytery to the utmoſt of his power againſt dioceſan epiſcopacy; he poſſeſſed great preſence of mind, and was ſuperior to all the arts of flattery, that were ſometimes tried with him; he was once blamed, as being too fiery in his temper. he replied, "If you ſee my fire go downward, ſet "your foot upon it, but if it goes upward, let it go to its "own place." He died at Sedan in France, in a few yeers after.

The Life of Mr. PATRICK SIMPSON.

MR. SIMPSON, after having finiſhed his academical courſe, ſpent ſome conſiderable time in retirement, which he employed in reading the Greek and Latin claſſics, the antient Chriſtian fathers, and the hiſtory of the primitive church. Being blamed by one of his friends for waſting ſo much time in the ſtudy of pagan writers, he replied, That he intended to adorn the houſe of God with theſe Egyptian jewels.

He was firſt ordained miniſter at Cramond, but was afterwards tranſported to Stirling, where he continued until his death. He was a faithful contender againſt the lordly encroachments of prelacy. In the year 1584, when there was an expreſs charge given by the king to the miniſters, either to acknowledge Mr. Patrick Adamſon as arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, or elſe to loſe their benefices, Mr. Simpſon oppoſed that order with all his power, although Mr. Adamſon was his uncle by the mother's ſide; and when ſome of his brethren ſeemed willing to acquieſce in the king's mandate, and ſubſcribe their ſubmiſſion to Adamſon, ſo far as it was agreeable to the word of God, he rebuked them ſharply, ſaying, It would be no ſalvo to their conſciences, ſeeing it was altogether abſurd to ſubſcribe an agreement with any human invention, when it was condemned by the word of God. A biſhopric was offered him, and an yearly penſion beſides from the king, in order to bring him into

† Spotſwood doth not aſcribe any thing of the form of preſbyterian church government to Mr. Knox, becauſe they admitted of ſuperintendents in the church in his time, which he thinks was Epiſcopacy; but ſays, That Mr. Andrew Melvil brought this innovation (as he is pleaſed to call it) from Geneva about the ye[illegible] 1575. P[illegible] 275, &c.

to his deſigns, but he poſitively refuſed all, ſaying, That he regarded that preferment and profit as a bribe to enſlave his conſcience, which was dearer to him than any thing whatever; he did not ſtop with this, but having occaſion *anno* 1598, to preach before the king, he publicly exhorted him to beware that he drew not the wrath of God upon himſelf in patronizing a manifeſt breach of divine laws: Immediately after ſermon, the king ſtood up and charged him not to intermeddle in theſe matters.

When the aſſembly which was held at Aberdeen *anno* 1684, was condemned by the ſtate, and in a very ſolemn manner denounced the judgment of God againſt all ſuch as had been concerned in diſtreſſing, and impriſoning the miniſters of Linlithgow, who maintained the lawfulneſs and juſtified the conduct of that aſſembly, and the proteſtation given in to the parliament in 1606, which did many things to the further eſtabliſhment of prelacy. This proteſtation * was wrote by him, aud delivered out of his own hands to the earl of Dunbar.

He

* *The Proteſtation offered to the eſtates convened in Paaliament at Perth, in the beginning of July,* anno 1606.

THE earneſt deſire of our hearts is to be faithful, and in caſe we would have been ſilent and unfaithful at this time, when the undermined eſtate of Chriſt's kirk craveth a duty at our hands, we ſhould have locked up our hearts with patience, and our mouths with taciturnity, rather than to have impeached any with our admonition. But that which Chriſt commandeth, neceſſity urgeth, and duty wringeth out of us, to be faithful office bearers in the kirk of God, no man can juſtly blame us, providing we hold ourſelves within the bounds of that Chriſtian moderation, which followeth God, without injury done to any man, eſpecially theſe whom God hath lapped up within the ſkirts of his own honourable ſtiles and names, calling them, Gods upon earth.

Now therefore, my lords, convened in this preſent parliament, under the moſt high and excellent majeſty of our dread ſovereign, to your honours is our exhortation, that ye would endeavour with all ſingleneſs of heart, love and zeal, to advance the building of the houſe of God, reſerving always into the Lord's own hand that glory, which he will communicate neither with man nor angel, viz. to preſcribe from his holy mountain a lively pattern, according to which his own tabernacle ſhould be formed: Remembering always that there is no abſolute and undoubted authority in this world, excepting the ſovereign authority of Chriſt the king, to whom it belongeth as properly to rule the kirk according to the good pleaſure of his own will, as it belongeth to him to ſave his kirk by the merit of his own ſufferings. All other authority is ſo intrenched within the marches of divine commandment, that the leaſt overpaſſing of the bounds ſet by God himſelf, bringeth men under the fearful expectation

He was not more diſtinguiſhed for zeal in the cauſe of Chriſt, than for piety and an exemplary life, which had a happy effect upon the people with whom he ſtood connected. He was in a very eminent degree bleſſed with the ſpirit

pectation of temporal and eternal judgments. For this cauſe, my lords, let that authority of your meeting in this preſent parliament, be like the ocean, which, as it is greateſt of all other waters, ſo it containeth itſelf better within the coaſts and limits appointed by God, than any rivers of freſh running water have done.

Next, remember that God hath ſet you to be nurſing fathers to the kirk, craving of your hands, that ye would maintain and advance, by your authority that kirk, which the Lord hath faſhioned by the uncounterfeited work of his own new creation, as the prophet ſpeaketh, *He hath made us, and not we ourſelves*; but that that ye ſhould preſume to faſhion and ſhape a new portraiture of a kirk, and a new form of divine ſervice which God in his word hath not before allowed; becauſe, that were you to extend your authority farther than the calling ye have of God doth permit, as namely, if ye ſhould (as God forbid) authorize the authority of biſhops, and their pre eminence above their brethren, ye ſhould bring into the kirk of God the ordinance of man, and that thing which the experience of preceding ages hath teſtified to be the ground of great idleneſs, palpable ignorance, inſufferable pride, pitileſs tyranny, and ſhameleſs ambition in the kirk of God. And finally, to have been the ground of that antichriſtian hierarchy, which mounteth up on the ſteps of pre-eminence of biſhops, until that man of ſin came forth, as the ripe fruit of man's wiſdom, whom God ſhall conſume with the breath of his own mouth. Let the ſword of God pierce that belly which brought forth ſuch a monſter; and let the ſtaff of God cruſh that egg which hath hatched ſuch a cockatrice; and let not only that Roman antichriſt be thrown down from the high bench of his uſurped authority, but alſo let all the ſteps, whereby he mounted up to that unlawful pre eminence, be cut down, and utterly aboliſhed in this land.

Above all things, my lords, beware to ſtrive againſt God, with an open and diſplayed banner, by building up again the walls of Jericho, which the Lord hath not only caſt down, but hath alſo laid them under a horrible interdiction and execration; ſo that the building of them again muſt needs ſtand to greater charges to the builders, than the re-edifying of Jericho to Hiel the Bethelite, in the days of Achab: For he had nothing but the interdiction of Joſhua, and the curſe pronounced by him, to ſtay him from building again of Jericho; but the nobl men and ſtates of this realm, have the reverence of the oath of God, made by themſelves, and ſubſcribed with their own hands, in the confeſſion of faith, called the king's majeſty's, publiſhed oftener than once or twice, ſubſcribed and ſworn by his moſt excellent majeſty, and by his highneſs, the nobility, eſtates, and whole ſubjects of this realm, to hold them back from ſetting up the dominion of biſhops. Becauſe, it is of verity, that they ſubſcribed and ſwore the ſaid confeſſion, containing not only the maintenance of the true doctrine, but alſo of the diſcipline profeſſed within the realm of Scotland.

Conſider alſo, that this work cannot be ſet forward, without the great ſlander of the goſpel, defamation of many preachers, and evident

rit and return of prayer; the following fact attested by old Mr. Row of Carnock, shews how much of the divine countenance he had in his duty:—His wife, Martha Baron, a woman of singular piety, fell sick, and, under her indisposition,

vident hurt and loss of the people's souls committed to our charge. For the people are brought almost to the like case, as they were in Syria, Arabia and Egypt, about the 600th year of our Lord, when the people were so shaken and brangled with contrary doctrines, some affirming, and others denying, the opinion of Eutyches, that in end they lost all assured persuasion of true religion; and within short time thereafter, did cast the gates of their hearts open to the peril, to receive that vile and blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet; even so the people in this land are cast into such admiration to hear the preachers, who damned so openly this stately pre-eminence of bishops, and then, within a few years after, accept the same dignity, pomp and superiority in their own persons, which they before had damned in others, that the people know not what way to incline, and in the end will become so doubtful in matters of religion and doctrine, that their hearts will be like an open tavern, patent to every guest that chooses to come in.

We beseech your honours to ponder this in the balance of a godly and prudent mind, and suffer not the gospel to be slandered by the behaviour of a few preachers, of whom we are bold to affirm, that if they go forward in this defection, not only abusing and appropriating the name of bishops to themselves, which is common to all the pastors of God's kirk; but also taking upon themselves such offices, that carry with them the ordinary charge of governing the civil affairs of the country, neglecting their flocks, and seeking to subordinate their brethren to their jurisdiction; if any of them, we say, be found to step forward in this cause of defection, they are more worthy, as rotten members, to be cut off from the body of Christ, than to have superiority and dominion over their brethren, within the kirk of God.

This pre eminence of bishops is that Dagon, which once already fell before the ark of God in this land, and no band of iron shall be able to hold him up again. This is that pattern of that altar brought from Damascus, but not shewed to Moses in the mountain, and therefore it shall fare with it as it did with that altar of Damascus, it came last in the temple, and went first out. Likewise the institution of Christ was anterior to this pre eminence of bishops, and shall consist and stand within the house of God, when this new fashion of the altar shall go to the door.

Remember, my lords, that in times past your authority was for Christ, and not against him. Ye followed the light of God, and strived not against it; and, like a child in the mother's hand, ye said to Christ, *Draw us after thee.* God forbid, that ye should now leave off, and fall away from your former reverence borne to Christ, in presuming to lead him, whom the Father hath appointed to be leader of you. And far less to trail the holy ordinances of Christ by the cords of your authority, at the heels of the ordinances of men.

And albeit your honours have no such intention to do any thing which may impair the honour of Christ's kingdom; yet remember, that

poſition, was ſtrongly aſſaulted by the common enemy of ſalvation; ſuggeſting to her, that ſhe ſhould be delivered up to him, which ſoon brought her into a very diſtracted condition, and continued, for ſome time, increaſing; ſhe broke forth into very dreadful expreſſions:—She was in one of theſe fits of deſpair, one Sabbath morning, when Mr. Simpſon was going to preach; he was exceedingly troubled at her condition, and went to prayer, which ſhe

that ſpiritual darkneſs, flowing from a very ſmall beginning, doth ſo inſinuate and thruſt itſelf into the houſe of God, as men can hardly diſcern by what ſecret means the light was dimmed, and darkneſs creeping in got the upper hand; and in the end, at unawares, all was involved in a miſty cloud of horrible apoſtacy.

And leſt any ſhould think this our admonition out of time, in ſo far as it is ſtatute and ordained already by his majeſty, with advice of his eſtates in parliament, that all miniſters, provided to prelacies, ſhould have vote in parliament; as likewiſe, the General Aſſembly (his majeſty being preſent thereat) hath found the ſame lawful and expedient, We would humbly and earneſtly beſeech all ſuch, to conſider,

Firſt, That the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, the office bearers and laws thereof, neither ſhould, nor can ſuffer any derogation, addition, diminution or alteration beſides the preſcript of his holy word, by any inventions or doings of men civil or eccleſiaſtical. And we are able, by the grace of God, and will offer ourſelves to prove, that this biſhopric to be erected, is againſt the word of God, the ancient fathers, and canons of the kirk, the modern moſt learned and godly divines, the doctrine and conſtitution of the kirk of Scotland ſince the firſt reformation of religion within the ſame country, the laws of the realm, ratifying the government of the kirk by the general and provincial aſſemblies, preſbyteries and ſeſſions; alſo againſt the well and honour of the king's moſt excellent majeſty, the well and honour of the realm and quietneſs thereof; the eſtabliſhed eſtate and well of the kirk in the doctrine, diſcipline and patrimony thereof; the well and honour of your lordſhips, the moſt ancient eſtate of this realm, and finally, againſt the well of all, and every one, the good ſubjects thereof, in ſoul, body and ſubſtance.

Next, That the act of parliament, granting vote in parliament to miniſters, is with a ſpecial proviſion, that nothing thereby be derogatory or prejudicial to the preſent eſtabliſhed diſcipline of the kirk, and juriſdiction thereof in general and ſynodical aſſemblies, preſbyteries and ſeſſions.

Thirdly and laſtly, The General Aſſembly (his majeſty ſitting, voting and conſenting therein) fearing the corruption of that office, hath circumſcribed and bounded the ſame with a number of cautions; all which, together with ſuch others as ſhall be concluded upon by the aſſembly, were thought expedient to be inſerted in the body of the act of parliament, that is to be made for confirmation of their vote in parliament, as moſt neceſſary and ſubſtantial parts of the ſame. And the ſaid aſſembly hath not agreed to give thereunto the name of biſhops, for fear of importing the old corruption, pomp and tyranny of papal biſhops, but ordained them to be called

took no notice of. After he had done, he turned to the company preſent, and ſaid, That they who had been witneſſes to that ſad hour, ſhould yet ſee a gracious work of God on her, and that the devil's malice againſt that poor woman, ſhould have a ſhameful foil. Her diſtraction continued for ſome days after. On a Tueſday morning, about day-break, he went into his garden as private as poſſible, and one Helen Gardiner, wife to one of the baillies of the town, a godly woman, who had ſate up that night with Mrs. Simpſon, being concerned at the melancholy condition he was in, climbed over the garden wall, to obſerve him in this retirement, but, coming near the place where he was, ſhe was terrified with a noiſe which ſhe heard, as of the ruſhing of multitudes of people together, with a moſt melodious ſound intermixed; ſhe fell on her knees and prayed that the Lord would pardon her raſhneſs, which her regard for his ſervant had cauſed. Afterwards, ſhe went forward,

led commiſſioners for the kirk to vote in parliament. And it is of verity, that according to theſe cautions, neither have theſe men, now called biſhops, entered to that office of commiſſionary to vote in parliament, neither ſince their ingyring, have they behaved themſelves therein. And therefore, in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall hold that great court of parliament to judge both the quick and the dead at his glorious manifeſtation; and in name of his kirk in general, ſo happily and well eſtabliſhed within this realm, and whereof the ſaid realm hath reaped the comfortable peace and unity, free from hereſy, ſchiſm and diſſention theſe 46 years by-paſt; alſo in name of our preſbyteries, from which we have our commiſſion; and in our own names, office bearers and paſtors within the ſame, for diſcharging of our neceſſary duty, and diſburdening of our conſciences in particular, We Except and Proteſt againſt the ſaid biſhopric, and biſhops, and the erection, or confirmation or ratification thereof at this preſent parliament; moſt humbly craving, that this our proteſtation may be admitted by your honours, and regiſtrate among the ſtatutes and acts of the ſame, in caſe (as God forbid) theſe biſhoprics be erected, ratified, or confirmed therein.

This Proteſtation was ſubſcribed by the miniſters, whoſe names follow,

MESSRS. Andrew Melvil, James Melvil, William Scott, James Roſs, John Carmichael, John Gilleſpie, William Erſkine, Colin Campbel, James Murhead, John Mitchel, John Davidſon, John Coldon, John Abernethy, James Davidſon, Adam Bannantyne, John Row, William Buchanan, John Kennedy, John Ogilvie, John Scrimgeour, John Malcolm, James Burden, Iſaac Blackfoord, Iſaac Strachan, James Row, William Row, Robert Merſer, Edmund Myles, John French, Patrick Simpſon, John Dykes, William Young, William Cooper, William Keith, Hugh Duncan, James Merſer, Robert Colvil, William Hog, Robert Wallace, David Barclay, John Weemes, William Cranſton.

forward, and found him lying on the ground; she intreated him to tell her what had happened unto him, and, after many promises of secresy, and an obligation, that she should not reveal it in his life-time, but, if she survived him, she should be at liberty, he then said, "O! what "am I! being but dust and ashes! that holy ministring "spirits should be sent with a message to me!" And then told her, That he had had a vision of angels, who gave him an audible answer from the Lord, respecting his wife's condition; and then, returning to the house, he said to the people who attended his wife, "Be of good comfort, for "I am sure that ere ten hours of the day, that brand shall "shall be plucked out of the fire." After which he went to prayer, at his wife's bed-side;—she continued for some time quiet, but, upon his mentioning Jacob wrestling with God, she sat up in the bed, drew the curtain aside, and said, "Thou art this day a Jacob, who hast wrestled and "hast prevailed, and now God hath made good his word, "which he spoke this morning to you, for I am pluckt out "of the hands of Satan, and he shall have no power over "me." This interruption made him silent for a little, but afterwards, with great melting of heart, he proceeded in prayer, and magnified the riches of grace towards him. From that hour she continued to utter nothing but the language of joy and comfort, until her death, which was on the Friday following, August 13th, 1601.

Mr. Simpson lived for several years after this, fervent and faithful in the work of the ministry. In the year 1608 when the bishops and some commissioners of the general assembly conveened in the palace of Falkland, the ministers assembled in the kirk of the town, and chose him for their moderator; After which they spent some time in prayer, and tasted some of the comfort of their former meetings. They then agreed upon some articles for concord and peace to be given into the bishops, *&c.*——This Mr. Simpson and some others did in the name of the rest, but the bishops shifted them off to the next assembly, and in the mean time, took all possible precautions to strengthen their own party, which they effected.

In 1610, the noblemen and bishops came to S irling, after dissolving the assembly. In preaching before them, he openly charged the bishops with perjury and gross defection. They hesitated for some time, whether they should delate him, or compound the matter;—But, after deliberation, they dropt the affair altogether for the present.—— There is no reason to doubt but he would have been sub-

lected

jected to the ſame ſufferings with many others of his brethren, had he lived, but before the cope-ſtone was laid on prelacy in Scotland, he had entered into the joy of his Lord. ——For, in the month of March 1618, which was about four months before the Perth aſſembly, when the five articles were agreed upon *, he ſaid that this month ſhould put an end to all his troubles, and he accordingly died about the end of it, bleſſing the Lord, that he had not been perverted by the ſinful courſes of theſe times; and ſaid, As the Lord had ſaid to Elijah in the wilderneſs, ſo, in ſome reſpects he had dealt with him all the days of his life.

He wrote a hiſtory of the church, for the ſpace of about ten centuries. There are ſome other little tracts, beſides a hiſtory of the councils of the church, which are nearly out of print altogether. Upon ſome of his books he had written, "Remember, O my ſoul, and never forget the 9th of "Auguſt, what conſolation the Lord gave thee, and how "he performed what he ſpake according to Zech. iii. 2. "*Is not this a brand pluckt out of the fire?*" &c.

* Theſe were, 1. Kneeling at the communion. 2. Private communion. 3. Private baptiſm. 4. Obſervation of holydays. 5. Confirmation of children.

The Life of Mr. ANDREW DUNCAN.

MR. DUNCAN was ſettled miniſter at Crail, in the ſhire of Fyfe, and was afterwards ſummoned before the high commiſſion court at St. Andrews, in the year 1619. on account of his faithfulneſs in oppoſing the five articles of Perth. At the firſt time of his compearance, he declined their authority; and at the ſecond, he adhered to his former declinature, upon which the high commiſſion court paſſed the ſentence of depoſition againſt him, and ordained him to enter himſelf in ward at Dundee. After the ſentence was pronounced, he gave in a proteſtation, which was as follows, "Now, ſeeing I have done nothing "of this buſineſs, whereof I have been accuſed by you, "but have been ſerving Jeſus Chriſt my maſter in rebuk-"ing vice, in ſimplicity and righteouſneſs of heart. I pro-"teſt (ſeeing ye have done me wrong) for a remedy at God's "hand, the righteous Judge, and ſummon you before his "dreadful judgment-ſeat, to be cenſured and puniſhed for "ſuch unrighteous dealings, at ſuch a time as his majeſty

"ſhall

" ſhall think expedient, and, in the mean time decline this " your judgment *ſimpliciter* now as before, and appeal to " the ordinary aſſembly of the church, for reaſons before " produced in write. Pity yourſelves for the Lord's ſake; " loſe not your own dear ſouls, I beſeech you for Eſau's " pottage: Remember Balaam, who was caſt away by the " deceit of the wages of unrighteouſneſs; forget not how " miſerable Judas was, who loſt himſelf for a trifle of mo- " ney, that never did him good. Better be pined to death " by hunger, than for a little pittance of the earth, to pe- " riſh for ever, and never be recovered, ſo long as the " days of heaven ſhall laſt, and the years of eternity ſhall " endure. Why ſhould ye diſtreſs your own brethren, " ſons and ſervants of the Lord Jeſus; this is not the do- " ing of the ſhepherds of the flock of Chriſt: if ye will not " regard your ſouls nor conſciences, look I beſeech you, " to your fame, why will ye be miſerable both in this life " and in the life to come."

When the biſhop of St. Andrews had read ſome few lines of this admonition, he caſt it from him, the biſhop of Dumblane took it up, and reading it, ſaid he, calls them Eſau's, Balaams and Judases; " Not ſo, ſaid Mr. Dun- " can, read again, beware that ye be not like them. In the ſpace of a month after, he was depoſed for non-conformity.

In the month of July 1621, he preſented a large ſupplication, in name of himſelf, and ſome of his faithful brethren, who had been excluded the general aſſembly, to Sir George Hay clerk regiſter, on which account he was in a few days after, apprehended by the captain of the guards, and brought before the council, who accuſed him for breaking ward, after he was ſuſpended and confined to Dundee, becauſe he had preached the week before at Crail. Mr. Duncan denied that he had been put to the horn; and as for breaking ward, he ſaid, That, for the ſake of obedience, he ſtaid at Dundee, ſeparated from a wife and ſix children for a half a year, and the winter approaching forced him to go home. In the end, he requeſted them not to impriſon him on his own charges, but the ſentence had been reſolved on before he compeared. He was conveyed to Dumbarton caſtle next day (ſome ſay to Blackneſs caſtle); here he remained until the month of October thereafter, when he was again brought before the council, and by them was confined to Kilrinnie, upon his own charges: This was a pariſh neighbouring to his own.

Upon

Upon another occaſion, of the ſame nature with this juſt now narrated, this worthy man was baniſhed out of the kingdom, and went to ſettle at Berwick, but having ſeveral children, and his wife big with another, they were reduced to great hardſhips, being obliged to part with their ſervant, they had ſcarcely ſubſiſtence ſufficient for themſelves. One night in particular, the children aſking for bread, and there being none to give them, they cried very ſore; the mother was likewiſe much depreſſed in ſpirit, for Mr. Duncan had reſource ſometimes to prayer, and in the intervals endeavoured to cheriſh his wife's hope, and pleaſe the children, and at laſt got them to bed, but ſhe continued to mourn heavily. He exhorted her to wait patiently upon God, who was now trying them, but would undoubtedly provide for them, and added, that if the Lord ſhould rain down bread from heaven, they ſhould not want. This confidence was the more remarkable, becauſe they had neither friend nor acquaintance in that place to whom they could make their caſe known. And yet before morning, a man brought them a ſackful of proviſion, and went off without telling them from whence it came, though entreated to do it. When Mr. Duncan opened the ſack, he found in it a bag with twenty pounds Scots, two loaves of bread, a bag of flour, another of barley and ſuch-like proviſions; and having brought the whole to his wife, he ſaid, "See what a good maſter I ſerve." After this ſhe hired a ſervant again, but was ſoon reduced to a new extremity; the pains of child-bearing came upon her, before ſhe could make any proviſion for her delivery, but providence interpoſed on their behalf at this time alſo: While ſhe travailed in the night-ſeaſon, and the good man knew not where to apply for a mid-wife, a gentlewoman came early in the morning riding to the door, and having ſent her ſervant back with the horſe, with orders when to return. She went in, and aſked the maid of the houſe, How her miſtreſs was, and deſired acceſs to her, which ſhe obtained; ſhe firſt ordered a good fire to be made, and ordered Mrs. Duncan to riſe, and without any other aſſiſtance than the houſe afforded, ſhe delivered her, and afterwards accomodated Mrs. Duncan and the child with abundance of very fine linen, which ſhe had brought along with her. She gave her likewiſe a box, containing ſome neceſſary cordials and five pieces of gold, bidding them both be of good comfort, for they ſhould not want. After which, ſhe went away on the horſe, which was by this time returned

for

for her, but would not tell her name, nor from whence she came.

Thus did God take his own ſervant under his immediate care and providence, when men had wrongfully excluded him from enjoying his worldly comforts. He continued zealous and ſtedfaſt in the faith, and, to the end of his life, his conduct was uniform with the circumſtances of this narrative.

The Life of Mr. JOHN SCRIMZEOR.

HE was ſettled miniſter at Kinghorn, in the ſhire of Fyfe, and went as chaplain with King James in the year 1590, to Denmark, when he brought home his queen. He was afterwards concerned in ſeveral important affairs of the church, until that fatal year 1618, when the five articles of Perth were agreed on in an aſſembly held at that place. He attended at this aſſembly, and gave in ſome propoſals†, upon being (along with others of his faithful brethren) excluded from having a vote by the prevailing party of that aſſembly.

In 1620, he was with ſome others, ſummoned before the high commiſſion-court, for not preaching upon holy days, and not adminiſtring the communion conform to the agreement at Perth, with certification if this was proven, that he ſhould be deprived of exerciſing the functions of a miniſter in all time coming. But there being none preſent on the day appointed, except the biſhops of St. Andrews, Glaſgow and the iſles, and Mr. Walter Whiteford, they were diſmiſſed at that time; but were warned to compear again on the firſt of Marcch. The biſhops cauſed the clerk to exact their conſent to deprivation, in caſe they did not compear againſt that day. Nevertheleſs, they all proteſted with one voice, That they would never willingly renounce their miniſtry, and ſuch was the reſolution and courage of Mr. Scrimzeor, that notwithſtanding all the threatning of the biſhops, he celebrated the communion conform to the antient practice of the church, a few days thereafter.

On the day appointed for their next compearance, the biſhops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Galloway, the iſles, Dumblain, Mr. Hewiſon commiſſary of Edinburgh, and

† See them in Calderwood's hiſtory, page 708.

Dr. Blair, being aſſembled in the biſhop of St. Andrews lodging in Edinburgh, Mr. John Scrimzeor was again called upon to anſwer, and the biſhop of St. Andrews alleged againſt him, that he had promiſed either to conform or quit his miniſtry, as the act at his laſt compearance on January 26th reported; he replied, "I am ſore ſtraitned, I "never ſaw reaſon to conform; and as for my miniſtry, "it was not mine and ſo I could not quit it." After long reaſoning betwixt him and the biſhops, concerning church policy and the keeping of holy days, he was removed for a little. Being called in again, the biſhop of St. Andrews told him, "You are deprived of all function within the "kirk, and ordained within ſix days to enter in ward at "Dundee. "It is a very ſummary and peremptory ſen-"tence," ſaid Mr. Scrimzeor, "ye might have been ad-"viſed better, and firſt have heard what I would have ſaid." "You ſhall be heard," ſaid the biſhop. This brought on ſome further reaſoning, in the courſe of which Mr Scrimzeor gave a faithful teſtimony againſt the king's ſupremacy over the church, and among other things ſaid, "I have had op-"portunity to reaſon with the king himſelf on this ſub-"ject, and have told him that Chriſt was the ſovereign, "and only director of his houſe; and that his majeſty was "ſubject to him. I have had occaſion to tell other mens "matters to the king, and could have truly claimed this "great preferment." "I tell you Mr. John," ſaid the biſhop of St. Andrews, "that the king is pope, and ſhall be "ſo now;" He replied, "That is an evil ſtyle you give "him:" And then gave in his reaſons in write, which they read at leiſure. Afterwards the biſhop of St. Andrews ſaid to him, "Take up your reaſons again, if you will not con-"form, I cannot help it; the king muſt be obeyed, the "lords have given ſentence and will ſtand to it." "Ye "cannot deprive me of my miniſtry," ſaid Mr. Scrimzeor, "I received it not from you; I received it from the whole "ſynod of Fyfe, and, for any thing ye do, I will never "think myſelf depoſed." The biſhop of St. Andrews replied, "You are deprived only of the preſent exerciſe of "it."—Then he preſented the following proteſtation, "I "proteſt before the Lord Jeſus, that I get manifeſt wrong; "my reaſons and allegations are not conſidered and an-"ſwered. I atteſt you to anſwer at his glorious appear-"ance, for this and ſuch dealings, and proteſt that my "cauſe ſhould have been heard as I pled, and ſtill plead "and challenge. I likewiſe appeal to the Lord Jeſus, his "eternal word, to the king my dread ſovereign, his law,

"to

"to the conſtitution of this kirk and kingdom, to the coun-
"cils and aſſemblies of both, and proteſt that I ſtand mini-
"ſter of the evangel, and only by violence I am thruſt from
"the ſame." "You muſt obey the ſentence," ſaid the biſhop of St. Andrews; he anſwered, "That Dundee was
"far off, and he was not able for far journeys, as phyſicians
"can witneſs." And he added, "Little know ye what is
"in my purſe." "Then where will you chooſe the place
"of your confinement," ſaid the biſhop: He anſwered,
"At a little room of my own called Bowhill, in the pariſh
"of Auchterderran." Then ſaid the biſhop, "Write,
"At Bowhill, during the king's pleaſure." Thus this worthy ſervant of Chriſt lived the reſt of his days in Auchterderran. In his old age he was grievouſly afflicted with the ſtone. He ſaid to a godly miniſter, who went to ſee him a little before his death, "I have been a rude ſtunkard
"all my life, and now by this pain the Lord is humbling
"me to make me as a lamb, before he take me to himſelf."

He was a man ſomewhat rude-like in his clothing, and in ſome of his expreſſions and behaviour; and yet was a very loving tender hearted man; of a deep natural judgment; and very learned, eſpecially in Hebrew. He often wiſhed that moſt part of books were burnt, except the bible, and ſome ſhort notes thereon. He had a peculiar talent for comforting the dejected. He uſed a very familiar but preſſing manner of preaching. He was alſo an eminent wreſtler with God, and had more than ordinary power and familiarity with him, as appears from the following inſtances.

When he was miniſter at Kinghorn, there was a certain godly woman under his charge, who fell ſick of a very lingering diſeaſe, and was all the while aſſaulted with ſtrong temptations, leading her to think that ſhe was a caſt-away, notwithſtanding that her whole converſation had put the reality of grace in her beyond a doubt. He often viſited her while in this deep exerciſe, but her trouble and terrors ſtill remained; as her diſſolution drew on, her ſpiritual trouble increaſed. He went with two of his elders to her, and began firſt, in their preſence, to comfort her and pray with her, but ſhe ſtill grew worſe: He ordered his elders to pray, and afterwards prayed himſelf, but no relief came. Then ſitting penſive for a little ſpace, he thus broke ſilence, "What is this! Our laying grounds of comfort
"before her will not do; prayer will not do: We muſt
"try another remedy. Sure I am, this is a daughter of
"Abraham; ſure I am, ſhe hath ſent for me, and there-
"fore, in the name of God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus,

"who ſent him to redeem ſinners; in the name of Jeſus "Chriſt, who obeyed the Father, and came to ſave us; "and in the name of the Holy and bleſſed Spirit, our "Quickner and Sanctifier—I, the elder, command thee, "a daughter of Abraham, to be looſed from theſe bonds." And immediately peace and joy enſued.

Mr. Scrimzeor had ſeveral friends and children taken away by death, and his only daughter who, at that time ſurvived (and whom he dearly loved), being ſeized with the king's evil, by which ſhe was reduced to the very point of death, ſo that he was called up to ſee her die; and finding her in this condition, he went out to the fields (as he himſelf told) in the night-time, in great grief and anxiety, and began to expoſtulate with the Lord, with ſuch expreſſions as, for all the world, he durſt not again utter. In a fit of diſpleaſure he ſaid, "Thou, O Lord, knoweſt that "I have been ſerving thee in the uprightneſs of my heart, "according to my power and meaſure, nor have I ſtood "in awe to declare thy mind even unto the greateſt in the "time, and thou ſeeſt that I take pleaſure in this child. O "that I could obtain ſuch a thing at thy hand, as to ſpare "her." And being in great agony of ſpirit, at laſt it was ſaid to him from the Lord, "I have heard thee at this "time, but uſe not the like boldneſs in time coming, for "ſuch particulars." When he came home the child was recovered, and, ſitting up in the bed, took ſome meat, and when he looked at her arm it was perfectly whole.

The Life of Mr. JOHN WELCH.

MR. JOHN WELCH was born a gentleman, his father being laird of Colieſton (an eſtate rather competent than large, in the ſhire of Nithſdale), about the year 1570, the dawning of our reformation being then but dark. He was a rich example of grace and mercy, but the night went before the day, being a moſt hopeleſs extravagant boy: It was not enough to him, frequently when he was a young ſtripling to run away from the ſchool, and play the truant; but, after he had paſt his grammar, and was come to be a youth, he left the ſchool, and his father's houſe, and went and joined himſelf to the thieves on the Engliſh border, who lived by robbing the two nations, and amongſt them he ſtayed till he ſpent a ſuit of clothes. Then when

when he was clothed only with rags, the prodigal's miſery brought him to the prodigal's reſolution, ſo he reſolved to return to his father's houſe, but durſt not adventure, till he ſhould enterpoſe a reconciler. In his return homeward, he took Dumfries in his way, where he had an aunt, one Agnes Forſyth, and with her he ſpent ſome days, earneſtly intreating her to reconcile him to his father. While he lurked in her houſe, his father came providentially to the houſe to viſit his couſin Mrs. Forſyth; and after they had talked a while, ſhe aſked him, Whether ever he had heard any news of his ſon John; to her he replied with great grief, O cruel woman, how can you name him to me? The firſt news I expect to hear of him, is, That he is hanged for a theif. She anſwered, Many a profligate boy had become a virtuous man, and comforted him. He inſiſted upon his ſad complaint, but aſked, Whether ſhe knew his loſt ſon was yet alive. She anſwered, Yes, he was, and ſhe hoped he ſhould prove a better man than he was a boy, and with that ſhe called upon him to come to his father. He came weeping, and kneeled, beſeeching his father, for Chriſt's ſake, to pardon his miſbehaviour, and deeply engaged to be a new man. His father reproached him and threatened him. Yet at length, by his tears, and Mrs. Forſyth's importunities, he was perſuaded to a reconciliation. The boy entreated his father to ſend him to the college, and there to try his behaviour, and if ever thereafter he ſhould break, he ſaid, He ſhould be content his father ſhould diſclaim him for ever: So his father carried him home, and put him to the college, and there he became a diligent ſtudent, of great expectation, and ſhewed himſelf a ſincere convert; and ſo he proceeded to the miniſtry. His firſt ſettlement was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young, and the country rude. While he was there, his miniſtry was rather admired by ſome, than received by many; for he was always attended by the prophet's ſhadow, the hatred of the wicked; yea, even the miniſters of that country, were more ready to pick a quarrel with his perſon, than to follow his doctrine, as may appear to this day in their ſynodal records, where we find he had many to cenſure him, and only ſome to defend him; yet it was thought his miniſtry in that place was not without fruit, though he ſtayed but ſhort time there. Being a young man unmarried, he boarded himſelf in the houſe of one Mitchelhill, and took a young boy of his to be his bed-fellow, who to his dying day retained both a reſpect to Mr. Welch and his miniſtry, from the impreſſions Mr. Welch's behaviour

behaviour made upon his apprehenſion, though but a child. His cuſtom was when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scots plaid above his bed-clothes, and when he went to his night-prayers, to ſit up and cover himſelf negligently therewith, and ſo to continue. For from the beginning of his miniſtry to his death, he reckoned the day ill ſpent if he ſtayed not ſeven or eight hours in prayer; and this the boy did not forget even to old age.

An old man of the name of Ewart in Selkirk, who remembered Mr. Welch's being in that place ſaid, He was a type of Chriſt; an expreſſion more ſignificant than proper, for his meaning was, That he was an example that imitated Chriſt, as indeed in many things he did: He alſo ſaid, That his cuſtom was to preach publicly once every day, and to ſpend his whole time in ſpiritual exerciſes, that ſome in that place waited well upon his miniſtry with great tenderneſs, but that he was conſtrained to leave that place, becauſe of the malice of the wicked.

The ſpecial cauſe of his departure was, a prophane gentleman in the country (one Scot of Headſchaw, whoſe family is now extinct), becauſe Mr. Welch had either reproved him, or merely from hatred, Mr. Welch was moſt unworthily abuſed by the unhappy man, and among the reſt of the injuries he did him, this was one:—Mr. Welch kept always two good horſes for his own uſe, and the wicked gentleman, when he could do no more, either with his own hand, or by his ſervants, cut off the rumps of the two innocent beaſts, upon which they both died. Such baſe uſage as this perſuaded him to liſten to a call to the miniſtry at Kirkcudbright, which was his next poſt.

But when he was to leave Selkirk, he could not find a man in all the town to tranſport his furniture, except only Ewart, who was at that time a poor young man, but maſter of two horſes, with which he tranſported Mr. Welch's goods, and ſo left him; but as he took his leave, Mr. Welch gave him his bleſſing, and a piece of gold for a token, exhorting him to fear God, and promiſed he ſhould never want, which promiſe, providence made good through the whole courſe of the man's life, as was obſerved by all his neighbours.

At Kirkcudbright he ſtayed not long; but there he reaped a harveſt of converts, which ſubſiſted long after his departure, and were a part of Mr. Samuel Rutherford's flock, though not his pariſh, while he was miniſter at Anwoth: Yet when his call to Ayr came to him, the people of the pariſh

pariſh of Kirkcudbright never offered to detain him, ſo his tranſportation to Ayr was the more eaſy.

While he was at Kirkcudbright, he met with a young man in ſcarlet and ſilver lace (the gentleman's name was Mr. Robert Glendining) new come home from his travels; he much ſurpriſed the young man by telling him, he behoved to change his garb, and way of life, and betake himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, which at that time was not his buſineſs, for he ſhould be his ſucceſſor in the miniſtry at Kirkcudbright, which accordingly came to paſs ſometime thereafter.

Mr. Welch was tranſported to Ayr in the year 1590, and there he continued till he was baniſhed, there he had a very hard beginning, but a very ſweet end; for when he came firſt to the town, the country was ſo wicked and the hatred of godlineſs ſo great, that there could not one in all the town be found, who would let him a houſe to dwell in, ſo he was conſtrained to accommodate himſelf the beſt he might, in a part of a gentleman's houſe for a time; the gentleman's name was John Stuart merchant, and ſometime provoſt of Ayr, an eminent Chriſtian, and great aſſiſtant of Mr. Welch.

And when he had firſt taken up his reſidence in that town, the place was ſo divided into factions, and filled with bloody conflicts, a man could hardly walk the ſtreets with ſafety; wherefore Mr. Welch made it his firſt undertaking to remove the bloody quarrelings, but he found it a very difficult work; yet ſuch was his earneſtneſs to purſue his deſign, that many times he would ruſh betwixt two parties of men fighting, even in the midſt of blood and wounds. He uſed to cover his head with a head-piece before he went to ſeparate theſe bloody enemies, but would never uſe a ſword, that they might ſee he came for peace and not for war, and ſo, by little and little, he made the town a peaceable habitation.

His manner was, after he had ended a ſkirmiſh amongſt his neighbours, and reconciled theſe bitter enemies, to cauſe cover a table upon the ſtreet, and there brought the enemies together, and beginning with prayer he perſuaded them to profeſs themſelves friends, then to eat and drink together, then laſt of all he ended the work with ſinging a pſalm: For after the rude people began to obſerve his example, and liſten to his heavenly doctrine, he came quickly to that reſpect amongſt them, that he became not only a neceſſary counſellor, without whoſe council they would do nothing, but an example to imitate.

He

He gave himſelf wholly to miniſterial exerciſes, he preached once every day, he prayed the third part of his time, was unwearied in his ſtudies, and for a proof of this, it was found among his papers, that he had abridged Suarez's metaphyſics when they came firſt to his hand, even when he was well ſtricken in years. By all which it appears, that he has not only been a man of great diligence, but alſo of a ſtrong and robuſt natural conſtitution, otherwiſe he had never endured the fatigue.

Sometimes, before he went to ſermon, he would ſend for his elders and tell them, he was afraid to go to pulpit; becauſe he found himſelf ſore deſerted: and thereafter deſire one or more of them to pray, and then he would venture to pulpit. But, it was obſerved, this humbling exerciſe uſed ordinarily to be followed with a flame of extraordinary aſſiſtance: So near neighbours are many times contrary diſpoſitions and frames. He would many times retire to the church of Ayr, which was at ſome diſtance from the town, and there ſpend the whole night in prayer; for he uſed to allow his affections full expreſſion, and prayed not only with audible, but ſometimes a loud voice.

There was in Ayr before he came to it, an aged man, a miniſter of the town, called Porterfield, the man was judged no bad man, for his perſonal inclinations, but ſo eaſy a diſpoſition, that he uſed many times to go too great a length with his neighbours in many dangerous practices; and amongſt the reſt, he uſed to go to the bow-butts and archery, on the ſabbath afternoon, to Mr. Welch's great diſſatisfaction. But the way he uſed to reclaim him was not bitter ſeverity, but this gentle policy; Mr. Welch together with John Stuart, and Hugh Kennedy, his two intimate friends, uſed to ſpend the ſabbath afternoon in religious conference and prayer, and to this exerciſe they invited Mr. Porterfield, which he could not refuſe, by which means he was not only diverted from his former ſinful practice, but likewiſe brought to a more watchful and edifying behaviour in his courſe of life.

While Mr. Welch was at Ayr, the Lord's day was greatly profaned at a gentleman's houſe about eight miles diſtance from Ayr, by reaſon of great confluence of people playing at the foot-ball, and other paſtime. After writing ſeveral times to him to ſuppreſs the profanation of the Lord's day at his houſe, (which he ſlighted, not loving to be called a puritan) Mr. Welch came one day to his gate, and calling him out to tell him, that he had a meſſage from God to ſhew him, that becauſe he had ſlighted the advice

given

given him from the Lord, and would not reſtrain the profanation of the Lord's day committed in his bounds; therefore the Lord would caſt him out of his houſe, and none of his poſterity ſhould enjoy it: which accordingly came to paſs; for although he was in a good external ſituation at this time; yet henceforth all things went againſt him until he was obliged to ſell his eſtate; and when giving the purchaſer poſſeſſion thereof, he told his wife and children that he had found Mr. Welch a true prophet *.

He married Elizabeth Knox, daughter to the famous Mr. John Knox miniſter at Edinburgh, and ſhe lived with him from his youth till his death. By her he had three ſons †.

* Vide Mr. Welch's diſpute with Gilbert Brown the papiſt, in preface.

† The firſt was called Dr. Welch, a doctor of medicine, who was unhappily killed, upon an innocent miſtake in the Low Countries.

Another ſon he had moſt lamentably loſt at ſea, for when the ſhip in which he was, was ſunk, he ſwam to a rock in the ſea, but ſtarved there for want of neceſſary food and refreſhment, and when ſometime afterward his body was found upon the rock, they found him dead in a praying poſture upon his bended knees, with his hands ſtretched out, and this was all the ſatisfaction his friends and the world had upon his lamentable death.

Another he had who was heir to his father's graces and bleſſings, and this was Mr. Joſias Welch miniſter at Temple-patrick in the north of Ireland, commonly called the Cock of the conſcience by the people of that country, becauſe of his extraordinary awakening and rouzing gift: He was one of that bleſt ſociety of miniſters, which wrought that unparallelled work in the north of Iraland, about the year 1630 but was himſelf a man moſt ſadly exerciſed with doubts about his own ſalvation all his time, and would ordinarily ſay, That miniſter was much to be pitied, who was called to comfort weak ſaints, and had no comfort himſelf. He died in his youth, and left for his ſucceſſor, Mr. John Welch miniſter in Irongray in Galloway, the place of his grandfather's nativity. What buſineſs this made in Scotland, in the time of the late epiſcopal perſecution, for the ſpace of twenty years, is known to all Scotland. He maintained his dangerous poſt of preaching the goſpel upon the mountains of Scotland notwithſtanding of the threatnings of the ſtate, the hatred of the biſhops, the price ſet upon his head, and all the fierce induſtry of his cruel enemies. It is well known that bloody Claverhouſe upon ſecret information from his ſpies, that Mr. John Welch was to be found in ſome lurking place at forty miles diſtance, would make all that long journey in one winter's night, that he might catch him, but when he came he miſſed always his prey. I never heard of a man that endured more toil, adventured upon more, or eſcaped ſo much hazard, not in the world. He uſed to tell his friends who counſelled him to be more cautious, and not to hazard himſelf ſo much, That he firmly believed dangerous undertakings would be his ſecurity, and that whenever he ſhould give over that

courſe

As the duty wherein Mr. Welch abounded and excelled moſt in his prayer, ſo his greateſt attainments fell that way. He uſed to ſay, He wondered how a Chriſtian could ly in bed all night, and not riſe to pray, and many times he roſe, and many times he watched. One night he roſe from his wife, and went into the next room, where he ſtaid ſo long at ſecret prayer, that his wife, fearing he might catch cold, was conſtrained to riſe and follow him, and, as ſhe hearkened, ſhe heard him ſpeak as by interrupted ſentences, Lord, wilt thou not grant me Scotland, and after a pauſe, Enough, Lord, enough; and ſo ſhe returned to her bed, and he following her, not knowing ſhe had heard him, but when he was by her, ſhe aſked him, What he meant by ſaying, Enough, Lord, enough? he ſhewed himſelf diſſatisfied with her curioſity, but told her, He had been wreſtling with the Lord for Scotland, and found there was a ſad time at hand, but that the Lord would be gracious to a remnant. This was about the time when biſhops firſt overſpread the land, and corrupted the church. This is more wonderful ſtill, An honeſt miniſter, who was a pariſhoner of Mr. Welch many a day, ſaid, "That one night as he watched in his garden very late, and ſome friends waiting upon him in his houſe, and wearying becauſe of his long ſtay, one of them chanced to open a window toward the place where he walked, and ſaw clearly a ſtrange light ſurround him, and heard him ſpeak ſtrange words about his ſpiritual joy." But though Mr. Welch had upon the account of his holineſs, abilities and ſucceſs, acquired among his ſubdued people, a very great reſpect, yet was he never in ſuch admiration, as after the great plague which raged in Scotland in his time.

And one cauſe was this: The magiſtrates of Ayr, foraſmuch as this town alone was free, and the country about infected, thought fit to guard the ports with centinels and watchmen; and one day two travelling merchants, each with a pack of cloth upon a horſe, came to the town deſiring entrance that they might ſell their goods, producing a paſs from the magiſtrates of the town from whence they came, which was at that time ſound and free; yet notwithſtanding all this, the centinels ſtopt them till the magiſtrates were called, and when they came they would do nothing

courſe and retire himſelf, his miniſtry ſhould come to an end; which accordingly came to paſs, for when, after the battle of Bothwel bridge, he retired to London, the Lord called him by death, and there he was honourably interred, not far from the king's palace.

nothing without their miniſter's advice; ſo Mr. Welch was called, and his opinion aſked: He demurred, and putting off his hat, with his eyes towards heaven for a pretty ſpace, though he uttered no audible words, yet continued in a praying poſture; and after a little ſpace told the magiſtrates, They would do well to diſcharge theſe travellers their town, affirming, with great aſſeveration, the plague was in theſe packs, ſo the magiſtrates commanded them to be gone, and they went to Cumnock, a town about twenty miles diſtant, and there ſold their goods, which kindled ſuch an infection in that place, that the living were hardly able to bury their dead. This made the people begin to think of Mr. Welch as an oracle: Yet, as he walked with God, and kept cloſe with him, ſo he forgot not man, for he uſed frequently to dine abroad with ſuch of his friends as he thought were perſons with whom he might maintain the communion of the ſaints; and once in the year, he uſed always to invite all his familiar acquaintances in the town, to a treat in his houſe, where there was a banquet of holineſs and ſobriety.

He continued the courſe of his miniſtry in Ayr, till king James's purpoſe of deſtroying the church of Scotland, by eſtabliſhing biſhops was ripe, and then it became his duty to edify the church by his ſufferings, as formerly he had done by his doctrine.

The reaſon why king James was ſo violent for biſhops, was neither their divine inſtitution, which he denied they had, nor yet the profit the church ſhould reap by them, for he knew well both the men and their communications, but merely becauſe he believed they were uſeful inſtruments to turn a limited monarchy into abſolute dominion, and ſubjects into ſlaves; the deſign in the world he minded moſt.

Always in the purſuit of his deſign, he followed this method; in the firſt place, he reſolved to deſtroy general aſſemblies, knowing well that ſo long as aſſemblies might convene in freedom, biſhops could never get their deſigned authority in Scotland; and the diſſolution of aſſemblies he brought about in this manner.

The general aſſembly at Holy-rood houſe, *anno* 1602, with the king's conſent, indict their next meeting to be kept at Aberdeen, the laſt tueſday of July *anno* 1604, and before that day came, the king by his commiſſioner the laird of Laureſton, and Mr. Patrick Galloway moderator of the laſt general aſſembly, in a letter directed to the ſeveral preſbyteries, prorogued the meeting till the firſt tueſ-

day of July 1605, at the ſame place; laſt of all, in June 1605, the expected meeting to have been kept in July following, is by a new letter from the king's commiſſioner, and the commiſſioners of the general aſſembly, abſolutely diſcharged and prohibited, but without naming any day or place, for any other aſſembly; and ſo the ſeries of our aſſemblies expired, never to revive again in due form, till the covenant was renewed *anno* 1638. However, many of the godly miniſters of Scotland, knowing well, if once the hedge of the government was broken, the corruption of the doctrine would ſoon follow, reſolved not to quit their aſſemblies ſo. And therefore a number of them convened at Aberdeen, upon the firſt tueſday of July 1605, being the laſt day that was diſtinctly appointed by authority; and when they had met, did no more but conſtitute themſelves and diſſolve. Amongſt thoſe was Mr. Welch, who, though he had not been preſent upon that preciſe day, yet becauſe he came to the place, and approved what his brethren had done, he was accuſed as guilty of the treaſonable fact committed by them. So dangerous a point was the name of a general aſſembly in king James's jealous judgment.

Within a month after this meeting, many of theſe godly men were incarcerate, ſome in one priſon, ſome in another. Mr. Welch was ſent firſt to Edinburgh tolbooth, and then to Blackneſs; and ſo from priſon to priſon, till he was baniſhed to France, never to ſee Scotland again.

And now the ſcene of his life begins to alter; but, before his ſufferings, he had this ſtrange warning.

After the meeting at Aberdeen was over, he retired immediately to Ayr; and one night he roſe from his wife, and went into his garden, as his cuſtom was, but ſtayed longer than ordinary, which troubled his wife, who, when he returned, expoſtulated with him very hard for his ſtaying ſo long to wrong his health; he bid her be quiet, for it ſhould be well with them. But he knew well, he ſhould never preach more at Ayr; and accordingly, before the next ſabbath, he was carried priſoner to Blackneſs caſtle. After that, he, with many others, who had met at Aberdeen, were brought before the council of Scotland at Edinburgh, to anſwer for their rebellion and contempt, in holding a general aſſembly, not authorized by the king. And becauſe they declined the ſecret council, as judges competent in cauſes purely ſpiritual, ſuch as the nature and conſtitution of a general aſſembly is, they were firſt re-mitted to the priſon at Blackneſs, and other places, and thereafter, ſix of the moſt conſiderable of them, were brought under

under night from Blackneſs to Linlithgow before the criminal judges, to anſwer an accuſation of high treaſon at the inſtance of Sir Thomas Hamilton the king's advocate, for declining, as he alleged, the king's lawful authority, in refuſing to admit the council judges competent in the cauſe of the nature of church judicatories; and, after their accuſation and anſwer was read, by the verdict of a jury of very conſiderable gentlemen, they were condemned as guilty of high treaſon, the puniſhment deferred till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known; and there-after their puniſhment was made baniſhment, that the cruel ſentence might ſomewhat ſeem to ſoften their ſevere puniſhment, as the king had contrived it.

While he was in Blackneſs, he wrote his famous letter to Lilias Graham counteſs of Wigton; in which he utters, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his conſolation in ſuffering; his deſire to be diſſolved, that he might be with the Lord; the judgments he foreſaw coming upon Scotland, *&c.* He alſo ſeems moſt poſitively to ſhew the true cauſe of their ſufferings, and ſtate of the teſtimony in theſe words:

"Who am I, that he ſhould firſt have called me, and "then conſtituted me a miniſter of the glad tidings of the "goſpel of ſalvation theſe years already, and now laſt of "all to be a ſufferer for his cauſe and kingdom. Now, let "it be ſo, that I have fought my fight, and run my race, "and now from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of "righteouſneſs, which the Lord that righteous God will "give, and not to me only, but to all that love his appear-"ance, and chooſe to witneſs this, that Jeſus Chriſt is the "king of ſaints, and that his church is a moſt free king-"dom, yea as free as any kingdom under heaven, not on-"ly to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, and con-"ventions and aſſemblies; but alſo to judge of all her af-"fairs, in all her meetings and conventions amongſt her "members and ſubjects. Theſe two points, 1. That Chriſt "is the head of his church. 2. That ſhe is free in her go-"vernment, from all other juriſdiction except Chriſt's: "Theſe two points, I ſay, are the ſpecial cauſe of our im-"priſonment; being now convict as traitors for the main-"taining thereof. We have been ever waiting with joy-"fulneſs to give the laſt teſtimony of our blood in con-"firmation thereof, if it ſhould pleaſe our God to be ſo "favourable as to honour us with that dignity; yea, I do "affirm, that theſe two points above-written, and all other "things which belong to Chriſt's crown, ſceptre and king-dom.

"dom, are not ſubject, nor cannot be, to any other au-
"thority, but to his own altogether. So that I would be
"moſt glad to be offered up as a ſacrifice for ſo glorious a
"truth: It would be to me the moſt glorious day, and
"the gladdeſt hour I ever ſaw in this life; but I am in
"his hand to do with me whatſoever ſhall pleaſe his Ma-
"jeſty.

"I am alſo bound and ſworn, by a ſpecial covenant, to
"maintain the doctrine and diſcipline thereof, according
"to my vocation and power all the days of my life, under
"all the pains contained in the book of God, and danger
"of body and ſoul, in the day of God's fearful judgment;
"and therefore, though I ſhould periſh in the cauſe, yet
"will I ſpeak for it, and to my power defend it, accord-
"ing to my vocation."

He wrote about the ſame time to Sir William Livingſton of Kilſyth: There are ſome prophetical expreſſions in that letter that merit notice.

"As for that inſtrument Spotſwood, we are ſure the
"the Lord will never bleſs that man, but a malediction lies
"upon him, and ſhall accompany all his doings; and it may
"be, Sir, your eyes ſhall ſee as great confuſion covering
"him, ere he go to his grave, as ever did his predeceſſors.
"Now ſurely, Sir, I am far from bitterneſs, but here I
"denounce the wrath of an everlaſting God againſt him,
"which aſſuredly ſhall fall, except it be prevented. Sir,
"Dagon ſhall not ſtand before the ark of the Lord, and
"theſe names of blaſphemy that he wears of arch and
"lord biſhop, will have a fearful end. Not one beck is to
"be given to Haman, ſuppoſe he were as great a courtier
"as ever he was; ſuppoſe the decree was given out, and
"ſealed with the king's ring, deliverance will come to us
"elſewhere, and not by him, who has been ſo ſore an in-
"ſtrument, not againſt our perſons, that were nothing,
"(for I proteſt to you, Sir, in the ſight of God, I for-
"give him all the evil he has done, or can do, to me) but
"unto Chriſt's poor kirk, in ſtamping under foot ſo glo-
"rious a kingdom and beauty as was once in this land;
"he has helped to cut Sampſon's hair, and to expoſe him
"to mocking, but the Lord will not be mocked: He ſhall
"be caſt away as a ſtone out of a ſling, his name ſhall rot,
"and a malediction ſhall fall upon his poſterity after he is
"gone. Let this, Sir, be a monument of it, that it was
"told before, that when it ſhall come to paſs, it may be
"ſeen there was warning given him: And therefore, Sir,
"ſeeing I have not the acceſs myſelf, if it would pleaſe

"God

"God to move you, I wiſh you would deliver this hand-
"meſſage to him, not as from me, but from the Lord."

The man of whom he complains, and threatens ſo ſore, was biſhop Spotſwood, at that time deſigned arch-biſhop of Glaſgow; and this prophecy was punctually accompliſhed, though after the ſpace of forty years: For, firſt the biſhop himſelf died in a ſtrange land, and, as many ſay, in miſery; next his ſon Robert Spotſwood, ſometime preſident of the ſeſſion, was beheaded by the parliament of Scotland, at the market-croſs of St. Andrews, in the winter after the battle of Philiphaugh, to which many thouſands witneſſed, and as ſoon as ever he came upon the ſcaffold, Mr. Blair, the miniſter of the town, told him, That now Mr. Welch's prophecy was fulfilled upon him; to which he replied in anger, That Mr. Welch and he were both falſe prophets.

But before he left Scotland, ſome remarkable paſſages in his behaviour are to be remembered. And firſt, when the diſpute about church-government began to warm, as he was walking upon the ſtreet of Edinburgh, betwixt two honeſt citizens, he told them, They had in their town two great miniſters, who were no great friends to Chriſt's cauſe preſently in controverſy, but it ſhould be ſeen, the world ſhould never hear of their repentance. The two men were Mr. Patrick Galloway and Mr. John Hall; and accordingly it came to paſs, for Mr. Patrick Galloway died eaſing himſelf upon a ſtool; and Mr. John Hall, being at that time in Leith, and his ſervant woman having left him alone in his houſe while ſhe went to the market, he was found dead at her return.

He was ſometime priſoner in Edinburgh caſtle before he went into exile, where one night ſitting at ſupper with the Lord Ochiltry, who was uncle to Mr. Welch's wife, as his manner was, he entertained the company with godly and edifying diſcourſe, which was well received by all the company, except a debauched popiſh young gentleman, who ſometimes laughed, and ſometimes mocked and made wry faces; whereupon Mr. Welch brake out into a ſad abrupt charge upon all the company to be ſilent, and obſerve the work of the Lord upon that profane mocker, which they ſhould preſently behold; upon which the profane wretch ſunk down and died beneath the table, to the great aſtoniſhment of all the company.

Another wonderful ſtory they tell of him at the ſame time:—The Lord Ochiltry the captain, being both ſon to the good Lord Ochiltry, and Mr. Welch's uncle in law,

was

was indeed very civil to Mr. Welch, but being for a long time, through the multitude of affairs, kept from visiting Mr. Welch in his chamber, as he was one day walking in the court, and espying Mr. Welch at his chamber window, asked him kindly how he did, and if in any thing he could serve him? Mr. Welch answered him, He would earnestly intreat his lordship, being at that time to go to court, to petition king James in his name, that he might have liberty to preach the gospel; which my lord promised to do. Mr. Welch answered, My lord, both because you are my kinsman, and for other reasons, I would earnestly intreat and obtest you not to promise, except you faithfully perform. His lordship answered. He would faithfully perform his promise; and so went for London. But though at his first arrival, he was really purposed to present the petition to the king, when he found the king in such a rage against the godly ministers, that he durst not, at that time, present it; so he thought fit to delay it, and thereafter entirely forgot it.

The first time that Mr. Welch saw his face after his return from court, he asked him what he had done with his petition. His lordship answered, He had presented it to the king, but that the king was in so great a rage against the ministers at that time, he believed it had been forgotten, for he had got no answer. Nay, said Mr. Welch to him, My lord, you should not lie to God, and to me; for I know you never delivered it, though I warned you to take heed not to undertake it, except you would perform it; but because you have dealt so unfaithfully, remember God shall take from you both estate and honours, and give them to your neighbour in your own time; which accordingly came to pass, for both his estate and honours were in his own time translated to James Stuart, son of captain James, who was indeed a cadet, but not the lineal heir of the family.

While he was detained prisoner in Edinburgh castle, his wife used for the most part to stay in his company, but upon a time fell into a longing to see her family in Ayr, to which with some difficulty he yielded; but when she was to take her journey, he strictly charged her not to take the ordinary way to her own house, when she came to Ayr, nor to pass by the bridge through the town, but to pass the river above the bridge, and so get the way to his own house, and not to come into the town, for, said he, before you come thither, you shall find the plague broken out in Ayr, which accordingly came to pass.

The

The plague was at that time very terrible, and he being neceſſarily ſeparate from his people, it was to him the more grievous; but when the people of Ayr came to him to bemoan themſelves, his anſwer was, that Hugh Kennedy, a godly gentleman in their town, ſhould pray for them, and God ſhould hear him. This counſel they accepted, and the gentleman conveening a number of the honeſt citizens, prayed earneſtly for the town, as he was a mighty wreſtler with God, and accordingly after that the plague decreaſed.

Now the time is come when he muſt leave Scotland, and never to ſee it again. So upon the 7th of November 1606, in the morning he with his neighbours took ſhip at Leith, and though it was but two o'clock in the morning, many were waiting on with their afflicted families, to bid them farewel *. After prayer, they ſung the 23d pſalm, and ſo to the great grief of the ſpectators, ſet ſail for the ſouth of France, and landed in the river of Bourdeaux. Within fourteen weeks after his arrival, ſuch was the Lord's bleſſing upon his diligence, he was able to preach in French, and accordingly was ſpeedily called to the miniſtry, firſt in one village, then in another; one of them was Nerac, and thereafter was ſettled in St. Jean d' Angely, a conſiderable walled town, and there he continued the reſt of the time he ſojourned in France, which was about ſixteen years. When he began to preach, it was obſerved by ſome of his hearers, that while he continued in the doctrinal part of his ſermon, he ſpoke very correct French, but when he came to his application, and when his affections kindled, his fervor made him ſometimes neglect the accuracy of the French conſtruction: But there were godly young men who admoniſhed him of this, which he took in very good part, ſo for preventing miſtakes of that kind, he deſired the young gentlemen, when they perceived him beginning to decline, to give him a ſign, *viz.* that they were to ſtand up; and thereafter he was more exact in his expreſſion through his whole ſermon: So deſirous was he, not only to deliver good matter, but to recommend it in neat expreſſion.

* With Mr. Welch other five godly miniſters was baniſhed for the ſame cauſe, viz. John Forbes, who went to Middleburgh, to the Engliſh ſtaple there, Robert Dury who went to Holland, and was miniſter to the Scots congregation in Lyden, John Sharp, who became miniſter and profeſſor of divinity at Dis in the Dolphinate, where he wrote Cursus Theologicus, &c. and Andrew Duncan and Alexander Strachan, who in about a year got liberty to return unto their former places. Calderwood's hiſtory, page 181.

There were many times perſons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was juſt as bold as ever he had been in a Scots village; which moved Mr. Boyd of Trochrig once to aſk him (after he had preached before the univerſity with Saumur with ſuch boldneſs and authority as if he had been before the meaneſt congregation), How he could be ſo confident among ſtrangers, and perſons of ſuch quality? To which he anſwered, That he was ſo filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehenſions from man at all; and this anſwer, ſaid Mr. Boyd, did not remove my admiration, but rather increaſe it,

There was in his houſe, amongſt many others who boarded with him for good education, a young gentleman of great quality, and ſuitable expectations, and this was the heir of Lord Ochiltry, captain of the caſtle of Edinburgh. This young nobleman, after he had gained very much upon Mr. Welch's affections, fell ill of a grievous ſickneſs, and after he had been long waſted with it, cloſed his eyes, and expired, to the apprehenſion of all ſpectators, and was therefore taken out of his bed, and laid on a pallet on the floor, that his body might be the more conveniently dreſſed. This was to Mr. Welch a very great grief, and therefore he ſtayed with the dead body full three hours, lamenting over him with great tenderneſs. After twelve hours, the friends brought in a coffin, whereinto they deſired the corpſe to be put, as the cuſtom is; but Mr. Welch deſired, that for the ſatisfaction of his affections, they would forbear it for a time, which they granted, and returned not till twenty-four hours after his death were expired; then they deſired, with great importunity, that the corpſe might be coffined, and ſpeedily buried, the weather being extremely hot; yet he perſiſted in his requeſt, earneſtly begging them to excuſe him once more; ſo they left the corpſe upon the pallet for full thirty-ſix hours; but even after all that, though he was urged, not only with great earneſtneſs, but diſpleaſure, they were conſtrained to forbear for twelve hours more. After forty-eight hours were paſt, Mr. Welch ſtill held out againſt them, and then his friends perceiving that he believed the young man was not really dead, but under ſome apoplectic fit, propoſed to him, for his ſatisfaction, that trial ſhould be made upon his body by doctors and chirurgeons, if poſſibly any ſpark of life might be found in him, and with this he was content.—So the phyſicians are ſet to work, who pinched him with pincers in the fleſhy parts of his body, and twiſted a bow-ſtring about his head with great force, but no ſign of life appearing

ing in him, the phyſicians pronounced him ſtark dead, and then there was no more delay to be made; yet Mr. Welch begged of them once more, that they would but ſtep into the next room for an hour or two, and leave him with the dead youth; and this they granted. Then Mr. Welch fell down before the pallet, and cried to the Lord with all his might, and ſometimes looked upon the dead body, continuing in wreſtling with the Lord, till at length the dead youth opened his eyes, and cried out to Mr. Welch, whom he diſtinctly knew, O Sir, I am all whole, but my head and legs; and theſe were the places they had ſore hurt with their pinching.

When Mr. Welch perceived this, he called upon his friends, and ſhewed them the dead young man reſtored to life again, to their great aſtoniſhment. And this young nobleman, though he loſt the eſtate of Ochiltry, lived to acquire a great eſtate in Ireland, and was Lord Caſtle-Stuart, and a man of ſuch excellent parts, that he was courted by the earl of Stafford to be a counſellor in Ireland; which he refuſed to be, until the godly ſilenced Scotiſh miniſters, who ſuffered under the biſhops in the north of Ireland, were reſtored to the exerciſe of their miniſtry, and then he engaged, and continued ſo for all his life, not only in honour and power, but in the profeſſion and practice of godlineſs, to the great comfort of the country where he lived. This ſtory the nobleman himſelf communicated to his friends in Ireland.

While Mr. Welch was miniſter in one of theſe French villages, upon an evening a certain popiſh friar travelling through the country, becauſe he could not find lodging in the whole village, addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Welch's houſe for one night. The ſervants acquainted their maſter, and he was content to receive this gueſt. The family had ſupped before he came, and ſo the ſervants convoyed the friar to his chamber, and after they had made his ſupper, they left him to his reſt. There was but a timber partition betwixt him and Mr. Welch, and after the friar had ſlept his firſt ſleep, he was ſurprized with the hearing of a ſilent, but conſtant whiſpering noiſe, at which he wondered very much, and was not a little troubled.

The next morning he walked in the fields, where he chanced to meet with a country man, who ſaluting him becauſe of his habit, aſked him, Where he had lodged that night? The friar anſwered, He had lodged with the hugenot miniſter. Then the country man aſked him, what entertainment he had? The friar anſwered, Very bad: for,

ſaid he, I always held, that devils haunted theſe miniſters houſes, and I am perſuaded there was one with me this night, for I heard a continual whiſper all the night over, which I believe was no other thing, than the miniſter and the devil converſing together. The country man told him, he was much miſtaken, and that it was nothing elſe than the miniſter at his night prayer. O, ſaid the friar, does the miniſter pray any? Yes, more than any man in France, anſwered the country man, and if you pleaſe to ſtay another night with him you may be ſatisfied. The friar got home to Mr. Welch's houſe, and pretending indiſpoſition, intreated another night's lodging, which was granted him.

Before dinner, Mr. Welch came from his chamber, and made his family exerciſe, according to his cuſtom. And firſt he ſung a pſalm, then read a portion of ſcripture, and diſcourſed upon it, thereafter he prayed with great fervor, to all which the friar was an aſtoniſhed witneſs. After exerciſe they went to dinner, where the friar was very civilly entertained, Mr. Welch forbearing all queſtion and diſpute with him for the time; when the evening came, Mr. Welch made exerciſe as he had done in the morning, which occaſioned more wonder to the friar, and after ſupper they went to bed; but the friar longed much to know what the night whiſper was, and therein he was ſoon ſatisfied, for after Mr. Welch's firſt ſleep, the noiſe began; then the friar reſolved to be certain what it was, and to that end he crept ſilently to Mr. Welch's chamber-door, and there he heard not only the ſound, but the words diſtinctly, and communications betwixt man and God, ſuch as he thought, had not been in this world. The next morning, as ſoon as Mr. Welch was ready, the friar went to him, and told him, that he had lived in ignorance the whole of his life, but now he was reſolved to adventure his ſoul with Mr. Welch, and thereupon declared himſelf proteſtant: Mr. Welch welcomed and encouraged him, and he continued a proteſtant to his death.

When Lewis XIII. king of France made war upon the proteſtants there, becauſe of their religion, the city of St. Jean d' Angely was beſieged by him with his whole army, and brought into extreme danger. Mr Welch was miniſter of the town, and mightily encouraged the citizens to hold out, aſſuring them, God would deliver them. In the time of the ſiege, a cannon ball pierced the bed where he was lying, upon which he got up, but would not leave the room, till he had, by ſolemn prayer, acknowledged his deliverance. During this ſiege, the townſmen made ſtout

defence

defence, till one of the king's gunners planted a great gun ſo conveniently upon a riſing ground, that therewith he could command the whole wall upon which the townſmen made their greateſt defence. Upon this, they were conſtrained to forſake the whole wall in great terror, and tho' they had ſeveral guns planted upon the wall, no man durſt undertake to manage them. This being told to Mr. Welch, he notwithſtanding encouraged them ſtill to hold out, and running to the wall, found the cannonier, who was a Burgundian, near the wall, him he entreated to mount the wall, promiſing to aſſiſt him in perſon. The cannonier told Mr. Welch, that they behoved to diſmount the gun upon the riſing ground, elſe they were ſurely loſt; Mr. Welch deſired him to aim well, and he would ſerve him, and God would help him; the gunner fell to work, and Mr. Welch ran to fetch powder for a charge, but, as he was returning, the king's gunner fired his piece, which carried the laddle with the powder out of his hands: This did not diſcourage him, for having left the laddle, he filled his hat with powder, wherewith the gunner diſmounted the king's gun at the firſt ſhot, and the citizens returned to their poſt of defence.

This diſcouraged the king ſo much, that he ſent to the citizens to offer them fair conditions, *viz.* That they ſhould enjoy the liberty of their religion, their civil privileges, and their walls ſhould not be demoliſhed; the king only deſired that he might enter the city in a friendly manner with his ſervants. This the city thought fit to grant, and the king with a few more entered the city for a ſhort time. While the king was in the city, Mr. Welch preached as uſual, which offended the French court, for while he was at ſermon the king ſent the duke de Eſpernon to fetch him out of the pulpit into his preſence. The duke went with his guard, and when he entered the church where Mr. Welch was preaching, Mr. Welch commanded to make way, and to place a ſeat that the duke might hear the word of the Lord. The duke inſtead of interrupting him, ſat down, and gravely heard the ſermon to an end, and then told Mr. Welch he behoved to go with him to the king, which he willingly did. When the duke came to the king, the king aſked him why he brought not the miniſter with him; and why he did not interrupt him? The duke anſwered, Never man ſpake like this man, but he had brought him along with him. Whereupon Mr. Welch is called, and when he had entered the king's room, he kneeled and ſilently prayed for wiſdom and aſſiſtance. Thereafter the king

king challenged him, how he durſt preach in that place, ſince it was againſt the laws of France, that any man ſhould preach within the verge of his court? Mr. Welch anſwered, Sir, if you did right, you would come and hear me preach, and make all France hear me likewiſe. For, ſaid he, I preach you muſt be ſaved by the death and merits of Jeſus Chriſt, and not your own; and I preach, that as you are king of France, you are under the authority of no man on earth: Thoſe men, he ſaid, whom you hear, ſubject you to the Pope of Rome, which I will never do. The king replied, Well, well, you ſhall be my miniſter; and, as ſome ſay, called him father, which is an honour beſtowed upon few of the greateſt prelates in France: However, he was favourably diſmiſſed at that time, and the king alſo left the city in peace.

But within a ſhort time thereafter the war was renewed, and then Mr. Welch told the inhabitants of the city, That now their cup was full, and they ſhould no more eſcape; which accordingly came to paſs, for the king took the town, and commanded Vitry the captain of his guard to enter and preſerve his miniſter from all danger; then horſes and waggons were provided for Mr. Welch, to tranſport him and his family for Rochelle, whither he went, and there ſojourned for a time.

After his flock in France was ſcattered, he obtained liberty to return to England, and his friends intreated that he might have permiſſion to come to Scotland, becauſe the phyſicians declared there was no other method to preſerve his life, but by the freedom he might have in his native air. But to this king James would never yield, proteſting he would be unable to eſtabliſh his beloved biſhops in Scotland, if Mr. Welch was permitted to return thither; ſo he languiſhed at London a conſiderable time; his diſeaſe was conſidered by ſome to have a tendency to a ſort of leproſy, phyſicians ſaid he had been poiſoned; a languor he had together with a great weakneſs in his knees, cauſed by his continual kneeling at prayer, by which it came to paſs, that though he was able to move his knees, and to walk, yet he was wholly inſenſible in them, and the fleſh became hard like a ſort of horn. But when in the time of his weakneſs, he was deſired to remit ſomewhat of his exceſſive painfulneſs, his anſwer was, He had his life of God, and therefore it ſhould be ſpent for him.

His friends importuned king James very much, that if he might not return to Scotland, at leaſt he might have liberty to preach in London, which he would not grant, till

till he heard all the hopes of life were paſt, and then he allowed him liberty to preach, not fearing his activity.

Then as ſoon as ever he heard he might preach, he greedily embraced this liberty, and having acceſs to a lecturer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently: which was his laſt performance: For after he had ended his ſermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours, quietly and without pain, he reſigned his ſpirit into his Maker's hands, and was buried near Mr. Deering, the famous Engliſh divine, after he had lived little more than fifty two years.

During his ſickneſs, he was ſo filled and overcome with the ſenſible enjoyment of God, that he was overheard to utter theſe words, "O Lord, hold thy hand, it is enough, "thy ſervant is a clay veſſel, and can hold no more."——

If his diligence was great, ſo it may be doubted whether his ſowing in painfulneſs, or his harveſt in ſucceſs was greateſt; for if either his ſpiritual experiences in ſeeking the Lord, or his fruitfulneſs in converting ſouls be conſidered, they will be found unparallelled in Scotland: And many years after Mr. Welch's death, Mr. David Dickſon, at that time a flouriſhing miniſter at Irvine, was frequently heard to ſay, when people talked to him of the ſucceſs of his miniſtry, That the grape-gleanings in Ayr, in Mr. Welch's time, were far above the vintage of Irvine in his own. Mr. Welch in his preaching was ſpiritual and ſearching, his utterance tender and moving, he did not much inſiſt upon ſcholaſtic purpoſes and made no ſhew of his learning. One of his hearers, who was afterward miniſter at Moor-kirk in Kyle, uſed to ſay, That no man could hear him and forbear weeping, his conveyance was ſo affecting.

There is a large volume of his ſermons now in Scotland, only a few of them have come to the preſs, nor did he ever appear in print, except in his diſpute with Abbot Brown, wherein he makes it appear, his learning was not behind other virtues; and in another called Dr. Welch's Armagaddon, ſuppoſed to have been printed in France, wherein he gives his meditation upon the enemies of the church, and their deſtruction; but the piece itſelf is rarely to be found.

The Life of Mr. ROBERT BOYD.

HE was firſt ſettled miniſter at Vertal in France, but was afterwards by the intereſt of Sieur du Pleſſis tranſlated to be profeſſor of divinity at Saumur, and ſome time after was invited home by king James and ſettled principal of the college of Glaſgow and miniſter of Govan, at which place he ordinarily wrote his ſermons in full, and yet when he came to the pulpit he appeared with great life and power of affection. While he was in France the popiſh controverſy employed his thoughts, but the church of Scotland engroſſed almoſt his whole attention after his return home, and he became a zealous friend and ſupporter of the more faithful part of the miniſtry, againſt the uſurpation of the biſhops and their ceremonies.

But the prelatiſts knowing that the eminency of his place, his piety and learning would influence many to take part with that way, they therefore laboured with great aſſiduity, both by intreaties, threatnings and the perſuaſions of ſome of his friends, in ſo much that he gave in a paper to Law arch-biſhop of Glaſgow, in which he ſeemed in ſome ſort to acknowledge the pre-eminence of biſhops, but he got no reſt the next night after this, being ſore troubled for what he had done, he went back and ſought his paper again with tears, but the biſhop pretended that he had already ſent it up to the king, ſo that he could not obtain it.

Mr. Boyd, finding that from this time forward he could enjoy no peace in this place, he demitted both, and was choſen principal of the college of Edinburgh, and one of the miniſters of that city; Dr. Cameron came into his places at Glaſgow in October 1622. Some of the other miniſters of Edinburgh, particularly one Ramſay, envied him on account of his high reputation both as a preacher, and as a teacher (the well-affected part of the people both in town and country crowding to his church), and gave the king information againſt him as a non-conformiſt: the king ſent a letter December the 13th to the magiſtrates of the town, rebuking them for admitting him, and commanding him to be removed: The magiſtrates were not obedient to the command, and by a courtier intreated he might be continued, but the king would not grant their requeſt. Accordingly on the laſt of January 1623, he renewed the order

order to remove him, and he was in a little time after that turned out of his place and office.

Some ſhort time after this, biſhop Law was again prevailed on to admit Mr. Boyd to be miniſter of Paiſley, for although no man was more oppoſite to the Perth articles than Mr. Boyd, as he had refuſed conformity to them both at Glaſgow and Edinburgh, yet his learning and prudence recommended him to the biſhop's eſteem. Here he remained in ſecurity and peace until the earl of Abercorn's brother (a zealous papiſt) diſpoſſeſſed him on a Sabbath afternoon while he was preaching, and threw all his books out of the houſe where he had his reſidence. Upon complaining to the privy-council the offender was impriſoned, and the court and bailies of Paiſley having undertaken to repoſſeſs Mr. Boyd again, and the gentleman profeſſing his ſorrow for what he had done, Mr. Boyd interceeding with them for him, the council paſſed the matter over.

But no ſooner went he to take poſſeſſion, than he found the church doors ſecured, ſo that no acceſs could be had, and though the magiſtrates would have broke them open, yet the mob (urged on as was ſuppoſed by the earl's mother) preſſed ſo hard upon the good man, not only by opprobrious ſpeeches, but alſo threw ſtones at him as if he had been a malefactor, that he was forced to fly to Glaſgow, and afterwards, ſeeing no proſpect of a peaceable ſettlement at Paiſley, he returned to his own houſe at Trochrig in Carrick, where he (probably) continued to his death, which was ſome years after.

He was a man of great learning for that time, as his commentary on the Epheſians teſtifies. He would ſometimes ſay, If he had his choice of languages wherein to deliver his ſentiments it would be in Greek. He was of an auſtere countenance and carriage, and yet very tenderhearted. He had but a mean opinion of himſelf, but a high eſteem of others in whom he perceived any ſigns of grace and ingenuity. In the time of that convincing and converting work of the Lord (commonly called Stuarton ſickneſs) he came from his own houſe in Carrick, and met with many of the people; and having converſed with them, he heartily bleſſed the Lord for the grace that was given unto them.

The Life of Mr. ROBERT BRUCE.

MR. ROBERT BRUCE was born about the year 1554. He was ſecond ſon to the laird of Airth (of whom he had the eſtate of Kinnaird), who being at that time a baron of the beſt quality in the kingdom, educated Mr. Robert with intention of being one of the lords of ſeſſion, and for his better accompliſhment, ſent him to France to ſtudy the civil law. After his return home, his father injoined him to wait upon ſome affairs of his that were then before the court of ſeſſion, as he had got a patnet inſured for his being one of theſe lords. But God's thoughts being not as mens thoughts, and having other deſigns with him, he began then to work mightily upon his conſcience, that he could get no reſt till he was ſuffered to attend Mr. Andrew Melvil at St. Andrews to ſtudy divinity under him; but to this his mother was averſe, for ſhe would not condeſcend until he firſt gave up ſome lands and caſualities wherein he was infeft: This he moſt willingly did, and ſhaking off all impediments he fully reſolved upon an employment more fitted to the ſerious turn of his mind.

He went to St. Andrews ſometime before Mr. Andrew Melvil left the country, and continued there until his return. Here he wanted not ſome ſharp conflicts on this head, inſomuch that upon a certain time, walking in the fields with that holy and religious man Mr. James Melvil, he ſaid to him, "Before I throw myſelf again into ſuch torment of conſcience which I have had in reſiſting the call to the miniſtry, I would rather chooſe to walk through a fire of brimſtone, even tho' it were half a mile in length." After he was accompliſhed for the miniſtry, Mr. Andrew Melvil perceiving how the Lord wrought with him, brought him over to the general aſſembly in 1587, and moved the church of Edinburgh to call him to a charge there.

And although he was moved by ſome brethren to accept the charge of the miniſtry in place of Mr. James Lawſon, yet he could not be prevailed upon to take the charge *ſimpliciter* (although he was willing to beſtow his labour thereon for a time), until by the joint advice of the miniſtry of the city, and this ſtratagem, he was as it were trapped into it: thus, on a time, when the ſacrament was to be diſpenſed at Edinburgh, one of the miniſters deſired Mr. Bruce, who

who was to preach in the afternoon, to ſit by him, and after he had ſerved two or three tables, he went out of the church, as if he had been to return in a little, but inſtead of that he ſent notice to Mr. Bruce, that unleſs he ſerved the reſt of the tables the work behoved to ſtop; Mr. Bruce not knowing but the miniſter had been ſeized on a ſudden with ſome kind of ſickneſs, and, the eyes of all the people being fixed on him, many intreating him to ſupply the miniſter's place, he proceeded to the adminiſtration of the remainder, and that with ſuch aſſiſtance to himſelf and emotion amongſt the people, that the like had never before been ſeen in that place.

When he was afterward urged by the reſt of his brethren to receive, in the ordinary way, the impoſition of hands, he refuſed it, becauſe he wanted not the material part of ordination, *viz.* the call of the people and the approbation of the miniſtry, and beſides he had already celebrated the ſacrament of the ſupper, which was not, by a new ordination to be made void.——So having made trial of the work, and found the bleſſing of God upon his labours, he accepted the charge, and was from that time forth principal actor in the affairs of the church, and a conſtant and ſtrenuous maintainer of the eſtabliſhed doctrine and diſcipline thereof.

While he was miniſter at Edinburgh he ſhined as a great light through all theſe parts of the land, the power and efficacious energy of the Spirit accompanying the word preached by him in a moſt ſenſible manner, ſo that he was a terror to evil doers, the authority of God appearing with him, in ſo much that he forced fear and reſpect even from the greateſt in the land. Even king James himſelf and his court had ſuch high thoughts of him, that when he went to bring home his queen *anno* 1590, at his departure, he expreſly deſired Mr. Bruce to acquaint himſelf with the affairs of the country and the proceedings of the council, profeſſing that he repoſed more in him than the reſt of his brethren, or even all his nobles; and indeed in this his hopes were not diſappointed, for the country was more quiet during his abſence than either before or afterward: In gratitude for which Mr. Bruce received a congratulatory letter dated February 19th, 1590, wherein the king acknowledgeth, "He would be obligated to him all his "life for the pains he had taken in his abſence to keep his "ſubjects in good order." Yea, it is well known that the king had that eſteem for Mr. Bruce, that, upon a certain time before many witneſſes, he gave him this teſtimony,

That he judged him worthy of the half of his kingdom but he proved in this, as in others of his fair promiſes, no ſlave to his word, for not many years after he obliged this good man, for his faithfulneſs, to depart and leave the kingdom.

Mr. Bruce being a man of public ſpirit and heroic mind, was always on that account pitched upon to deal in matters of high moment, and amongſt other things, upon the 19th of November 1596, he, Meſſrs. Andrew Melvil and John Davidſon, were directed by the counſel of the brethren, to deal with the queen concerning her religion, and, for want of religious exerciſes and virtuous occupation amongſt her maids to move her to hear now and then the inſtructions of godly and diſcreet men; they went to her, but were refuſed admittance until another time.

About the ſame time he was ſent to the king then ſitting with the lords in ſeſſion, to preſent ſome articles for redreſs of the wrongs then done to the church; but, in the mean time, a buſtle falling out at Edinburgh by the mob, he removed to Linlithgow. Upon the Sabbath following, Mr. Bruce preaching upon the 51ſt pſalm ſaid, "The re-"moval of your miniſters is at hand, our lives ſhall be "bitterly ſought after, but ye ſhall ſee with your eyes, "that God ſhall guard us, and be our buckler and defence "&c." and the day following, this was in part accompliſhed, for the king ſent a charge from Liulithgow to Mr. Bruce and the reſt of the miniſters of Edinburgh, to enter in ward at the caſtle there within ſix hours after the proclamation, under pain of horning. The reſt of the miniſters, knowing the king's anger was kindled againſt them, thought proper to withdraw, but Mr. Bruce knowing his own innocency, ſtayed, and gave in an apology for himſelf and the reſt of his faithful brethren. In April 13th 1599, the king returned to Edinburgh, and was entertained in the houſe of Mr. Bruce, although he himſelf was not yet releaſed.

But all this was nothing more than the drops before the ſhower, or as the gathering of waters before an inundation breaks forth, for the king, having for ſome time laboured to get prelacy eſtabliſhed in Scotland, and becauſe Mr. Bruce would not comply with his meaſures, and refuſed to give praiſe to God in public for the kings deliverance from the pretended conſpiracy in the year 1600, untill he was better aſcertained of the fact, he not only diſcharged him from preaching in Edinburgh, but alſo obliged him to leave the kingdom. When he embarked at the queen's ferry on the

3d

3d of November the ſame year, there appeared ſuch a great light as ſerved him and the company to ſail, although it was near midnight. He arrived at Dieppe on the eight of November.

And although, by the king's permiſſion, he returned home the year following, yet becauſe he would not, (1.) Acknowledge Gowrie's conſpiracy; (2.) Purge the king in ſuch places as he ſhould appoint; and (3.) Crave pardon of the king for his long diſtruſt and diſobedience, *&c.* he could not be admitted to his place and office again, but was commanded by the king to keep ward in his own houſe of Kinnaird. After the king's departure to England, he had ſome reſpite for about a year or more, but in the year 1605, he was ſummoned to compear at Edinburgh on the 29th of February, before the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, to hear and ſee himſelf removed from his function at Edinburgh; they had before, in his abſence, decerned his place vacant, but now they intimated the ſentence, and Livingſton had a commiſſion from the king to ſee it put in execution; he appealed; they prohibited him to preach; but he obeyed not. In July thereafter, he was advertized by chancellor Seaton, of the king's expreſs order, diſcharging him to preach any more, and ſaid, He would not uſe his authority in this, but only requeſt him to deſiſt for nine or ten days; to which he conſented, thinking it but of ſmall moment for ſo ſhort a time. But he quickly knew, how deep the ſmalleſt deviation from his Maſter's cauſe and intereſt might go; for that night (as he himſelf afterward declared) his body was caſt into a fever, with ſuch terror of conſcience, that he promiſed and fully reſolved to obey their commands no more.

Upon the 18th of Auguſt following, he was charged to enter in ward at Inverneſs, within the ſpace of ten days, under pain of horning, which he obeyed upon the 17th following. And in this place he remained for the ſpace of four years, teaching every Wedneſday and Sabbath forenoon, and was exerciſed in reading public prayers every other night, in which his labours were bleſſed, for this dark country was wonderfully illuminated, and many brought to Chriſt by means of his miniſtry, and a ſeed ſown in theſe remote places, which remained for many years afterwards.

When he returned from Inverneſs to his own houſe, and though his ſon had obtained a licence for him, yet here he could find nothing but grief and vexation, eſpecially from the miniſters of the preſbyteries of Stirling and Linlithgow,

lithgow, and all for curbing the vices ſome of them were ſubject to.—At laſt he obtained liberty of the council to tranſport his family to another houſe he had at Monkland, but, becauſe of the biſhop of Glaſgow, he was forced to retire back again to Kinnaird. Thus this good man was toſſed about, and obliged to go from place to place.

In this manner he continued, until he was by the king's order ſummoned before the council in September the 19th, 1621, to anſwer for tranſgreſſing the law of his confinement, *&c.* When he compeared, he pleaded the favour granted him by his majeſty when in Denmark, and withal purged himſelf of the accuſation laid againſt him, and yet notwithſtanding of all theſe (ſaid he), the king hath exhauſted both my eſtate and perſon, and has left me nothing but my life, and that apparently he is ſeeking; I am prepared to ſuffer any puniſhment, only I am careful not to ſuffer as a malefactor or evil doer.——A warrant was delivered to him to enter in ward in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where he continued till the firſt January; the biſhops abſented from the council that day, however they were his delators. He was again brought before the council, where the king's will was intimate to him, *viz.* That he ſhould return to his own houſe until the 21ſt of April, and then tranſport himſelf again to Inverneſs, and remain within four miles thereof during the king's pleaſure.

Here he remained, for the moſt part, until September 1624, when he obtained licence again to return from his confinement to ſettle ſome of his domeſtic affairs; the condition of his licence was ſo ſtrait, that he purpoſed with himſelf to return back to Inverneſs, but in the mean time the king died, and ſo he was not urged to go back to his confinement; and although king Charles I. did again renew this charge againſt him ſome years after this, yet he continued moſtly in his own houſe, preaching and teaching wherever he had occaſion.

About this time the pariſh of Larber, having neither church nor ſtipend, Mr. Bruce repaired the church and diſcharged all the parts of the miniſtry there, and many beſides the pariſh attended upon his miniſtry at that place with great ſucceſs; and it would appear, that about this time Mr. Henderſon then miniſter at Leuchars, (afterward the famous Henderſon) was at firſt converted by his miniſtry.

At this place it was his cuſtom after the firſt ſermon to retire by himſelf ſome time for private prayer, and on a time ſome noblemen who had far to ride, ſent the beadle

to

to learn if there was any appearance of his coming in;—the man returned, saying, I think he shall not come out this day, for I overheard him say to another, "I protest, "I will not go unless thou goest with me." However, in a little time he came, accompanied by no man, but in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ; for his very speech was with much evidence and demonstration of the Spirit. It was easy for his hearers to perceive that he had been in the mount with God, and that indeed he had brought that God whom had met in private, *unto his mother's house, and unto the chambers of her that conceived him.*

Mr. Bruce was also a man who had somewhat of the spirit of discerning future events, and did prophetically speak of several things that afterward came to pass, yea, and divers persons distracted (says an author *) and those who were past recovery with the epileptical disease, or falling sickness, were brought to Mr. Bruce, and were, after prayer by him in their behalf, fully restored from that malady. This may seem strange (but true), for he was such a wrestler with God, and had more than ordinary familiarity with him.

Some time before his death, being then at Edinburgh, where through weakness he often kept his chamber, whither a meeting of godly ministers, anent some matter of church-concernment, (hearing he was in town), came and gave him an account of the prelates actings. After this, Mr. Bruce prayed, in which he repeated over again to the Lord the very substance of their discourse (which was a very sad representation of the case of the church), all which time there was an extraordinary motion in all present, and such a sensible down-pouring of the Spirit, that they could hardly contain themselves. Mr. Weemes of Lathockar being occasionally present, at departing said, O how strange a man is this, for he knocketh down the Spirit of God upon us all; this he said, because Mr. Bruce, in the time of that prayer, divers times knocked with his fingers upon the table.

About this time he related a strange dream; how he had seen a long broad book with black boards, flying in the air, with many black fowls like Crows flying about it; and as it touched any of them, they fell down dead; upon which he heard an audible voice speak to him, saying, *Hæc est ira Dei*

* Fulfilling of the scripture, part 1st, page 450.

Dei contra paſtores eccleſiæ Scoticanæ; upon which he fell a weeping and praying that he might be kept faithful, and not be one of theſe who were thus ſtruck down by a torch of his wrath, through deſerting the truth. He ſaid, when he awakened, he found his pillow all wet and drenched with tears.—The accompliſhment of this dream, I need not deſcribe: all acquainted with our church-hiſtory, know, that ſoon after that, prelacy was introduced into Scotland. Biſhops ſet up, and with them uſhered in Popiſh and Arminian tenets, with all manner of corruptions and profanity, which continued in Scotland a number of years.

One time, ſays Mr. Livingſton, I went to Edinburgh to ſee him, in the company of the tutor of Bonington. When we called on him at eight o'clock in the morning, he told us, He was not for any company, and when we urged him to tell us the cauſe, he anſwered, That when he went to bed he had a good meaſure of the Lord's preſence, and that he had wreſtled with him about an hour or two before we came in, and had not yet got acceſs; and ſo we left him. At another time I went to his houſe, but ſaw him not till very late; when he came out of his cloſet, his face was foul with weeping, and he told me, That, that day, he had been thinking on what torture and hardſhips Dr. Leighton our country-man had been put to at London*; and added, If I had been faithful, I might have had the pillory, and ſome of my blood ſhed for Chriſt as well as he; but he hath got the crown from us all. I heard him once ſay, ſaith he, I would deſire no more at my firſt appeal from king James, but one hour's converſe with him: I know he hath a conſcience; I made him once weep bitterly at Holy-rood houſe. About the year ——, I heard him ſay, I wonder how I am kept ſo long here; I have lived two

† This was the famous Leighton doctor of divinity in the two univerſities of St. Andrews and Leyden, who, for writing of Zion's plea againſt prelacy, was apprehended at London by two ruffians, and brought before arch-biſhop Laud, who ſentenced him (beſides a fine of 10,000 pounds) to be tied to a ſtake, and receive thirty-ſix ſtripes with a triple cord, and then to ſtand two hours in the pillory (which he did in a cold winter night), and then to have his ear cut, his face fired and his noſe ſlit; and the ſame to be repeated that day ſeven night, and his other ear ear cut off, with the ſlitting of the other ſide of his noſe and burning his other cheek; all which was done with the utmoſt rigour, and then he was ſent priſoner to the fleet, where he continued, till upon a petition to the parliament in 1640, he was releaſed, and got for his reparation a vote of 6000 pounds, which it is ſaid was never paid, and made warden of that priſon

two years already in violence; meaning that he was then much beyond ſeventy years of age †.

When the time of his death drew near (which was in the month of Auguſt 1631), through age and infirmity he was moſtly confined to his chamber, where he was frequently viſited by his friends and acquaintances; and being on a certain time aſked by one of them, How matters ſtood betwixt God and his ſoul? He made this return, "When I was young, I was diligent, and lived by faith on "the Son of God; but now I am old, and am not able to "do ſo much, yet he condeſcends to feed me with lumps "of ſenſe." And that morning before he was removed, his ſickneſs being moſtly a weakneſs through age, he came to breakfaſt, and having as uſual eaten an egg, he ſaid to his daughters "I think I am yet hungry, ye may bring me "another egg" But inſtantly thereafter, falling into deep meditation, and after having muſed a little he ſaid, "Hold, "daughter, my Maſter calls me." With theſe words his ſight failed him; and called for his family bible, but finding his ſight had failed him, he ſaid, "Caſt up to me the "eight chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans, and ſet my "fingers on theſe words, *I am perſuaded that neither death* "*nor life*, &c. *ſhall be able to ſeparate me from the love of* "*God which is in Chriſt Jeſus my Lord.* Now, ſaid he, is "my finger upon them?" and being told it was, he ſaid, "Now God be with you my children; I have breakfaſted "with you, and ſhall ſup with my Lord Jeſus Chriſt this "night." And ſo like Abraham of old, he gave up the ghoſt in a good age ‡, and was gathered to his people.

In this manner did this occidental ſtar ſet in our horizon. There was none, in his time, who did ſpeak with ſuch evidence of the power of the Spirit; and no man had more ſeals of his miniſtry, yea many of his hearers thought, that no man ſince the apoſtles days ever ſpoke with ſuch power. And although he was no Boanerges (as being of a ſlow but grave delivery), yet he ſpoke with ſuch authority and weight as became the oracles of the living God: ſo that ſome of the moſt ſtout-hearted of his hearers were

priſon wherein he had been ſo long confined, but through infirmity and bad treatment he did not long ſurvive, being then ſeventy-two years of age. See this more at length in Stevenſon's hiſtory, vol. 3d, page 948.

† Livingſton's memorable characters, page 74.

‡ By the calculation of Mr. Livingſton's account he behoved to be only 75 years of age; but Mr. Calderwood makes him 77; and ſays he had an honourable burial, being accompanied with four or five thouſand people to the grave. Vide his hiſtory, page 818.

ordinarily made to tremble, and by having this door which had formerly been ſhut againſt Jeſus Chriſt, as by an irreſiſtable power broke open and the ſecrets of their hearts made manifeſt, they often times went away under deep convictions. He had a very majeſtic countenance, in prayer he was ſhort, eſpecially when in public, but every word or ſentence he ſpoke was as a bolt ſhot from heaven; he ſpent much of his time in private prayer. He had a very notable faculty in ſearching the ſcriptures, and explaining the moſt obſcure myſteries therein, and was a man who had much inward exerciſe of conſcience anent his own perſonal caſe, and was oftentimes aſſaulted anent that grand fundamental truth, The being of a God, inſomuch that it was almoſt cuſtomary to him to ſay when he firſt ſpoke in the pulpit, "I think it a great matter to believe there is a God," and by this he was the more fitted to deal with others under the like temptations.†

Mr. Bruce was alſo an eloquent and ſubſtantial writer, as the fore-mentioned apology, and his excellent letters to M. Eſpignol, the duke of Parma, Col. Semple, *&c.* doth copiouſly evidence, Argal's ſleep, *&c.* He was alſo deeply affected with the public cauſe and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt, and much depreſſed in ſpirit when he beheld the naughtineſs and profanity of many miniſters then in the church, and the unſuitable carriage and deportment of others to ſo great a calling, which made him expreſs himſelf with much fear, that the miniſtry in Scotland would prove the greateſt perſecutors it had, which ſo lately came to paſs.

† Mr. Blair ſays, that he told him, that for three years he durſt not ſay, my God, and that his conſcience ſmote him for the ſame.—Blair's memoirs, page 39.

The Life of Mr. JOSIAS WELCH.

MR. JOSIAS WELCH was a younger ſon to the famous Mr. John Welch ſometime miniſter of the goſpel at Ayr, and Elizabeth Knox daughter to the great Mr. John Knox, who was miniſter at Edinburgh, from whom he received a moſt liberal and religious education. But what enhanced his reputation more, was, that he was heir to his father's graces and virtues. And although he had received all the branches of uſeful learning in order

for

for the miniſtry, yet, prelacy being then prevalent in Scotland, he was detained for ſome time from that function, ſeeing he was not clear in his own mind to enter into that office by the door of epiſcopacy. But ſome time after, it ſo fell out, that meeting with worthy Mr. Blair, (who was then ſettled a miniſter at Bangor in Ireland) he finding how zealous a ſpirit Mr. Welch was of, exhorted and ſolicited him much to haſten over there, where he would find work enough, and he hoped ſucceſs likewiſe, which accordingly came to paſs, for upon his going thither he was highly honoured and provided of the Lord to bring the covenant of grace to the people at the ſix-mile water, (on whom Mr. Glendining formerly miniſter there had wrought ſome legal convictions) and having preached ſometime at Oldſtone, he was ſettled at Temple-Patrick, where he with great vigilance and diligence exerciſed his office, which by the bleſſing of God upon his labours, gained him many ſeals of his miniſtry.

But the devil envying the ſucceſs of the goſpel in that quarter, ſtirred up the prelatical clergy, whereupon the biſhop of Down, in May 1632, cauſed cite him, Meſſrs. Blair, Livingſton and Dumbar before him, and urged them to conform and give their ſubſcription to that effect, but they anſwered with great boldneſs, That there was no law nor canon in that kingdom requiring this; yet notwithſtanding they were all four depoſed by him from the office of the holy miniſtry.

After this, Mr. Welch continued for ſome time preaching in his own houſe, where he had a large auditory, and ſuch was his deſire to gain ſouls to Chriſt, that he commonly ſtood in a door looking towards a garden, that ſo he might be heard without as well as within, by means of which, being of a weakly conſtitution, he contracted ſuch a cold as occaſioned his death in a ſhort time thereafter.

He continued in this way, until May 1634, when by the interceſſion of Lord Caſtle-Stuart with the king in their behalf, the foreſaid miniſters received a grant from the biſhop of ſix months liberty, which freedom none more willingly embraced than Mr. Welch, but he had preached only a few weeks in his own pulpit before he ſickened, and the Sabbath afternoon before his death, which was on the Monday following. "I heard of his ſickneſs," ſaith Mr. Livingſton, "and came to him about eleven o'clock at "night, and Mr. Blair came about two hours thereafter. "He had many gracious diſcourſes, as alſo ſome wreſtling "and exerciſe of mind. One time cried out, Oh for hy-

" pocriſy; on which Mr. Blair ſaid, See how Satan is nib-
" bling at his heels before he enter into glory. A very
" little before he died, being at prayer by his bedſide, and the
" word victory coming out of my mouth, he took hold of
" my hand and deſiring me to forbear a little, and clapping
" his hands, cried out, Victory, victory, victory for ever
" more, then he deſired me to go on, and in a little expired
" —on the 23d of June 1634."

Thus died the pious and faithful Mr. Joſias Welch, in the flower of his youth, leaving only one ſon behind him, *viz.* Mr. John Welch, who was afterward miniſter at Irongray in Galloway.

The Life of JOHN GORDON VISCOUNT KENMUIR.

JOHN GORDON of Lochinvar (afterwards viſcount Kenmuir) was born about the year 1599. He received a reaſonable meaſure of education, and yet, through the circumſtance of his birth, the corruption of the age, but above all the depravity of nature, and want of reſtraining grace in his younger years, he became ſomewhat irreligious and profane, which, when he arrived at manhood, broke out into more groſs acts of wickedneſs, and yet all the while the Lord never left him altogether without a check or witneſs in his conſcience, yea ſometimes when at ordinances, particularly ſacramental occaſions, he would be filled with ſome ſenſe of ſin, which being borne powerfully in upon his ſoul, he was ſcarce able to hold out againſt it. But for a long time he was a ſtranger to true and ſaving converſion. The moſt part of his life after he advanced in years, he ſpent like the rich man in the goſpel, caſting down barns and building greater ones, for at his houſes of Ruſco and Kenmuir he was much employed in building, parking, planting, and ſeeking worldly honours.

About the year 1628, he was married to that virtuous and religious lady, Jean Campbel ſiſter to the worthy marquis of Argyle, by whom he had ſome children, two at leaſt, one of whom it appears died about the beginning of the year 1635, for we find Mr. Rutherford in one of his letters, about that time, comforting this noble lady upon ſuch a mournful occaſion.

In

In the year 1633, Charles I. to honour his coronation, in the place of his birth and firſt parliament, dignified many of the Scots nobility and gentry with higher titles, and places of office and honour, among whom was Sir John Gordon, who upon the eighth of May was created Viſcount Kenmuir and Lord Gordon of Lochinvar*.

Accordingly the viſcount came to the parliament which ſat down at Edinburgh June 16th 1633, and was preſent the firſt day, but ſtayed only a few days thereafter, for being afraid to diſpleaſe the king, from whom he had both received ſome, and expected more honours, and not having the courage to glorify God by his preſence, when his cauſe was at ſtake, deſerted the parliament under pretence of indiſpoſition of body, and returned home to his houſe at Kenmuir in Galloway, and there ſlept ſecurely for about a year without check of conſcience, till Auguſt 1634, that his affairs occaſioned his return to Edinburgh, where he remained ſome days, not knowing that with the ending of his affairs he was to end his life. He returned home with ſome alteration of bodily health, and from that day his ſickneſs increaſed until September 12th enſuing, which was the day of his death.

But the Lord had other thoughts than that this nobleman ſhould die without ſome ſenſe of his ſin, or yet go out of this world unobſerved.—And therefore it pleaſed him with his bodily affliction to ſhake his ſoul with fears, making him ſenſible of the power of eternal wrath, for his own good, and for an example to others in after-ages never to wrong their own conſciences, or to be wanting to the cauſe or intereſt of God, when he gives them an opportunity to that purpoſe.

Upon the Sabbath Auguſt 31ſt, being much weakened, he was viſited by a religious and learned miniſter who then lived in Galloway not far from the houſe of Kenmuir, his lordſhip much rejoiced at his coming, obſerving the all-ruling providence in ſending him ſuch a man (who had been abroad from Galloway ſome time) ſooner home than he expected. After ſupper his lordſhip drew on a conference with the miniſter, ſhewing he was much taken up with the fears of death, and extremity of pain. "I never dream-"ed, ſaid he, that death had ſuch a terrible, auſtere and "gloomy

* About this time the king created one marquis, ten earls, two viſcounts and eight lords, and while he was in Scotland he dubbed fifty-four knights on different occaſions. See Crawford's peerage, &c.

" gloomy countenance. I dare not die, howbeit I know I " muſt die. What ſhall I do, for I dare not venture in " gripes with death, becauſe I find my ſins grievous and ſo " many that I fear my account is out of order, and not ſo " as becomes a dying man.

The miniſter for ſome time diſcourſed to him anent this weakneſs of nature, which was in all men, believers not excepted, which made them afraid of death, but he hoped Chriſt would be his ſecond in the combat, willing him to rely upon the ſtrength of Chriſt; but withal ſaid, " My " lord, I fear more the ground of your fear of death, " which is (as you ſay) the conſciouſneſs of your ſins, for " there can be no plea betwixt you and your Lord if your " ſins be not taken away in Chriſt, and therefore make that " ſure, and fear not." My lord anſwered, " I have been " too late in coming to God, and have deferred the time " of making my account, ſo long that I fear I have but " the fooliſh virgins part of it, who came and knocked at " the door of the bridegroom ſo late, and never got in."

The miniſter having reſumed ſomewhat both of his own and his father's ſins, particularly their cares for this world and worldly honours, and thinking his lordſhip deſigned to extenuate his fault in this, he drew ſeveral weighty propoſitions in way of conference about the fears of death and his eternal all, which depended upon his being in or out of Chriſt, and obteſted him in theſe words,—" Therefore I " intreat you, my lord, by the mercies of God, by your " appearing before Chriſt your Judge, and by the ſalvation " of your ſoul, that you would look ere you leap, and ven- " ture not into eternity without a certificate under Jeſus " Chriſt's hand, becauſe it is ſaid of the hypocrite, Job xx. 11. *He lieth down in the grave, and his bones are full of the* " *ſins of his youth.*"

My lord replied, " When I begin to look upon my life, " I think all is wrong in it, and the lateneſs of my reckon- " ing affrighteth me, therefore ſtay with me, and ſhew me " the marks of a child of God, for you muſt be my ſecond " in this combat and wait upon me." His lady anſwered, " You muſt have Jeſus Chriſt to be your ſecond," to which he heartily ſaid " Amen—but, continued he, how ſhall I " know that I am in the ſtate of grace, for while I be re- " reſolved my fears will ſtill overburthen me." The miniſter ſaid, " My lord, ſcarcely or never doth a caſt-a-way " anxiouſly and carefully aſk the queſtion, Whether he be " a child of God or not?" But my lord excepted againſt that ſaying, " I do not think there is any reprobate in " hell,

" hell, but he would with all his heart have the kingdom " of heaven." The miniſter having explained the different deſires in reprobates, his lordſhip ſaid, " You never ſaw " any tokens of true grace in me, and that is my great and " only fear."

The miniſter ſaid, " I was indeed ſorry to ſee you ſo " fearfully carried away with temptation, and you know, " I gave you faithful warning that it would come to this. " I wiſh your ſoul was deeply humbled for ſin; but to your " demand, I thought you ever had a love for the ſaints, e- " even to the pooreſt, who carried Chriſt's image, altho' " they could never ſerve nor profit you in any way, 1 John " iii. 14. *By this we know we are tranſlated from death unto* " *life*, &c." And at laſt with this mark after ſome objections he ſeemed convinced. The miniſter aſked him, " My " lord, dare you now quit your part in Chriſt, and ſub- " ſcribe an abſolute reſignation of him?" My lord ſaid, " O Sir, that is too hard, I hope he and I have more to " do together, and I will be adviſed ere I do that," and then aſked, " What mark is it to have judgment to diſcern " a miniſter called and ſent of God from an hirling?" The miniſter allowed it to be a good mark, and cited John x. 4. *My ſheep know my voice.*

At the ſecond conference the miniſter urged deep humiliation. He acknowledged the neceſſity thereof, but ſaid, " Oh! if I could get him! But ſin cauſeth me to be jea- " lous of his love, to ſuch a man as I have been." The miniſter adviſed him " to be jealous of himſelf, but not of " Jeſus Chriſt, there being no meeting betwixt them with- " out a ſenſe of ſin," Iſa. lxi. 2, 3. Whereupon my lord ſaid with a deep ſigh accompanied with tears, " God ſend " me that," and thereafter reckoned out a certain number of his ſins, which were as ſerpents or crocodiles before his eyes. The miniſter told him, " that death and him were " yet ſtrangers, and hoped he would tell another tale ere all " the play be ended, and you ſhall think death a ſweet " meſſenger to carry you to your Father's houſe." He ſaid with tears, " God make it ſo," and deſired him to pray.

At the third conference he ſaid, " Death bindeth me " ſtrait. O how ſweet a thing it is to ſeek God in health, " and in time of proſperity to make our accounts, for now " I am ſo diſtempered that I cannot get my heart framed " to think on my account, and the life to come." The miniſter told him, " He behoved to fight againſt ſickneſs " and pain, as well as ſin and death, ſeeing it is a temp- " tation."——He anſwered, " I have taken the play long,

" God

" God hath given me thirty-five years to repent, but alas! " I have miſpent it:" and with that he covered his face and wept. The miniſter aſſured him, that although his day was far ſpent, yet he behoved in the afternoon, yea when near evening, to run faſt, and not to lie in the field, and miſs his lodging, upon which he, with uplifted eyes, ſaid, " Lord, how can I run? Lord, draw me, and I ſhall " run, Cant. i. 4. The miniſter hearing this, deſired him to pray, but he anſwered nothing; yet within an hour he prayed before him and his own lady very devoutly, and bemoaned his own weakneſs both inward and outward, ſaying, " I dare not knock at thy door, I ly at it ſcrambling " as I may, till thou come out and take me in; I dare not " ſpeak; I look up to thee, and look for one kiſs of Chriſt's "fair face. O when wilt thou come!"

At the fourth conference he charged the miniſter to go to a ſecret place and pray for him, and do it not for the faſhion; I know, ſaid he, prayer will pull Chriſt out of heaven. The miniſter ſaid, " What ſhall we ſeek, give us " a commiſſion." He anſwered, " I charge you to tell my " beloved, *that I am ſick of love.* The miniſter deſired if they ſhould ſeek life or recovery, he ſaid, " Yea, if it be " God's good pleaſure, for I find my fear of death now leſs, " and I think God is now looſing the root of the deep-grown " tree of my ſoul ſo firmly faſtened to this life." The miniſter told him, If it were ſo, he behoved to covenant with God in dedicating himſelf and all he had to God and his ſervice, to which he heartily conſented, and after the miniſter had recited ſeveral ſcriptures for that purpoſe, ſuch as Pſal. lxxviii. 36. *&c.* He took the Bible, and ſaid, Mark other ſcriptures for me, and he marked 2 Cor. v. Rev. xxi. and xxii. Pſal. xxxviii. John xv. Theſe places he turned over, and cried often for one love blink, " O Son of God, " for one ſight of thy face."

When the miniſter told him his prayers were heard, he took hold of his hand and drew him to him, and ſaid with a ſigh, Good news indeed, and deſired him and others to tell him what acceſs they had got to God in Chriſt for his ſoul,—They told him they had got acceſs, at which he rejoiced, and ſaid, " Then will I believe and wait on, I can- " not think but my beloved is coming leaping over the " hills."

When friends or others came to viſit him, whom he knew feared God, he would cauſe them go and pray for him, and ſent ſome of them expreſly to the wood of Kenmuir on that errand. After ſome cool of a fever (as was thought),

thought), he cauſed one of his attendants call for the miniſter, to whom he ſaid ſmiling, "Rejoice now, for he is "come. O! if I had a tongue to tell the world what Jeſus "Chriſt hath done for my ſoul."

And yet after all this, conceiving hopes of recovery, he became more careleſs, remiſs, and dead, for ſome days, and ſeldom called for the miniſter (though he would not ſuffer him to go home to his flock), which his lady and others perceiving went to the phyſician, and aſked his judgment anent him.——He plainly told them, There was nothing but death for him if his flux returned, as it did. This made the miniſter go to him and give him faithful warning of his approaching danger, telling him, his glaſs was ſhorter than he was aware of, and that Satan would be glad to ſteal his ſoul out of the world ſleeping; this being ſeconded by the phyſician, he took the miniſter by the hand, thanked him for his faithful and plain dealing, and acknowledged the folly of his deceiving heart in looking over his affection to this life when he was ſo fairly once on his journey toward heaven; then ordered them all to leave the chamber except the miniſter, and cauſing him to ſhut the door, he conferred with him anent the ſtate of his ſoul.

After prayer the miniſter told him, He feared that his former joy had not been well grounded, neither his humiliation deep enough, and therefore deſired him to dig deeper, repreſenting his offence both againſt the firſt and ſecond table of the law, *&c.* whereupon his lordſhip reckoned out a number of great ſins, and, amongſt the reſt, freely confeſſed his ſin in deſerting the laſt parliament, ſaying. "God knoweth I did it with fearful wreſtling of con-"ſcience, my light paying me home within. when I ſeem-"ed to be glad and joyful before men, *&c.* The miniſter being ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this reckoning after ſuch fair appearance of ſound marks of grace in his ſoul, ſtood up and read the firſt eight verſes in the 6th of the epiſtle to the Hebrews and diſcourſed thereon, then cited Rev. xxi. *But the fearful and unbeliever*, &c. and told him he had not one word of mercy from the Lord to him, and ſo turned his back, at which he cried out with tears (that they heard him at ſome diſtance) ſaying, "God armed is coming "againſt me to beat out my brains; I would die; I dare "not die; I would live; I dare not live; O what a bur-"then is the hand of an angry God! Oh! what ſhall I "do! Is there no hope of mercy?" In this agony he lay for ſome time. Some ſaid, The miniſter would kill him, —Others, He would make him deſpair. But he bore with

them, and went to a ſecret place, where he fought words from God to ſpeak to this patient.

After this another miniſter came to viſit him, to whom he ſaid, "He hath ſlain me," and before the miniſter could anſwer for himſelf ſaid, "Not he, but the Spirit of God "in him." The miniſter ſaid, Not I, but the law hath ſlain you, and withal told him of the proceſs the Lord had againſt the houſe of Kenmuir. The other miniſter read the hiſtory of Manaſſeh, and of his wicked life, and how the Lord was intreated of by him. But the former miniſter * went ſtill upon wrath, telling him, He knew he was extremely pained both in body and mind, but what would he think of the lake of fire and brimſtone, of everlaſting burning and of utter darkneſs with the devil and his angels. My lord anſwered, "Woe is me, if I ſhould "ſuffer my thoughts to dwell upon it any time, it were e-"nough to cauſe me go out of my ſenſes, but I pray you, "what ſhall I do?" The miniſter told him he was ſtill in the ſame ſituation, only the ſentence was not given out, and therefore deſired him to mourn for offending God. And farther ſaid, What, my lord, if Chriſt had given out the ſentence of condemnation againſt you, and come to your bed-ſide and told you of it, would you not ſtill love him, truſt in him, and hang upon him? He anſwered, "God knoweth I durſt not challenge him, howbeit he "ſhould ſlay me, I will ſtill love him; yea though the Lord "ſhould ſlay me, yet will I truſt in him, I will ly down at "God's feet, let him trample upon me, I will die, if I die, "at Chriſt's feet." The miniſter, finding him claiming kindneſs to Chriſt, and hearing him often cry, O Son of God, where art thou, when wilt thou come to me! Oh! for a love-look! ſaid, Is it poſſible, my lord, that you can love and long for Chriſt, and he not love and long for you? Can love and kindneſs ſtand only on your ſide? Is your poor love more than infinite love, ſeeing he hath ſaid Iſa. xlix. 15. *Can a woman forget*, &c.? My lord, be perſuaded yourſelf, you are graven upon the palms of God's hands. Upon this he, with a hearty ſmile, looked about to a gentleman (one of his attendants) and ſaid, I am written, man, upon the palms of Chriſt's hands, he will not forget me, is not this brave talking.

After-

* This miniſter is ſuppoſed to have been Mr. Rutherford, who was by ſome ſaid to be the author of that pamphlet, intitled, The laſt and heavenly ſpeech, &c. of John Viſcount of Kenmuir.

Afterwards the miniſter, finding him weaker, ſaid, My lord, the marriage day is drawing near; make ready; ſet aſide all care of your eſtate and the world, and give yourſelf to meditation and prayer and ſpiritual conference. After that he was obſerved to be ſtill upon that exerciſe, and when none were near him, he was found praying; yea, when to appearance ſleeping, he was overheard to be engaged in that duty. After ſome ſleep, he called for one of his kinſmen with whom he was not reconciled, and alſo for a miniſter who had before offended him, that they might be friends again, which was done quickly. To the preacher he ſaid, "I have ground of offence againſt you, "as a natural man, and now I do to you that which all "men breathing could not have moved me to do; but now "becauſe the Holy Spirit commands me, I muſt obey, and "therefore freely forgive you as I would wiſh you to for-"give me. You are in an eminent ſtation, walk before "God and be faithful to your calling; take heed to your "ſteps; walk in the right road; hold your eye right; for "all the world decline not from holineſs; and take exam-"ple by me." To his couſin he ſaid, "Serve the Lord, "and follow not the footſteps of your father-in-law" (for he had married the biſhop of Galloway's daughter); "learn "to know that you have a ſoul, for I ſay unto you the "thouſandth part of the world know not that they have a "ſoul: The world liveth without any ſenſe of God."

He deſired the miniſter to ſleep in a bed made upon the ground in the chamber by him, and urged him to take a ſleep, ſaying, "You and I have a far journey to go; make "ready for it." Four nights before his death, he would drink a cup of wine to the miniſter, who ſaid, "Receive "it, my lord, in hope you ſhall drink of the pure river of "the water of life, proceeding from the throne of God "and from the Lamb." And when the cup was in his hand, with a ſmiling countenance he ſaid "I think I have "good cauſe to drink with a good will to you." After ſome heavineſs the miniſter ſaid, "My lord, I have good "news to tell you.——Be not afraid of death and judg-"ment, becauſe the proceſs that your Judge had againſt "you is cancelled and rent in pieces, and Chriſt hath "trampled it under his feet."——My lord anſwered with a ſmile, "Oh! that is a lucky tale, I will then believe and "rejoice, for ſure I am, that Chriſt and I once met, and "will he not come again." The miniſter ſaid, "You have "gotten the firſt fruit of the Spirit, the earneſt thereof, "and Chriſt will not loſe his earneſt, therefore the bar-

" gain betwixt him and you holdeth." Then he aſked, What is Chriſt like, that I may know him? The miniſter anſwered, He is like love, and altogether lovely, Cantic. v. &c.

The miniſter ſaid, " My lord, if you had the man Chriſt " in your arms, would your heart, your breaſt and ſides " be pained with a ſtitch?" He anſwered, " God know- " eth I would forget my pain, and thruſt him to my heart, " yea if I had my heart in the palm of my hand I would " give it to him, and think it a gift too unworthy of him." He complained of Jeſus Chriſt in coming and going—" I " find, ſaid he, my ſoul drowned in heavineſs; when the " Lord cometh he ſtayeth not long. The miniſter ſaid, " Wooers dwell not together, but married folk take up " houſe and ſunder not, Jeſus Chriſt is now wooing and " therefore he feedeth his own with hunger; which is as " growing meat as the ſenſe of his preſence." He ſaid often, " Son of God, when wilt thou come; God is not a " man that he ſhould change, or as the ſon of man that " he ſhould repent. Them that come to Chriſt he caſteth not away, but raiſeth them up at the laſt day." He was heard to ſay in his ſleep, my beloved is mine, and I am " his." Being aſked if he had been ſleeping? he ſaid, he had, but he remembered he had been giving a claim to Chriſt &c. He aſked, " When will my heart be looſed and my " tongue untied, that I may expreſs the ſweetneſs of the " love of God to my own ſoul;" and before the miniſter anſwered any thing, he anſwered himſelf, " Even when " the wind bloweth."

At another time, being aſked his judgment anent the ceremonies then uſed in the church; he anſwered, "I think " and am perſuaded in my conſcience they are ſuperſti- " ous, idolatrous and antichriſtian, and come from hell. " I repute it a mercy that my eyes ſhall not ſee the deſola- " tion that ſhall come upon this poor church. Is is plain " popery that is coming among you. God help you, God " forgive the nobility, for they are either very cold in de- " fending the true religion, or ready to welcome popery, " whereas they ſhould reſiſt; and woe be to a dead time- " ſerving and profane miniſtry."

He called his lady, and a gentleman come from the eaſt country to viſit him, and cauſed ſhut the door; then from his bed directed his ſpeech to the gentleman thus, " I e- " ver found you faithful and kind to me in my life, there- " fore I muſt now give you a charge which you ſhall deli- " ver to all noblemen you are acquainted with; go through " them

" them and ſhow them from me that I have found the " weight of the wrath of God for not giving teſtimony for " the Lord my God, when I had occaſion once in my life " at the laſt parliament, for which fault how fierce have I " found the wrath of the Lord! My ſoul hath raged and " roared; I have been grieved at the remembrance of it. " Tell them that they will be as I am now, encourage my " friends that ſtood for the Lord; tell them that failed, " if they would wiſh to have mercy when they are as I am " now, they muſt repent and crave mercy of the Lord. " For all the earth I would not do as I have done."

To a gentleman one of his kinſmen, he ſaid, I love you " ſoul and body, you are a bleſſed man if you improve the " bleſſed means of the word preached beſide you. I would " not have you drown yourſelf ſo much with the concerns " of this world (as I did). My grief is, that I had not the " occaſion of good means as you have, and if you yourſelf " make not a right uſe of them, one day they ſhall be a " witneſs againſt you, &c."

To Lord Herries his brother-in-law he ſaid, " Mock not " at my counſel, my lord. In caſe you follow the courſe " you are in, you ſhall never ſee the face of Jeſus Chriſt, " you are deceived with the merchandiſe of the whore that " makes the world drunk out of the cup of her fornicati- " on; your ſoul is built upon a ſandy foundation. When " you come to my ſtate, you will find no comfort in your " religion. You know not what wreſtling I have had be- " fore I came to this ſtate of comfort. The kingdom of " heaven is not gotten with a ſkip or leap, but with much " ſeeking and thruſting, &c."

To his own ſiſter he ſaid, " Who knows, ſiſter, but the " words of a dying brother may prevail with a loving ſiſ- " ter. Alas; you incline to a rotten religion; caſt away " theſe rotten rags, they will not avail you when you are " brought to this caſe, as I am. The half of the world are " ignorant, and go to hell, and know not that they " have a ſoul. Read the Scriptures, they are plain eaſy " language to all who deſire wiſdom from God, and to be " led to heaven."

To a gentleman, his neighbour, he ſaid, " Your ſoul is " in a dangerous caſe, but you ſee it not. Leave theſe ſin- " ful courſes. There are ſmall means of inſtruction to be " had ſeeing the moſt part of the miniſtry are profane and " ignorant. Search God's word for the good old way, and " ſearch and find out all your own ways."

To

To a gentleman his couſin he ſaid, "You are a young "man, and know not well what you are doing. Seek "God's direction for wiſdom in your affairs, and you ſhall "proſper; and learn to know that you have need of God "to be your friend."

To another couſin he ſaid, "David, you are an aged "man, and you know not well what an account you have "to make. I know you better than you believe, for you "worſhip God according to men's devices; you believe lies "of God; your ſoul is in a dreadful caſe; and till you know "the truth you ſhall never ſee your own way aright."

To a young man his neighbour, "Becauſe you are but "young, beware of temptation and ſnares; above all, be "careful to keep yourſelf in the uſe of means; reſort to "good company, and howbeit you be named a puritan "and mocked, care not for that, but rejoice, and be glad "that they would admit you to their ſociety, for I muſt "tell you, when I am at this point in which you ſee me, I "get no comfort to my ſoul from any other ſecond means "under heaven, but from theſe who are nicknamed puri-"tans; they are the men that can give a word of comfort to "a wearied ſoul in due ſeaſon, and that I have found by "experience."

To one of his natural ſiſters, "My dove, thou art young, "and alas ignorant of God. I know thy breeding and up-"bringing well enough, ſeek the Spirit of regeneration. "Oh! if thou knew it, and felt the power of the Spirit "as I do now. Think not all is gone becauſe your brother "is dead. Truſt in God, and beware of the follies of "youth. Give yourſelf to reading and praying, and be "careful in hearing God's word, and take heed whom you "hear, and how you hear, and God be with you."

To a miniſter he ſaid, "Mr. James, it is not holineſs e-"nough to be a miniſter, for you miniſters have your own "faults, and thoſe more heinous than others. I pray you, "be more painful in your calling, and take good heed o "the flock of God, know that every ſoul that periſheth "by your negligence, ſhall be counted to your ſoul, mur-"dered before God. Take heed in theſe dangerous days "how you lead the people of God, and take heed to your "miniſtry."

To Mr. George Gilleſpie, then his chaplain, "You have "carried yourſelf diſcreetly to me, ſo that I cannot blame "you. I hope you ſhall prove an honeſt man; if I have "been at any time harſh to you, forgive me. I would I "had taken better heed to many of your words, I might

"have

" have gotten good by the means God gave me, but I made " no uſe of them, *&c.* I am grieved for my ingratitude " againſt my loving Lord, and that I ſhould have ſinned " againſt him who came down from heaven to the earth " for my cauſe, to die for my ſins; the ſenſe of this love " borne in upon my heart hath a reflex, making me love " my Saviour, and grip to him again."

To another kinſman he ſaid, " Learn to uſe your time " Well. Oh alas! the miniſtry in this country are dead, " God help you, ye are not led right, ye had need to be " buſy among yourſelves. Men are as careleſs in the prac- " tice of godlineſs as it were but words, faſhions, ſigns " and ſhews, but all theſe will not do the turn. Oh! but " I find it hard now to thruſt in and take the kingdom of " heaven by force."

To two neighbouring gentlemen he ſaid, " It is not ri- " ſing ſoon in the morning, and running to the park or " ſtone-dyke, that will bring peace to the conſcience, when " it comes to this part of the play. You know how I have " been beguiled with this world, I would counſel you to " ſeek that one thing neceſſary, even the ſalvation of your " ſouls, *&c.*"

To a couſin, bailie of Ayr, he ſaid, " Robert, I know " you have light and underſtanding, and though you need " not be inſtructed by me, yet you need be incited. Care " not over-much for the world, but make uſe of good " means which you have in your country, for here is a " pack of dumb dogs that cannot bark, they tell over a " claſh of terror, and clatter of comfort without any ſenſe " or life."

To a couſin and another gentleman who was along with him he ſaid, " Ye are young men and have far to go, and " it may be ſome of you have not far to go, and tho' your " journey be ſhort, howſoever it is dangerous. Now are " you happy, becauſe you have time to lay your accounts " with Jeſus Chriſt. I intreat you to give your youth to " Chriſt, for it is the beſt and moſt acceptable gift you can " give him. Give not your youth to the devil and your " luſts, and then reſerve nothing to Jeſus Chriſt but your " rotten bones, it is to be feared that then he will not ac- " cept you. Learn therefore to watch and take example " by me."

He called Mr. Lamb, who was then biſhop of Galloway, and commanding all others to leave the room, he had a long conference with him, exhorting him earneſtly not to moleſt or remove the Lord's ſervants, or enthrall their con-

conſciences to receive the five articles of Perth, or do any thing againſt their conſciences, as he would wiſh to have mercy from God.——The biſhop anſwered, "My lord, "our ceremonies are, of their own nature, but things in- "different, and we impoſe them for decency and order in "God's kirk. They need not ſtand ſo ſcrupulouſly on "them as matter of conſcience in God's worſhip."——My lord replied, "I will not diſpute with you, but one thing "I know and can tell you from dear experience, that theſe "things indeed are matters of conſcience, and not indiffe- "rent, and ſo I have found them. For ſince I lay on this "bed, the ſin that lay heavieſt on my ſoul, was, withdraw- "ing myſelf from the parliament, and not giving my voice "for the truth againſt theſe things which they call indif- "ferent, and in ſo doing I have denied the Lord my God." When the biſhop began to commend him for his well-led life, putting him in hopes of health, and praiſed him for his civil carriage and behaviour, ſaying, He was no oppreſ- ſor, and without any known vice;—he anſwered, "No "matter, a man may be a good civil neighbour, and yet go "to hell."——The biſhop anſwered, "My lord, I confeſs "we have all our faults," and thereafter he inſiſted ſo long, that my lord thought him impertinent; this made him in- terrupt the biſhop, ſaying, "What ſhould I more, I have "got a grip of Jeſus Chriſt, and Chriſt of me, *&c.*" On the morrow the biſhop came to viſit him, and upon aſking how he did, he anſwered, I thank God, as well as a ſaved man haſtening to heaven can.

After he had given the clerk of Kirkudbright ſome ſui- table advice anent his Chriſtian walk and particular calling, he cauſed him ſwear in the moſt ſolemn terms, that he ſhould never conſent to, but oppoſe the election of a cor- rupt miniſter and magiſtrate.—And to his coachman he ſaid, You will go to any one who will give you the moſt hire, but do not ſo, go where you can get the beſt company; though you get leſs wages, yet you will get the more grace. Then he made him hold up his hand, and promiſe before God ſo to do.—And to two young ſerving-men, who came to him weeping to get his laſt bleſſing, he ſaid, Content not yourſelves with a ſuperficial view of religion, bleſſing yourſelves in the morning only for a faſhion, yea though you would pray both morning and evening, yet that will not avail you, except likewiſe ye make your account every day. Oh! ye will find few to direct or counſel you; but I will tell you what to do, firſt pray to the Lord fervent- ly to enlighten the eyes of your mind, then ſeek grace to rule

rule your affections; you will find the good of this when you come to my ſituation. Then he took both their oaths to do ſo.

He gave many powerful exhortations to ſeveral perſons, and cauſed each man to hold up his hand and ſwear in his preſence that by God's grace they ſhould forbear their former ſins and follow his counſel, *&c.*

When giving a divine counſel to a friend, he reſted in the midſt of it, and looked up to heaven, and prayed for a looſened heart and tongue, to expreſs the goodneſs of God to men, and thereafter went on in his counſel (not unlike Jacob, Gen. xlix. 18. who in the midſt of a prophetical teſtament, reſted a little and ſaid, *I have waited for thy ſalvation.*

He gave his lady divers times openly an honourable and ample teſtimony of holineſs, goodneſs and reſpective kindneſs to him, and earneſtly craved her forgiveneſs wherein he had offended her, and deſired her to make the Lord her comforter, and ſaid, He was but gone before, and it was but fifteen or ſixteen years up or down *.

He ſpoke to all the boys of the houſe, the butler, cook, *&c.* omitting none, ſaying, Learn to ſerve and fear the Lord, and uſe carefully the means of your ſalvation. I know what is ordinarily your religion, ye go to kirk, and when ye hear the devil or hell named in the preaching, ye ſigh and make a noiſe, and it is forgot by you before you come home, and then ye are holy enough. But I can tell you, the kingdom of heaven is not got ſo eaſily. Uſe the means yourſelf, and win to ſome ſenſe of God, and pray as you can, morning and evening. If you be ignorant of the way to ſalvation, God forgive you, for I have diſcharged myſelf in that point towards you, and appointed a man to teach you; your blood be upon yourſelves. He took an oath of his ſervants, that they ſhould follow his advice, and ſaid to them ſeverally, If I have been rough to or offended you, I pray you for God's ſake to forgive me; and amongſt others one to whom he had been rough ſaid, Your lordſhip never did me wrong, I will never get ſuch a maſter again. Yet he urged the boy to ſay, My lord, I forgive you; howbeit the boy was hardly brought to utter theſe words. He ſaid to all the beholders about him, Sirs, behold, how low the Lord hath brought me.

* It would appear from the date of the laſt of Mr. Rutherford's letters to this noble lady, that ſhe lived till or a little after the reſtoration.

To a gentleman burthened in his eſtate he ſaid, "Sir, I "counſel you to caſt your burthen upon the Lord your God."——A religious gentleman of his own name coming to viſit him four days before his death, when he beheld him he ſaid, Robert, come to me and leave me not till I die. Being much comforted with his ſpeeches, he ſaid, Robert, you are a friend to me both in ſoul and body.—The gentleman aſked him, What comfort he had in his love towards the ſaints?—He anſwered, I rejoice at it.—Then he aſked him, What comfort he had in bringing the miniſter who attended him from Galloway? He anſwered, God knoweth that I rejoice, that ever he put it in my heart ſo to do, and now becauſe I aimed at God's glory in it, the Lord hath made me find comfort to my ſoul in the end; the miniſters of Galloway murdered my father's ſoul, and if this man had not come they had murdered mine alſo.

Before his ſiſter lady Herries, who was a papiſt, he teſtified his willingneſs to leave the world, That papiſts may ſee, ſaid he, that thoſe who die in this religion, both ſee and know whither they go, for the hope of our father's houſe. When letters were brought him from friends, he cauſed deliver them to his lady, ſaying, "I have nothing to do "with them. I had rather hear of news from heaven "concerning my eternal ſalvation." It was obſerved that when any came to him anent any worldly buſineſs, before they were out of doors he was returned to his ſpiritual exerciſes, and was exceeding ſhort in diſpatching all needful writes. He recommended the poor's caſe to his friends. Upon coming out of a fainting fit, into which his weakneſs had thrown him, he ſaid with a ſmiling countenance to all about him, "I would not exchange my life with you all: "I feel the ſmell of the place where I am going."

Upon Friday morning, the day of his departure from this life, he ſaid, "This night muſt I ſup with Jeſus Chriſt "in paradiſe." The miniſter read to him 2 Cor. v. Rev. xxii. and ſome obſervations on ſuch places as concerned his ſtate. After prayer, he ſaid, "I conceive good hopes "that God looketh upon me when he granteth ſuch liber-"ty to pray for me. Is it poſſible that Jeſus Chriſt can "loſe his grip of me? neither can my ſoul get itſelf pluck-"ed from Jeſus Chriſt." He earneſtly deſired a ſenſe of God's preſence; and the miniſter ſaid, What, my lord, if that be ſuſpended, till you come to your own home, and be before the throne clothed in white, and get your harp in your hand, to ſing ſalvation to the Lamb, and to him that ſitteth on the throne, for that is heaven; and who dare

dare promiſe it to you upon earth? There is a piece of nature in deſiring a ſenſe of God's love, it being an apple that the Lord's children delight to play with. But, my Lord, if you would have it only as a pledge of your ſalvation, we ſhall ſeek it from the Lord for you, and you may lawfully pray for it.—Earneſt prayers were made for him, and he teſtified that he was filled with the ſenſe of the Lord's love. Being aſked, What he thought of the world? he anſwered, "It is more bitter than gall or wormwood." And being demanded, if he now feared death, he anſwered, I have taſted death, now it is more welcome, the meſſenger of Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.*

The miniſter ſaid, There is a proceſs betwixt the Lord and your father's houſe, but your name is taken out of it. How dear was heaven bought for you by Jeſus Chriſt? he frequently ſaid, "I know there is wrath againſt it, but I "ſhall get my ſoul for a prey."——Oftimes he ſaid, "It is "a ſweet word God ſaith, *As I live, I delight not in the "death of a ſinner.* I will not let go the hold I have got of Jeſus Chriſt; *though he ſhould ſlay me, yet will I truſt in "him.*"

In deep meditation on his change, he put this queſtion, What will Chriſt be like when he cometh? It was anſwered, Altogether lovely. Before he died, he was heard praying very fervently, and ſaid to the doctor, "I thought to "have been diſſolved ere now."—The miniſter ſaid, Weary not of the Lord's yoke, Jeſus Chriſt is poſting faſt to be at you, he is within a few miles.—He anſwered, This is my infirmity. I will wait on, he is worth the onwaiting, though he be long in coming, yet I dare ſay he is coming, leaping over the mountains and ſkipping over the hills.——The miniſter ſaid, Some have gotten their fill of Chriſt in this life, howbeit he is often under a maſk to his own. Even his beſt ſaints, Job, David, Jeremiah, *&c.* were under deſertions.—My lord ſaid, But what are theſe examples to me? I am not in holineſs near to them. The miniſter ſaid, It is true you cannot take ſo wide ſteps as they did, but you are in the ſame way with them. A young child followeth his father at the back, though he cannot take ſuch wide ſteps as he.—My lord, your hunger overcometh your faith, only but believe his word;—you are longing for Chriſt, only believe he is faithful, and will come quickly. To which he anſwered, "I think it is time—Lord Jeſus, "come."

Then the miniſter ſaid, My lord, our nature is anxious for our own deliverance, whereas God ſeeketh firſt to be

glorified in our faith, patience and hope. He anſwered, Good reaſon to be firſt ſerved. Lord, give me to wait on; only, Lord, turn me not to droſs.

Another ſaid, Caſt back your eyes, my lord, on what you have received, and be thankful.—At the hearing of which he brake forth in praiſing of God, and finding himſelf now weak, and his ſpeech failing more than an hour before his death, he deſired the miniſter to pray. After prayer, the miniſter cried in his ear, "My lord, may you now ſunder with Chriſt? To which he anſwered nothing, nor was it expected that he would ſpeak any more:—Yet in a little the miniſter aſked, Have you any ſenſe of the Lord's love?—He anſwered, I have. The miniſter ſaid, Do you now enjoy?—He anſwered, I do enjoy. Thereafter he aſked him, Will ye not ſunder with Chriſt?——He anſwered, By no means:—This was his laſt word, not being able to ſpeak any more. The miniſter aſked if he ſhould pray, and he turned his eyes towards him. In the time of the laſt prayer he was obſerved joyfully ſmiling and looking upward. He departed this life about ſun-ſetting, September 12, 1634. aged 35 years. It was obſerved, that he died at the ſame inſtant that the miniſter concluded his prayer.

Mr. Rutherford in one of his letters to the viſcounteſs of Kenmuir a little after the death of her huſband, to comfort her, among other things lets fall this expreſſion, "In "this late viſitation that hath befallen your Ladyſhip, ye "have ſeen God's love and care in ſuch a meaſure, that I "thought our Lord brake the ſharp point of the croſs, "and made us and your ladyſhip ſee Chriſt take poſſeſſion "and infeftment upon earth, of him who is now reigning "and triumphing with the hundred and forty and four "thouſand who ſtand with the Lamb on mount Zion, *&c.*"

Some may object, what did this nobleman for the cauſe of Chriſt, or Scotland's covenanted work of reformation, that he ſhould be inſerted among the Scottiſh worthies? To this it may be anſwered, What did the moſt eminent ſaint that ever was in Scotland, or any where elſe, until they were enabled by the grace of God. So it was with reference to him; for no ſooner was he made partaker of this, than he gave a moſt ample and faithful teſtimony for his truths and intereſt; and although the Lord did not ſee it proper that he ſhould ſerve him after this manner, in his day and generation, yet he no doubt accepted of the will for the deed, and why ſhould we not inrol his name among theſe worthies on earth, ſeeing he hath written his name among the living in Jeruſalem.

The

The Life of Mr. ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

AFTER Mr. Robert Cunningham had received a good education, he became chaplain to the duke of Buccleugh's regiment in Holland, and was afterward ſettled miniſter at Holywood in Ireland, ſometime before Mr. Blair was ſettled at Bangor, and with whom Mr. Blair, after his ſettlement in that place, contracted ſuch an acquaintance as was comfortable to them both.

He applied himſelf cloſe unto the work of the miniſtry, which no doubt to him was the moſt deſireable of all employments, being in the pulpit in his own element, like a fiſh in the water, or bird in the air, always judging that therein a Chriſtian might enjoy much fellowſhip with Chriſt and have an opportunity of doing him the beſt of ſervices, conſidering what Chriſt ſaid to Peter, John xxi. 15. *&c. Loveſt thou me more than theſe——feed my lambs——feed my ſheep.*

Here he continued to exerciſe his office as a faithful paſtor over the flock to whom he was appointed overſeer, until the time that ſeveral of his faithful brethren were depoſed and ejected by the biſhops, at which time the biſhop of Down threatening Mr. Blair with a proſecution againſt him, Mr. Cuningham and ſome others; to whom Mr. Blair ſaid, "Ye may do with me and ſome others as you pleaſe, but if ever ye meddle with Mr. Cunningham your cup will be full, and indeed he was longer ſpared than any of the reſt, which was a great benefit to their flocks, for when they were depoſed, he preached every week in one or other of their kirks. So with great pains both at home and abroad he wore out his body which before was not very ſtrong.

When Mr. Blair and Mr. Livingſton were ſummoned before the biſhop to be depoſed, they went the night before their appearance, to take their leave of Mr. Cuningham, but the next day as they were going to the church of Parphilips, he came up to them, whereat being ſurpriſed they aſked, Why he came thither? To which he anſwered, "All night I have been troubled with that place, *at my firſt* "*anſwer no man ſtood with me*, therefore I am come to "ſtand by you." But being the eye-ſore of the devil and the prelatical clergy in that part of the country, he could not

not be ſuffered long to exerciſe his miniſtry, and in Auguſt 1636, he, with other of his faithful brethren, was thruſt out and depoſed. He continued moſtly after this with the reſt of his ſuffering brethren, until after the defeat of their enterpriſe to New-England, that they were obliged to leave Ireland and come over to Scotland, and not long after he took his laſt ſickneſs in Irvine, whereof he ſoon after died.

During his ſickneſs, beſides many other gracious expreſſions, he ſaid, "I ſee Chriſt ſtanding over death's head, "ſaying, Deal warily with my ſervant, looſe thou this pin, "then that pin, for his tabernacle muſt be ſet up again."

The day before his death, the members of the preſbytery of Irvine made him a viſit, whom he exhorted to be faithful to Chriſt and his cauſe, and to oppoſe the ſervice-book (then preſſed upon the church). "The biſhop," ſaid he, "hath taken my miniſtry from me, and I may ſay, my "life alſo, for my miniſtry is dearer to me than my life." A little before his departure, his wife ſitting by his bedſide with his hand in hers, he did by prayer recommend the whole church of Ireland, the pariſh of Holywood, his ſuffering brethren in the miniſtry, and his children to God, and withal added, "Lord, I recommend this gentlewoman to thee, who is no more my wife:"—and with that he ſoftly looſed his hand from hers, and thruſt it a little from him, at which ſhe and ſeveral of the company fell a-weeping, he endeavoured to comfort them with ſeveral gracious expreſſions, and with the Lord's ſervant of old, mentioned, Acts xiii. 36. *Having ſerved his own generation by the will of God, he fell on ſleep*, March 27. 1637.

Mr. Cunningham was a man moſtly under deep exerciſes of mind, and although in public preaching he was to his own ſenſe ſometimes not ſo aſſiſted as ordinarily, yet even then the matter he treated of was edifying and refreſhful, being ſtill carried through with a full gale, uſing more piercing expreſſions than many others. For meekneſs he was Moſes-like, and in patience another Job,—"to my diſcern-"ing (ſays one of our Scots worthies*) he was the man, "who moſt reſembled the meekneſs of Jeſus Chriſt in all "his carriage, that ever I ſaw, and was ſo far reverenced "of all, even by the wicked, that he was often troubled "with that ſcripture, *Wo to you when all men ſpeak well of* "*you.*"

The

* Mr. Livingſton in his memorable Characteriſticks, laſt edition.

The Life of Mr. JAMES MITCHEL.

HE was ſon to James Mitchel of Dykes in the pariſh of Ardroſſan, and was born about the year 1621. His father, being factor to the earl of Eglinton and a very religious man himſelf, gave his ſon a moſt liberal and religious education.——For, being ſent to the univerſity of St. Andrews, when very young, he profited to ſuch a degree, that by the time that he was eighteen years of age he was made maſter of arts.

After this he returned home to his father's houſe, where he ſtudied for near two years and a half, the Lord in a good meaſure bleſſing his pains and endeavours therein. Mr. Robert Bailie, then miniſter at Kilwinning, ſhewed him no ſmall kindneſs, both by the loan of his books, by his counſel, and by ſuperintending his ſtudies.

Thereafter he was called by the lady Houſton to attend her eldeſt ſon at the college, in which employment he continued other two years and a half, in the which time the Lord bleſſed his ſtudies there exceedingly, and the great pains taken upon him by Mr. David Dickſon (then profeſſor of the univerſity of Glaſgow), Mr. Bailie and others, had ſuch a bleſſing from heaven that he paſſed both his private and public trials in order for the miniſtry to their great contentment.

After he was licenſed, he came weſt and preached in Kilwinning and Stevenſon, to the ſatisfaction of all who heard him, ſo that they bleſſed God in his behalf, and were very hopeful of his great abilities.

But before Martinmas 1643, he went back to Glaſgow, where he both attended his ſtudies and his pupil. He preached ſome few times in Glaſgow, wherewith all thoſe who loved Chriſt, and his cauſe and goſpel were exceeding well pleaſed. At this time, Mr. Dickſon, Mr. Bailie, and Mr. Robert Ramſay having great hopes of his gifts in preaching told his father, that he had great reaſon to bleſs God for the gifts and graces beſtowed upon him above all their expectation, for beſides theſe, the Lord had taken him truly by the heart, and wrought graciouſly with his ſoul. He had given himſelf much up to faſting and prayer, and the ſtudy of the word of God and reading thereof was now become his delight.

But

But the Lord having other thoughts concerning him, in a ſhort time all their great expectations of him in the miniſtry were fruſtrated. For by his extreme abſtinence, drinking of water, and indefatigable pains, he contracted that ſickneſs, of which he died ſoon after. His body began to languiſh, his ſtomach to refuſe all meat, and his conſtitution to alter. Mr. Dickſon laid his condition much to heart (Mr. Bailie being at London) and kept him fifteen days with him; thereafter he went to Houſton, and ſtayed as long there, where the lady and her daughter ſhewed more love and kindneſs than can be expreſſed, and that not only for the care he had of her ſon, but alſo for the rare gifts and graces God had beſtowed on him. His father having ſent for them he returned home.——The firſt night on his journey, he was with Ralſton, and the laird of Ducathall, being there occaſionally, attended him all the reſt of the way homeward; for not being able to ride two miles together, he behoved to go into a houſe to reſt himſelf for an hour, ſuch was his weakly condition.

After his arrival at home, he put on his clothes every day for fifteen days, and after that lay bedfaſt for ten weeks until the day of his death, during which time the Lord was very merciful and gracious to him, both in an external and internal way.——For his body by degrees daily languiſhed till he became like a ſkeleton, and yet his face remained ever pleaſant, beautiful and well-coloured, even to his laſt.

The laſt five or ſix weeks he lived, there were always three or four waiting on him and ſometimes more, yet they never had occaſion to weary of him, but were rather refreſhed with every day's continuance, by the many wiſe, ſweet and gracious diſcourſes which proceeded out of his mouth.

In the time of his ſickneſs the Lord was graciouſly pleaſed to guard his mind and heart from the malice of Satan, ſo that his peace and confidence in God was not much diſturbed, or if the Lord was pleaſed to ſuffer any little aſſault, it ſoon evaniſhed. His feeling and ſenſe was not frequent nor great, but his faith and confidence in God through Jeſus Chriſt was ever ſtrong, which he told his father divers times was more ſure and ſolid than the other. He ſaid, that the Lord before his ſickneſs, had made faſt work with him about the matters of his ſoul, and that before that, he had been under ſore exerciſes of mind, by the ſenſe of his own guiltineſs for a long time, before ever he had ſolid peace and clear confidence, and often ſaid, "Unworthy I,

and

" and naughty I, am freely beloved of the Lord, and the " Lord knows, my ſoul dearly loves him back again." And that the Lord knew his weakneſs to encounter with a temptation, and ſo out of tender compaſſion thus pitied him.

He was alſo poſſeſt of all manner of patience and ſubmiſſion under all this ſore trouble, and never was heard to murmur in the leaſt, but often thought his Maſter's time well worth the waiting on, and was frequently much refreſhed with the ſeeing and hearing of honeſt and gracious neighbours, who came to viſit him, ſo that he had little reaſon with Heman to complain, Pſal. lxxxviii. 8. *Lovers and friends haſt thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance unto darkneſs.*

Among other of his gracious diſcoveries, he declaimed much againſt unprudent ſpeaking, wiſhing it might be amended, eſpecially in young ſcholars and young miniſters, as being but the froth and vanity of the fooliſh mind. Among other things he lamented the pride of many young preachers and ſtudents, by uſurping priority of place, *&c.* which became them not, and exclaimed frequently againſt himſelf for his own practice, yet he ſaid he was in the ſtrength of God brought to mortify the ſame. He frequently exhorted his parents to carry themſelves to one another as the word of God required, and above all things to fear God and delight in his word, and often ſaid, That he dearly loved the book of God, and ſought them to be earneſt in prayer, ſhowing that it was an unknown thing, and a thing of another world, and that the influence of prayer behoved to come out of heaven, therefore the Spirit of ſupplication muſt be wreſtled for, or elſe all prayer would be but lifeleſs and natural, and ſaid, That being once with the Lady Houſton and ſome country gentlemen at Bagles, the Spirit of prayer and ſupplication was poured upon him, in ſuch a powerful and lively manner, two ſeveral days before they went to dinner that all preſent were much affected, and ſhed tears in abundance, and yet at night be found himſelf ſo emptied and dead that he durſt not adventure to pray any at all theſe two nights, but went to bed, and was much vexed and caſt down, none knowing the reaſon. By this he was from that time convinced that the diſpenſation and influence of ſpiritual and lively prayer came only from heaven, and from no natural abilities that were in man.

The laird of Cunningham coming to viſit him (as he did frequently), he enumerated all the remarkable paſſages of

God's goodneſs and providence to him (eſpecially ſince he contracted ſickneſs), as in ſhewing infinite mercies to his ſoul, tender compaſſion towards his body and natural ſpirits, patience and ſubmiſſion to his will without grudging, calmneſs of ſpirit without paſſion, ſolid and conſtant peace within and without, &c. :—This is far beyond the Lord's manner of dealing with many of his dear ſaints, &c. "Now "Sir, think ye not but I ſtand greatly indebted to the "goodneſs and kindneſs of God, that deals thus graciouſ-"ly and warmly with me every way;" and then he burſt out in praiſe to God in a ſweet and lively manner.

At another time, the laird being preſent, May 26, looking out of his bed to the ſun ſhining brightly on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe, he ſaid, "O what a ſplendor and "glory will all the elect and redeemed ſaints have one day, "and O! how much more will the glory of the Creator be, "who ſhall commnnicate that glory to all his own, but the "ſhallow thoughts of ſilly men are not able to conceive "the excellency thereof, &c."

Again, Mr. Macqueen being preſent, his father inquired at him, Wherein our communion with God ſtood? He ſaid, In reconciliation and peace with him, which is the firſt effect of our juſtification, then there was acceſs and love to God, patience and ſubmiſſion to his will, &c. then the Lord's manifeſtation of himſelf to us, as Chriſt ſays, John xiv. 21. See the 20th verſe which he inſtanced.

He ſaid one morning to Hugh Macgaven and his father, "I am not afraid of death, for I reſt on infinite mercy, "procured by the blood of the Lamb" Then he ſpake as to himſelf, "Fear not, little flock, it is the Father's "will to give you the kingdom. Then he ſaid, What are "theſe who are of this little flock? Even ſinners. I came "not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance;" bnt what kind of ſinners? Only thoſe who are ſenſible of ſin and wrath, and ſee themſelves to be loſt, therefore, ſays Chriſt, "I came to ſeek and to ſave them who are loſt." There are two words here, ſeeking and ſaving; and who are theſe? Even thoſe who are loſt bankrupts, who have nothing to pay. Theſe are they whom Chriſt ſeeks, and who are of his flock.

To John Kyle another morning he ſaid twice over, "My "ſoul longeth for the Lord more than they that watch for "the morning." And at another time, perceiving his father weeping, he ſaid, "I cannot blame you to mourn, "for I know you have thought that I might (with God's "bleſſing have proved a comfortable child to you, but "comfort

" comfort yourſelf in this, that ere it be long I will be at " a bleſſed reſt, and in a far better ſtate than I can be in " this life, free from ſin and every kind of miſery, and " within a ſhort time ye will follow after me. And in the " mean time encourage yourſelf in the Lord, and let not " your mourning be like thoſe who have no hope. The " Lord by degrees will aſſuage your grief, for ſo he has " appointed, elſe we would be ſwallowed up and come to " nought, &c. for I could never have been removed out of " this life in a more ſeaſonable time than now, having both " the favour of God and man (being hopeful that my name " ſhall not be unſavoury when I am gone) for none know- " eth what affronts, grief and calamities I might fall into, " had I lived much longer in this life.——And for croſſes " and trouble, how might my life have been made bitter " to me, for when I think what oppoſition I might have " ere I was an actual miniſter, by diviſions of the people, " the patron and the preſbytery, it could not but over- " whelm me, and then being entered, what a fighting life, " with a ſtubborn people, might be my lot I know not, " and then what diſcontentment I might have in a wife, " (which is the lot of many an honeſt man,) is uncertain, " then cares, fears, ſtraits of the world, reproaches of " men, perſonal deſires and the devil and an evil world to " fight with, theſe and many more canot but keep a man " in a ſtruggling ſtate in this life. And now leſt this ſhould " ſeem a mere ſpeculation, I could inſtance theſe things in " the perſons of many worthy men, I paſs all, and only " point out one whoſe gifts and graces are well known to " you, *viz.* Mr. David Dickſon, who I am ſure, God has " made the inſtrument of the converſion of many ſouls, " and of much good to the country, and yet this gracious " perſon has been toſſed to and fro.—And you know that " the Lord made him a gracious inſtrument in this late re- " formation, and yet he has in a great meaſure been ſligh- " ted by the ſtate and the kirk alſo. What reaſon have I " then to bleſs God, that in mercy is timeouſly removing " me from all trouble, and will make me as welcome to " heaven as if I had preached forty years, for he knows " it was my intention (by his grace) to have honoured him " in my miniſtry, and ſeeing he has accepted the will for " the deed, what reaſon have I to complain, for now I " am willing and ready to be diſſolved and to be with " Chriſt, which is beſt of all, wherefore dear father, com- " fort yourſelf with this."

One time in conference concerning the ſin in the godly, his father ſaid to him, "I am ſure you are not now troub-"led with corruption, being ſo near death. He anſwered, "Ye are altogether deceived, for ſo long as my foot re-"maineth on this earth, though the other were tranſlated "above the clouds, my mind would not be free of ſinful "motions." Whereupon he regretted that he could not get his mind and his affections ſo lifted up, to dwell or meditate on God, his word, or that endleſs life, as he could have wiſhed, and that he could not find that ſpirituality by entertaining ſuch thoughts of God's greatneſs and goodneſs as became him, and was often much perplexed with vain thoughts, but he was confident that the Lord in his rich mercy would pity and paſs by this his weakneſs and infirmity, *&c.*

Some time before his death, he fell into ſeveral fainting fits, and about ten or twelve days before his diſſolution, he fell into one, and was ſpeechleſs near an hour, ſo that none preſent had any hopes that he would again recover; but in the mean time, he was wrapt up in divine contemplation. At laſt he began to recover, and his heart being enlarged, he opened his mouth with ſuch lively exhortations as affected all preſent, and directing his ſpeech to his father, he ſaid, "Be glad, Sir, to ſee your ſon, yea, I ſay, your ſe-"cond ſon, made a crowned king." And to his mother he ſaid, "Be of good courage, and mourn not for want of "me, for ye will find me in the all-ſufficiency of God." Then he ſaid, "O death, I give thee a defiance through "Jeſus Chriſt, and then again he ſaid to onlookers, "Sirs, "this will be a blythe and joyful goodnight." In the mean time Mr. Bell came in, to whom he ſaid, "Sir, you are "welcome to be witneſs to ſee me fight out my laſt fight." After which he fell quiet, and got ſome reſt. Within two days, Mr. Bell being come to viſit him, he ſaid, "O Sir, "but I was glad the laſt night when you was here, when I "thought to be diſſolved, that I might have met with my "Maſter, and have enjoyed his preſence for ever, but I "was much grieved when I perceived a little reverting, "and that I was likely to live longer, *&c.*"

To Mr. Gabriel Cunningham, when conferring about death and the manner of diſſolution, he ſaid, "O! how "ſweet a thing it were, for a man to ſleep till death in the "arms of Chriſt."——He had many other lively and comfortable ſpeeches which were not remembered, the day never paſſing, in the time of his ſickneſs, but the onwaiters were refreſhed by him.

The

The night before his departure, he was ſenſible of great pain, whereupon he ſaid, "I ſee it is true, that we muſt "enter into heaven through trouble, but the Lord will "help us through it."—Then he ſaid, "I have great pain, "but mixed with great mercy and ſtrong confidence." He called to mind that ſaying of Mr. John Knox on his death-bed, "I do not eſteem that pain, which will be to me an end "of all trouble, and the beginning of eternal felicity."

His laſt words were theſe, "Lord, open the gates that I "may enter in," and a little after his father aſked, What he was doing? Whereupon he lifted up his hands, and cauſed all his fingers ſhiver and twinkle, and in preſence of many honeſt neighbours he yielded up his ſpirit and went to his reſt a little after ſun-riſing, upon the 11th of June, 1643, being 23 years of age.

Thus, in the bloom of youth, he ended his Chriſtian warfare, and entered into the heavenly inheritance, a young man, but a ripe Chriſtian. There were three ſpecial gifts vouchſafed to him by the Lord, a notable invention, a great memory, with a ready expreſſion.

Among other fruits of his meditation and pains, he drew up a model of and frame of preaching, which he intituled, The method of preaching. Many other manuſcripts he left behind him, (as evidences of his indefatigable labour) which if yet preſerved in ſafe cuſtody, might be of no ſmall benefit to the public, as it appears that they have not hitherto been publiſhed.

The Life of Mr. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

WHEN Mr. Alexander Henderſon had paſſed his degrees at the univerſity with great applauſe, he was by the biſhop of St. Andrews, about the year 1620, preferred to be miniſter of Leuchars, in the ſhire of Fyfe. But being brought in there againſt the conſent of that pariſh unto ſuch a degree, that on the day of his ordination, the church-doors were ſhut ſo faſt by the people, that they were obliged to break in by a window.

And being very prelatical in his judgment at this time, until a little after, that upon the report of a communion to be in the neighbourhood, where Mr. Bruce was to be an helper, he went thither ſecretly, and placed himſelf in a dark corner of the church, where he might not be readily

ſeen

ſeen or known. When Mr. Bruce was come to the pulpit, he did for ſome time keep ſilence (as his uſual manner was) which did aſtoniſh Mr. Henderſon, but it aſtoniſhed him much more, when he heard him begin with theſe words, *He that entereth not in by the door, but climbeth ſome other way, the ſame is a thief and a robber*—which words, by the bleſſing of God, and the effectual working of the Holy Spirit, took ſuch hold on him at that very inſtant, and made ſuch impreſſions on his heart afterward, as proved the very firſt mean of his converſion unto Chriſt.

After this he became not only a moſt faithful and diligent miniſter of the goſpel, bnt alſo a ſtaunch preſbyterian, and had a very active hand in carrying on the covenanted work of reformation, from the year 1638, to the day of his death, and was among the very firſt who got a charge of horning from the biſhop of St. Andrews, for refuſing to buy and uſe the ſervice-book, and book of canons then impoſed by the king upon the church; which occaſioned him and ſome others to give in ſeveral petitions and complaints to the council, both craving ſome mitigation therein, and ſhewing the ſinfulneſs thereof, for which and ſome other conſiderations and overtures for relief, (moſtly compiled by Mr. Henderſon) they were by order of proclamaon charged, within twenty-four hours, to leave the town of Edinburgh under the pain of rebellion.

Again in the year 1638, when the national confeſſion or covenant was agreed upon and ſworn unto by almoſt all ranks in the land, the marquis of Hamilton being ſent by the king to ſuppreſs the covenanters, who having held ſeveral conferences with him to little or no purpoſe, at laſt he told them that the book of canons and liturgy ſhould be diſcharged, on condition they ſhould yield up their covenants, which propoſition did not only diſpleaſe them, but alſo made them more vigilant to ſupport and vindicate that ſolemn deed. Whereupon Mr. Henderſon was again ſet to work, and in a ſhort time favoured the public with ſufficient grounds and reaſons why they could not recede from any part of that covenant.

Some time after this, the table (ſo called) which was erected at Edinburgh for carrying on the reformation, being ſorry that the town and ſhire of Aberdeen, (excited by the perſuaſion of their doctors) ſtood out and oppoſed the covenant and work of reformation, ſent ſome earls with Meſſrs. Henderſon, Dickſon and Cant, to deal with them once more, and to ſee if they could reclaim that town and country.——But upon their arrival there, they could have

no

no acceſs to preach in any church; whereupon the three miniſters reſolved to preach in the earl of Marſhal's cloſe and hall as the weather favoured them. Accordingly they preached by turns, Mr. Dickſon preached in the morning to a very numerous multitude, at noon Mr. Cant preached, and Mr. Henderſon preached at night to no leſs an auditory than in the morning; and all of them preſſed and produced arguments for ſubſcribing the covenant; which had ſuch effect upon the people, that, after public worſhip was over, about 500 perſons ſubſcribed the covenant, at one table there, of whom ſeverals were people of the beſt quality in that place.*

And here one thing was very obſervable, that while Mr. Henderſon preached, the crowd being very great, there were ſeveral mockers, and among the reſt, one John Logie a ſtudent threw clods at the commiſſioners, but it was remarked, that within a few days after, he killed one Nicol Torrie, a young boy, becauſe the boy's father had beat him for ſtealing his peaſe, and though at that time he eſcaped juſtice, yet he was again taken and executed in the year 1644. Such was the conſequence of diſturbing the worſhip of God, and mocking at the ambaſſadors of Jeſus Chriſt.

In the ſame year, at that famous general aſſembly convened at Glaſgow (where many of the nobility were preſent) Mr. Henderſon, without one contrary vote, was choſen moderator, when he did by ſolemn prayer, conſtitute that aſſembly *de novo* in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; for "amoug that man's other qualifications (ſaith Mr. Bai-"ley) he had a faculty of grave, good and fervent prayer, "which he exerciſed without fainting unto the end of that "aſſembly †."

It was in the 20th ſeſſion of this aſſembly, that Mr. Henderſon the moderator, after a moſt pious and learned ſermon (to a very great auditory) from Pſal. cx. 1. *The Lord ſaid to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand*, &c. did in a moſt grave and ſolemn manner, excommunicate and depoſe the biſhops, according to the form publiſhed among the printed acts of that aſſembly. In the 21ſt ſeſſion, a ſupplication was given in for liberty to tranſport him from Leuchars to Edinburgh, but this he was unwilling to do, having been near eighteen years miniſter there.—He pled that he was now too old a plant to take root in another ſoil, *&c.* yet, after much conteſt betwixt the two parties for ſome days,

Edinburgh,

* See Stevenſon's hiſtory of church and ſtate, vol. II. page 334.
† Bailey's letters, &c. page 587.

Edinburgh carried it by 75 votes, very much againſt his own inclination. However he ſubmitted, on condition that when old age ſhould overtake him, he ſhould be again removed to a country charge. At the concluſion ofthis aſſembly he ſaid, "We have now caſt down the walls of Jericho (meaning prelacy) let him that buildeth them beware of the curſe of Hiel the Bethelite, *&c.*"

In the year 1639. he was one of thoſe commiſſioned for the church, to treat upon the articles of pacification † with the king and his commiſſioners at Birks near Berwick, where he behaved with great prudence and candor. And when the general aſſembly, the ſame year, ſat down at Edinburgh, *Auguſt* 12, Mr. Henderſon having been the former moderator) preached to them from Acts v. 33 when *they heard that, they were cut to the heart*, &c. did towards the cloſe of his diſcourſe, addreſs John earl of Traquair, his majeſty's commiſſioner, in theſe words,—"We beſeech your grace to ſee that Cæſar have his own, but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your grace unto many high places, within theſe few years, and is ſtill doing ſo. Be thankful and labour to exalt Chriſt's throne.——Some are exalted like Haman, ſome like Mordecai, *&c.* When the Iſraelites came out of Egypt, they gave all the ſilver and gold they had carried thence for the building of the tabernacle: in like manner, your grace muſt employ all your parts and endowments for the building up the church of God in this land, *&c.*"

And to the members choſen, he ſaid, "Right honourable, worſhipful, and reverend, go on in your zeal and conſtancy: true zeal doth not cool, but the longer it burns, the more fervent it will grow: if it ſhall pleaſe God that by your means the light of the goſpel ſhall be continued, and that you have the honour of being inſtrumental of a bleſſed reformation, it ſhall be uſeful and comfortable to yourſelves and your poſterity. But let your zeal be always tempered with moderation; for zeal is a good ſervant but a bad maſter; like a ſhip that hath a full ſail but no rudder. We had much need of Chriſtian prudence, for we know what advantage ſome have attempted to take of us this way. For this reaſon let it be ſeen to the world, that preſbytery, the government we contend for in the church, can conſiſt very well with monarchy

† See theſe articles in the hiſtory of church and ſtate, vol. II. p. 745. and the civil wars of Great Britain, p. 10, &c.

"narchy in the ſtate; and thereby we ſhall gain the favour "of our king, and God ſhall get the glory." After this diſcourſe and the calling of the commiſſions, Traquair deſired that Mr. Henderſon might be continued moderator. Whether this was to corroborate his maſter's deſign, or from a regard to Mr. Henderſon's abilities (as he himſelf profeſſed) is not certain, but the aſſembly oppoſed this as ſavouring too much of the conſtant moderator, the firſt ſtep taken of late to introduce prelacy; and no man oppoſed Traquair's motion more than Mr. Henderſon himſelf, and by that means it was over-ruled.

Mr. Henderſon was one of thoſe miniſters who went with the Scots army to England in the year 1640, every regiment having one of the moſt able miniſters in the bounds where they were raiſed as chaplain, and when the treaty was ſet on foot which began at Rippon, and ended at London, he was alſo one nominated as commiſſioner for the church, the duties of which he diſcharged with great prudence and advantage, and the very next year, he was, by the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, authorized to go with lord Loudon, Warriſton and Barclay, to the king, to importune him to call his Engliſh parliament, as the only and beſt expedient to obtain an honourable and laſting peace; but his embaſſy had not the deſired effect.

After his return, he was choſen moderator to the general aſſembly *anno* 1643, and when the Engliſh commiſſioners, *viz.* Sir William Armyn, Sir Harry Vane the younger, Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Darly from the parliament, and two miniſters, Mr. Stephen Marſhal a preſbyterian, and Philip Nye an independent, from the general aſſembly of divines at Edinburgh, where the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland was then ſitting, craving their aid and counſel upon ſuch an emergent occaſion, he was among the firſt of thoſe nominated as commiſſioners to go up to the parliament and aſſembly of England. And ſo in a little after, Mr. Henderſon and Mr. Gilleſpie, with Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Nye, ſet out for London to get the ſolemn league ratified there (the reſt of the commiſſioners ſtaying behind until it ſhould be returned). Upon their arrival at London, and having received a warrant from the parliament to ſit in the next aſſembly (which warrant was preſented by Mr. Henderſon), the aſſembly ſent out three of their number to introduce them; at their entry Dr. Twiſſe the prolocutor welcomed them unto the aſſembly, and complimented them for the hazard they had undergone on their account both by ſea and land, in ſuch a rigorous ſeaſon (it

being then November); after which they were led to a place the moſt convenient in the houſe, which they kept ever after *.

Again in the year 1646, being ſent down from London to attend the king, then with the Scots army at Newcaſtle, at which time the general Aſſembly appointed alſo Meſſrs. Robert Blair, James Guthrie, Robert Douglas, and Andrew Cant, to wait on his majeſty; here Mr. Henderſon officiated for ſome time as his chaplain; and although he and Mr. Blair, of all the preſbyterians were the beſt beloved of the king, yet they could by no means prevail upon him to grant the firſt demand of his ſubjects, yea, he obſtinately refuſed, though they beſought him on their knees.

In the interval of theſe affairs, a ſeries of letters was continued betwixt the king, aſſiſted by Sir Robert Murray on the one hand, and Mr. Henderſon on the other; the one in defence of Epiſcopacy, and the other of Preſbytery, which were exchanged from the 19th of May to the midſt of July as each perſon was in readineſs.

But during this controverſy, Mr. Henderſon's conſtitution much worn out with much fatigue and travel, he was obliged to break off an anſwer to the king's laſt paper, and to return to Edinburgh, where, in a little time after his arrival, he laid down his earthly tabernacle in exchange for an heavenly crown, about the middle of Auguſt 1646.

Some of the abettors of prelacy, ſenſible of his great abilities, were earneſtly deſirous to bring him over to their ſide at his death †, and for that purpoſe palmed upon the world moſt groundleſs ſtories of his changing his principles at his laſt hours; yea, the anonymous author of the civil wars of Great Britain goes farther, when he ſays, page 200. "Mr. Henderſon had the honour to be converted by his "majeſty's diſcourſe at Newcaſtle, and died reconciled to "the church of England." But from theſe falſe calumnies he

* At that time the aſſembly ſat in king Henry VIII's chapel, and when the weather grew cooler, in Jeruſalem chamber, a ſpacious room in Weſtminſter abbey. The prolocutor, Dr. Twiſſe, had a chair ſet at the upper hand, a foot higher than the earth; before it ſtood two chairs for Dr. Burgeſs and Mr. White aſſeſſors: before theſe ſtood a table where Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough, the two ſcribes ſat; upon the prolocutor's right hand ſat the Scots commiſſioners; on the left hand the Engliſh divines to the number of about 118, whereof about two thirds only attended cloſe. They met every day of the week, except Saturday, ſix or ſeven hours at a time, and began and ended with prayer.

† Such as the author of the appendix to Spotſwood's hiſtory, and others.

he hath been ſufficiently vindicated a long time ago, by a declaration of the 9th act of the general aſſembly in 1648. See alſo Mr. Logan's letter in vindication of Mr. Henderſon, from theſe aſperſions caſt on him by Meſſrs. Sage and Ruddiman.

Some time after his death a monument was erected on his grave in the Gray-friar's church-yard of Edinburgh, in form of a quadrangular urn, inſcribed on three ſides; and becauſe there was ſome mention thereon of the ſolemn league and covenant (or rather becauſe Mr. Henderſon had done much for and in behalf of the covenant), commiſſioner Middleton, ſome time in the month of June or July 1662, ſtooped ſo low as to procure an order of parliament, to raze and demoliſh ſaid monument, which was all the length their malice could go againſt a man who had been near ſixteen years in his grave. Hard enough, if he had died in the prelatical perſuaſion, from thoſe who pretended to be the prime promoters of the ſame *.

Mr. Henderſon was a man who ſpared no pains in carrying on the work of reformation in that period.——For whether he was called forth to church-judicatories, to the pulpit, or any other buſineſs, no trouble or danger could make him decline the work. One of his colleagues and intimate acquaintances give him no mean teſtimony, when he ſays, "May I be permitted to conclude with my earneſt "wiſh, that that glorious ſoul of worthy memory, who is "now crowned with the reward of all his labours for God "and us, may be fragrant among us as long as free and "pure aſſemblies remain in this land, which, I hope, ſhall "be to the coming of our Lord. You know he ſpent his "ſtrength, wore out his days, and that he did breathe out "his life in the ſervice of God, and of this church; this "binds it on us and poſterity, to account him the faireſt

* Mr. Henderſon's monument was afterwards repaired, as it now ſtands intire a little to the weſtward of the church. On one ſide the inſcription begins with theſe words,

Hanc quiſquis urnam tranſiens, &c.

On another ſide it begins,

Qui contra graſſantes per fraudem et tyrannidem.

And the Engliſh inſcription on a third ſide—

Reader, bedew thine eyes
Not for the duſt here lies,
It quicken ſhall again,
And aye in joy remain:
But for thyſelf, the church and ſtate
Whoſe woe this duſt prognoſticates.

The fourth ſide of the urn has no inſcription.

"ornament after Mr. John Knox of incomparable memo-
"ry, that ever the church of Scotland did enjoy ‡."

Beſide the fore-named papers, with another intitled the remonſtrancs of the nobility, *&c.* a tract on church government, and an inſtruction for defenſive arms, *&c.* the general aſſembly appointed him, Mr. Calderwood and Mr. Dickſon, to prepare a directory for the worſhip of God, which not only had the deſired effect, but at length brought about uniformity in all our churches. There are alſo ſome few of his ſermons in print, ſome of which were preached before the parliament.

‡ Mr. Bailey in his ſpeech to the general aſſembly, 1647.

The Life of Mr. GEORGE GILLESPIE.

MR. GEORGE GILLESPIE was ſon to Mr. John Gilleſpie, ſometime miniſter of the goſpel at Kirkaldy. After Mr. George had been ſome time at the univerty (where he ſurpaſſed the moſt part of his fellow-ſtudents) he was licenſed to preach ſome time before the year 1638. but could have no entry into any pariſh becauſe the biſhops had then the aſcendant in the affairs of the church. This obliged him to remain for ſome time chaplain ‡, in the family of the earl of Caſſils.——And here it was, that he wrote that elaborate piece (though he was ſcarce twenty-five years of age) intitled, a diſpute againſt the Engliſh popiſh ceremonies, *&c.* which book was, in the year 1637, diſcharged, by order of proclamation, to be uſed, as being of too corroſive a quality to be digeſted by the biſhops weak ſtomachs.

After this he was ordained miniſter of Weemes, by Mr. Robert Douglas, *April* 26, 1638, being the firſt who was admitted by a preſbytery in that period, without an acknowledgment of the biſhops.——And now Mr. Gilleſpie began in a more public way to exert himſelf in defence of the preſbyterian intereſt, when at the 11th ſeſſion of that venerable aſſembly held at Glaſgow 1638, he preached a very learned and judicious ſermon from theſe words, *The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord*, &c. in which ſermon, the earl of Argyle thought that he touched the royal prerogative

‡ It appears that he was alſo chaplain to the viſcount Kenmuir about the year 1634.

tive too near, and did very gravely admoniſh the aſſembly concerning the ſame, which they all took in good part, as appeared from a diſcourſe then made by the moderator for the ſupport of that admonition.

At the general aſſembly held at Edinburgh 1641, Mr. Gilleſpie had a call tabled from the town of Aberdeen, but the lord commiſſioner and himſelf here pled his cauſe ſo well, that he was for ſometime continued at Weemes—— Yet he got not ſtaying there long, for the general aſſembly in the following year ordered him to be tranſported to the city of Edinburgh, where it appears he continued until the day of his death, which was about ſix years after.

Mr. George Gilleſpie was one of thoſe four miniſters who were ſent as commiſſioners from the church of Scotland to the Weſtminſter aſſembly in the year 1643, where he diſplayed himſelf to be one of great parts and learning, debating with ſuch perſpicuity, ſtrength of argument, and calmneſs of ſpirit, that few could equal, yea none excel him, in that aſſembly.——As for inſtance, One time when both the parliament and the aſſembly were met together, and a long ſtudied diſcourſe being made in favours of Eraſtianiſm to which none ſeemed ready to make an anſwer, and Mr. Gilleſpie being urged thereunto by his brethren the Scots commiſſioners, repeated the ſubject-matter of the whole diſcourſe, and refuted it, to the admiration of all preſent,—and that which ſurpriſed them moſt was, that though it was uſual for the members to take down notes of what was ſpoken in the aſſembly for the help of their memory, and that Mr. Gilleſpie ſeemed to be that way employed during the time of that ſpeech unto which he made anſwer, yet thoſe who ſat next him declared, that having looked into his note-book, they found nothing of that ſpeech written, but here and there, "Lord, ſend light, "——Lord, give aſſiſtance,——Lord, defend thine own "cauſe, *&c.*"

And although the practice of our church gave all our Scots commiſſioners great advantages (the Engliſh divines having ſo great a difference) that they had the firſt forming of all theſe pieces * which were afterward compiled and approved of by that aſſembly, yet no one was more uſe-

* Such as our catechiſms, directory for worſhip, form of church-government, and when the confeſſion of faith was about to be compiled, they added to our Scots commiſſioners Dr. Gouge, D. Hoyl, Mr. Herle the prolocutor, (Dr. Twiſſe being then dead), Mr. Gataker, Mr. Tuckney, Mr. Reynold's and Mr. Reeves, who prepared materials for that purpoſe.

uſeful at ſupporting them therein than Mr. Gilleſpie the youngeſt of them.——"None (ſays one of his colleagues who was there preſent) "in all the aſſembly, did reaſon "more, nor more pertinently, than Mr. Gilleſpie,—he is "an excellent youth, my heart bleſſes God in his behalf." Again, when Acts xvii. 28. was brought for the proof of the power of ordination, and keen diſputing aroſe upon it, "The very learned and accurate Gilleſpie, a ſingular or-"nament to our church, than whom not one in the aſſem-"bly ſpoke to better purpoſe, nor with better acceptance "of all the hearers, ſhewed that the Greek word of pur-"poſe, by the Epiſcopals, tranſlated ordination, was tru-"ly chooſing, importing the people's ſuffrage in electing "their own office-bearers." And elſewhere ſays, "We "get good help in our aſſembly debates of lord Warriſton (an occaſional commiſſioner), but of none more than that "noble youth Mr. Gilleſpie. I admire his gifts, and bleſs "God, as for all my colleagues, ſo for him in particular, "as equal in theſe to the firſt in the aſſembly *.

After his return from the Weſtminſter aſſembly, he was employed moſtly in the public affairs of the church, until the year 1648, when he was choſen moderator to the general aſſembly, in which aſſembly ſeveral famous acts were made in favour of the covenanted work of reformation, particularly that againſt the unlawful engagement then made againſt England by the duke of Hamilton, and thoſe of the malignant faction. In this aſſembly, he was one of theſe nominated to proſecute the treaty of uniformity in religion with England, but in a ſhort time after this, the ſickneſs ſeized him, whereof he died about the 17th of December following.

Says Mr. Rutherford to him in a letter when on his death bed; "Be not heavy, the life of faith is now called for; do-"ing was never reckoned on your accounts (though Chriſt "in and by you hath done more then by twenty, yea, an "hundred grey haired and godly paſtors.) Look to that "word, Gal. ii. 20. *Nevertheleſs, I live; yet not I, but "Chriſt liveth in me*, &c."

In his lifetime he was always firmly attached to the work of reformation, and continued ſo to the end of his life.—For about two months before his deceaſe, he ſent a paper to the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, wherein he gave faithful warning againſt every ſin and backſliding that he then perceived to be on the growing hand both in church and ſtate, and laſt of all, he emitted the following faithful teſti-

* Mr. Bailey in his letters.

teſtimony againſt aſſociation and compliance with the enemies of truth and true godlineſs, in theſe words.

"Seeing now in all appearance, the time of my diſſolu-
"tion draweth near, although I have, in my latter will,
"declared my mind of public affairs, yet I have thought
"good to add this further teſtimony, that I eſteem the
"malignant party in theſe kingdoms to be the ſeed of the
"Serpent, enemies to piety and preſbyterial government
"(pretend what they will to the contrary), a generation
"who have not ſet God before them. With the malig-
"nant are to be joined the profane and ſcandalous, from
"all which, as from hereſy and error, the Lord, I truſt,
"is about to purge his church. I have often comforted
"myſelf (and ſtill do) with the hopes of the Lord's purg-
"ing this polluted land. Surely the Lord hath begun and
"will carry on that great work of mercy, and will purge
"out the rebels. I know there will be always a mixture
"of hypocrites, but that cannot excuſe the conniving at
"groſs and ſcandalous ſinners, *&c.* I recommend to them
"that fear God, ſeriouſly to conſider, that the holy ſcrip-
"tures do plainly hold forth, 1. That the helping of the
"enemies of God, joining or mingling with wicked men
"is a ſin highly diſpleaſing. 2. That this ſin hath ordina-
"rily inſnared God's people into divers other ſins. 3.
"That it hath been puniſhed of God with grievous judg-
"ments. And, 4. That utter deſtruction is to be feared,
"when a people, after great mercies and judgments, re-
"lapſe into this ſin, Ezra ix. 13, 14.

"Upon theſe and the like grounds, for my own exone-
"ration, that ſo neceſſary a truth want not the teſtimony of
"a dying witneſs of Chriſt, altho' the unworthieſt of many
"thouſands, and that light may be held forth, and warn-
"ing given, I cannot be ſilent at this time, but ſpeak by
"my pen when I cannot by my tongue, yea now alſo by
"the pen of another when I cannot by my own, ſeriouſly,
"and in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, exhorting and obteſting
"all that fear God, and make conſcience of their ways, to
"be very tender and circumſpect, to watch and pray, that
"he be not enſnared in that great and dangerous ſin of
"compliance with malignant or profane enemies of the
"truth, *&c.* which if men will do, and truſt God in his
"own way, they ſhall not only not repent it, but to the
"greater joy and peace of God's people, they ſhall ſee his
"work go on and proſper glorioufly. In witneſs of the
"premiſes, I have ſubſcribed the ſame. At Kircaldy De-
"cember 5th, 1648, before theſe witneſſes, *&c.*" And

in

in about two days after, he gave up the ghoſt, death ſhutting his eyes, that he might then ſee God, and be for ever with him.

Thus died Mr. George Gilleſpie, very little paſt the prime of life. A pregnant divine, a man of much boldneſs, and great freedom of expreſſion, He ſignalized himſelf on every occaſion where he was called forth to exerciſe any part of his miniſterial function. No man's death, at that time, was more lamented than his, and ſuch was the ſenſe the public had of his merit, that the committee of eſtates, by an act dated December 20th, 1648, did, "as an acknowledgment for his faithfulneſs in all the public employments entruſted to him by this church, both at home and abroad, his faithful labours and indefatigable diligence in all the exerciſes of his miniſterial calling, for his maſter's ſervice, and his learned writings publiſhed to the world, in which rare and profitable employments, both for church and ſtate, he truly ſpent himſelf, and cloſed his days,—ordain, That the ſum of one thouſand pounds ſterling be given to his widow and children, *&c.*" And though the parliament did, by their act dated June 8th, 1650, unanimouſly ratify the above act, and recommended to their committee, to make the ſame effectual; yet, the Uſurper preſently over-running the counry, this good deſign was fruſtrated, as his grandſon the Rev. Mr. George Gilleſpie miniſter at Strathmiglo did afterwards declare†.

Beſides the Engliſh popiſh ceremonies already mentioned, he wrote alſo Aaron's rod bloſſoming, *&c.* and his miſcellany queſtions firſt printed 1649, all which with the forecited teſtimony and ſome other papers, ſhew that he was a man of moſt profound parts, learning and abilities.

† See the preface to Stevenſon's hiſtory.

The Life of Mr. JOHN M'CLELLAND.

MR. JOHN M'CLELLAND having gone through ſeveral branches of uſeful learning, kept a ſchool for ſome time at Newton in Ireland, where he became inſtrumental in training up ſeveral hopeful young men for the univerſity. Afterwards he was tried and approven of by the honeſt miniſters in the county of Down, and being licenſed, he preached in their churches, until (among others)

thers) for faithfulneſs, he was depoſed and excommunicated by the biſhops.

He was alſo engaged with the reſt of his faithful brethren in their intended voyage to New-England in the year 1636, but that enterpriſe proving abortive (by reaſon of a ſtorm which forced them to return back to Ireland), he preached for ſome time through the counties of Down, Tyron and Dunnegal in private meetings, till being purſued by the biſhop's official, he was obliged to come over in diſguiſe to Scotland, where about the year 1638, he was admitted miniſter at Kirkcudbright, in which place he continued until the day of his death.

It would appear that he was married to one of Mr. Livingſton's wife's ſiſters, and the ſtricteſt friendſhip ſubſiſted betwixt theſe two worthy men, both while in Ireland, and after their return to Scotland. While he was miniſter at Kirkcudbright, he diſcovered more than ordinary diligence, not only in teſtifying againſt the corruptions of the time, but alſo for his own ſingular walk and converſation, being one who was ſet for the advancement of all the practical parts of religion, and that as well in private duties as in public.——For inſtance, When Mr. Henry Guthrie then miniſter at Stirling (but afterwards biſhop of Dunkeld), thought to have brought in a complaint to the general aſſembly 1639, againſt private ſociety meetings (which were then become numerous through the land), yet ſome of the leading members, knowing that Mr. Guthrie did it partly out of reſentment againſt the laird of Leckie (who was a great practiſer and defender of theſe meetings), thought proper, rather than it ſhould come to the aſſembly, to yield that Mr. Guthrie ſhould preach up the duty of religious exerciſe in families, and that Meſſrs. M'Clelland, Blair and Livingſton ſhould preach againſt night-meetings (for they were ſo called then becauſe moſtly kept in the night) and other abuſes, but theſe brethren endevoured by conference to gain ſuch as had offended by exceſs in this matter, but by no means could be prevailed with to preach againſt them, which ſo offended Mr. Guthrie, that he gave in a charge or complaint to the general aſſembly 1640, wherein he alledged theſe three miniſters were the only encouragers of theſe meetings, Mr. M'Clelland roundly took him up, and craved that a committee might be appointed to try theſe diſorders, and to cenſure the offenders, whether thoſe complained of or the complainers, which ſo nettled Mr. Guthrie, the earl of Seaforth and others of their fraternity, that nothing was heard

in the aſſembly for ſometime for confuſion and noiſe ſtirred up by them.

Mr. M'Clelland was alſo one who was endued with the Spirit of diſcerning what ſhould afterwards come to paſs, as is evident from ſome of his prophetical expreſſions, particularly that letter which he wrote to John Lord of Kirkcudbright dated February 20th, 1649, a little before his death, an abſtract of which may not be improper, and is as follows,

"*My noble Lord,*

"I have received yours, and do acknowledge my obli-
"gation to your lordſhip is redoubled. I long much to
"hear what deciſion followed on that debate concerning
"patronages *. Upon the moſt exact trial they will be
"found a great plague to the kirk, an obſtruction to the
"propagation of religion. I have reaſon to hope that ſuch
"a wiſe and well-conſtitute parliament will be lothe to lay
"ſuch

* Although patronage be a yoke upon the neck of the church, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, contrary to Acts i. 13, *&c.* vi. 6. xiv. 23. 2 Cor. viii. 19. the practice of the primitive church, reaſon and the natural rights of mankind, yet in the beginning of our reformation from popery, it was ſomewhat more tolerable (not to ſay neceſſary) than now, when there were few miniſters, the people but juſt emerging out of groſs darkneſs, and our noblemen and gentlemen then being generally not only pious religious men, but alſo promoters of our reformation (the quite contrary of which is the caſe at preſent); and yet our wiſe reformers, while in an advancing ſtate, made ſeveral acts both in church and ſtate as barriers againſt this increaſing evil, and never reſted until by an Act of Parliament 1649, they got it utterly aboliſhed. Soon after the reſtoration this act among others was declared null, and patronage in its full force reſtored, which continued till the revolution, when its form was changed, by taking that power from patrons and lodging it in the hands of ſuch heritors and elders as were qualified by law. But as if this had not been enough, to denude the people of that right purchaſed to them by the blood of Chriſt, patronage was, in its extent, by act of parliament 1712, reſtored, and is now univerſally practiſed with as bad circumſtances as ever.——And yet it is to be feared after all, that there are many now a-days, more irritated and chagrined at this evil, becauſe it more ſenſibly croſſes their own inclination, than becauſe it is an uſurpation upon the church of Chriſt, elſe they would give a more ample teſtimony againſt the other branches of thoſe incroachments made upon Chriſt's crown and royal dignity. Theſe who would ſee more of the evil conſequences of patronage, and popular elections vindicated, may conſult *Rectius inſtruendum*; Park upon patronage; the ſuffrages of the people; the full vindication of the people's right, *&c.* a plea for the church of Scotland againſt patronage; the candid inquiry; and an attempt to prove every ſpecies of patronage foreign to the nature of the church, *&c.*

" ſuch a yoke upon the churches, of ſo little advantage to " any man, and ſo prejudicial to the work of God as hath " been many times repreſented. Certainly the removing it " were the ſtopping the way of ſimony, except we will ap- " prehend that whole preſbyteries will be bribed for " patronage. I can ſay no more but what Chriſt ſaid to " the Phariſees. It was not ſo from the beginning, the " primitive church knew nothing of it.

" But as for their pernicious diſpoſition to a rupture a- " mong ſectaries, I can ſay nothing to them, only this, I " conclude their judgment ſleeps not: *Shall they eſcape,* " *ſhall they break the covenant, and be delivered?* &c. Ezek. " xvii. 16, *&c.* which I dare apply to England, I hope, " without wreſting of ſcripture, *And therefore thus ſaith* " *the Lord God, as I live, ſurely mine oath that he hath deſ-* " *piſed, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I* " *recompenſe on his own head,* &c. This covenant was made " with Nebuchadnezzar; the matter was civil, but the tie " was religious, wherefore the Lord owns it as his cove- " nant, becauſe God's name was invoked and interponed " in it, and he calls England to witneſs. England's cove- " nant was not made with Scotland only, but with the high " and mighty God, principally for the reformation of his " houſe, and it was received in the moſt ſolemn manner " that I have heard, ſo that they may call it God's cove- " nant both formally and materially; and the Lord did ſe- " cond the making of it with more than ordinary ſucceſs to " that nation. Now it is manifeſtly deſpiſed and broken in " the ſight of all nations, therefore it remains that the " Lord avenge the quarrel of his covenant †.——England

 " hath

† And may we not tremble and be afraid of the ſame judgments? for how applicable is this to our caſe in Scotland at preſent, wherein theſe our national vows and covenants are not only ſlighted and neglected, yea flouted at by many in this profane generation, but even ſome having a more ſeeming zeal for religion, ſtand not to argue and ſay, " That although theſe covenants were binding on our fore- " fathers who made and took them, yet they can be no way oblige- " tory on us who were never perſonally engaged therein." But let ſuch for certainty know, that as theſe ſolemn vows have their foundation in ſcripture, Numb. xxx. 2. Deut. v. 3. Joſh. xxiv. 25. Pſal. lxxvi. 11. Iſa. xix. 18. Jer. l. 5. Gal. iii. 15. The duties engaged to therein being purely theological and moral, they muſt have reſpect unto all circumſtances and periods of time, and beſides their form being *formalis ratio, i. e.* formal reaſon, and the action ſolemn, the majeſty of heaven being both a party and witneſs therein, the obligation muſt be perpetual, which no mortal on earth can lawfully diſpenſe with, and ſo ſhall bind and oblige all Scotſmen under penalty of breach of God's covenant while ſun and moon endure.

" hath had to do with the Scots, French, Danes, Picts, " Normans and Romans, but they never had ſuch a party " to deal with as the Lord of armies, pleading for the vio- " lation of his covenant, *&c.* Engliſhmen ſhall be made " ſpectacles to all nations for a broken covenant, when the " living God ſwears, *As I live, even the covenant that he* " *hath deſpiſed, and the oath that he hath broken will I re-* " *compenſe upon his own head.* There is no place left for " doubting. *Hath the Lord ſaid it,* hath the Lord ſworn " it? *and will he not do it?* His aſſertion is a ground for " faith, his oath a ground of full aſſurance of faith, if all " England were as one man united in judgment and affec- " tion, and if it had a wall round about it reaching to the " ſun, and if it had as many armies as it has men, and e- " very ſoldier had the ſtrength of Goliah, and if their na- " vies could cover the ocean, and if there were none to " peep out or move the tongue againſt them, yet I dare " not doubt of their deſtruction, when the Lord hath " ſworn by his life, that he will avenge the breach of cove- " nant. When, and by whom, and in what manner, he " will do it, I do profeſs ignorance, and leave it to his " glorious majeſty, his own latitude, and will commit it " him, *&c.*

" My lord, I live and will die, and if I be called home " before that time, I am in the aſſured hopes of the ruin " of all God's enemies in the land, ſo I commit your lord- " ſhip and your lady to the grace of God.

" JOHN M'CLELLAND."

A very little after he wrote this letter, in one of his ſermons he expreſt himſelf much to the ſame purpoſe, thus, " The judgments of England ſhall be ſo great, that a man " ſhall ride fifty miles through the beſt pleniſhed parts of " England, before they hear a cock crow, a dog bark, or " ſee a man's face." Alſo he further aſſerted, " That if " he had the beſt land of all England, he would make ſale " of it for two ſhillings the acre, and think he had come to " a good market ‡." And although this may not have had its full accompliſhment as yet, yet there is ground to believe that it will be fulfilled, for the Lord will not alter the word that is gone out of his mouth.

Mr. M'Clelland continued near twelve years at Kirkcudbright. About the year 1650, he was called home to his Father's

‡ See the forementioned letter and note in a pamphlet intitled, Some predictions or prophecies of our Scots Worthies, &c, from page 20. &c.

Father's houſe, to the full fruition of that which he had before ſeen in viſion.

He was a man moſt ſtrict and zealous in his life, and knew not what it was to be afraid of any man in the cauſe of God, being one who was moſt nearly acquainted with him, and knew much of his Maſter's will. Surely the Lord doth nothing but what he revealeth to his ſervants the prophets.

A little before his death he made the following epitaph on himſelf.

Come, ſtingleſs death, have o'er, lo! here's my paſs,
In blood character'd, by his hand who was
And is and ſhall be. Jordan cut thy ſtream,
Make channels dry. I bear my Father's name
Stampt on my brow. I'm raviſh'd with my crown.
I ſhine ſo bright, down with all glory, down,
That world can give. I ſee the peerleſs port,
The golden ſtreet, the bleſſed ſoul's reſort,
The tree of life, floods guſhing from the throne
Call me to joys. Begone, ſhort woes, begone,
I lived to die, but now I die to live,
I do enjoy more than I did believe.
The promiſe me unto poſſeſſion ſends,
Faith in fruition, hope, in having, ends.

The Life of Mr. DAVID CALDERWOOD.

MR. DAVID CALDERWOOD, having ſpent ſome time at the grammar-ſchool, went to the univerſity to ſtudy theology, in order for the miniſtry, where after a ſhort ſpace, being found fit for that office, he was made miniſter at Crelling near Jedburgh, where, for ſome conſiderable time, he preached the word of God with great wiſdom, zeal and diligence, and as a faithful wiſe harveſt man, brought in many ſheaves into God's granary. But it being then a time, when prelacy was upon the advance in the church, and faithful miniſters every where thruſt out and ſuppreſſed, he, among the reſt, gave in his declinature in the year 1608, and thereupon took inſtruments in the hands of James Johnſton notary public, in preſence of ſome of the magiſtrates and council of the town, whereupon, information being ſent to the king by the biſhops, a direction was ſent down from him to the council, to puniſh him

him (and another miniſter who declined) exemplarily, but by the earneſt dealing of the earl of Lothian with the chancellor in favours of Mr. Calderwood, their puniſhment reſolved only in a confinement within their own pariſh, *&c.*

Here he continued until June 1617, that he was ſummoned to appear before the high commiſſion court at St. Andrews, upon the 8th of July following. Being called upon (the king being preſent) and his libel read and anſwered, the king among other things ſaid, "What moved you to proteſt?"——An article concluded among the "lords of the articles," Mr. David anſwered. "But what "fault was there in it," ſaid the king.——"It cutteth off "our general aſſemblies," anſwered Mr. Calderwood. The king, having the proteſtation † in his hand, challenged him for ſome words of the laſt clauſe thereof.——He anſwered, "Whatſoever was the phraſe of ſpeech, they meant no other thing but to proteſt, that they would give paſſive obedience to his majeſty, but could not give active obedience unto any unlawful thing which ſhould flow from "that article." "Active and paſſive obedience!" ſaid the king.—"That is, we will rather ſuffer than practiſe," ſaid Mr. David. "I will tell thee, ſaid the king, what is obedience man,——"What the centurion ſaid to his ſervant, "*To this man, Go, and he goeth, and to that man, Come, and "he cometh*, that is obedience."——He anſwered, "To ſuffer, Sir, is alſo obedience, howbeit not of the ſame kind, "and that obedience was not abſolute but limited with exception, of a countermand from a ſuperior power. I "am informed, ſaid the king, ye are a refractor, the biſhop of Glaſgow your ordinary, and biſhop of Caithneſs "the moderator and your preſbytery, teſtify ye have kept "no order, ye have repaired to neither preſbytery nor ſynod, and are no way conform." He anſwered, "I have "been confined theſe eight or nine years, ſo my conformity or non-conformity in that point could not well be "known." "Gude faith, thou art a very knave, ſaid the king, "ſee theſe ſame falſe puritans, they are ever playing "with equivocations."—The king aſked, If he was relaxed if he would obey or not?—He anſwered, "I am wronged, "in that I am forced to anſwer ſuch queſtions, which are "beſides the libel, *&c.*" after which he was removed.

When called in again, it was intimated to him, that if he

† This proteſtation had been given in a little before this, to a meeting of miniſters in the little kirk of Edinburgh. See Calderwood's hiſtory, page 675.

he did not repair to ſynods and preſbyteries between this and October, conform in the time, and promiſe obedience in all time coming, the biſhop of Glaſgow was to deprive him. Then Mr. David begged leave to ſpeak to the biſhops, which being granted, he reaſoned thus, "Neither "can ye ſuſpend or deprive me, in this court of high "commiſſion, for ye have no power in this court, but "by commiſſion from his majeſty; his majeſty cannot com-"municate that power to you, which he claims not to him-"ſelf." At which the king wagged his head, and ſaid to him, "Are there not biſhops and fathers in the church, "&c. perſons clothed with power and authority to ſuſpend "and depoſe."—"Not in this court," anſwered Mr. Calderwood. At which word there aroſe a confuſed noiſe, ſo that he was obliged to extend his voice, that he might be heard. In the end the king aſked him, If he would obey the ſentence?—To which he anſwered, Your ſentence is not the ſentence of the kirk, but a ſentence null in itſelf, and therefore I cannot obey it. At which ſome reviling called him proud knave. Others were not aſhamed to ſhake his ſhoulders in a moſt inſolent manner, till at laſt he was removed a ſecond time.

Being again called in, the ſentence of deprivation was pronounced, and he ordained to be committed to cloſe ward in the tolbooth of St. Andrews, till afterward that farther orders were taken for his baniſhment, after which he was upbraided by the biſhop, who ſaid, That he deſerved to be uſed as Ogilvy the Jeſuit who was hanged. When he would have anſwered, the biſhops would not allow him, and the king, in a rage, cried, Away with him:—And lord Scoone taking him by the arm, led him out, where they ſtaid ſome time waiting for the bailiffs of the town. In the mean time Mr. Calderwood ſaid to Scoone, "My lord, this is not the firſt like turn that hath fallen in-"to your hands.——I muſt ſerve the king, ſaid Scoone. And to ſome miniſters then ſtanding by he ſaid, "Breth-"ren, ye have Chriſt's cauſe in hand at this meeting, be "not terrified with this ſpectacle, prove faithful ſervants "to your maſter." Scoone took him to his houſe till the keys of the tolbooth were had. By the way one demanded, "Whither with the man, my lord?——Firſt to the "tolbooth, and then to the gallows, ſaid Scoone.

He was committed cloſe priſoner, and the ſame afternoon a charge was given to tranſport him to the jail of Edinburgh. After the charge, he was delivered to two of the guard to be tranſported thither, although ſeverals offered

fered to bail him, that he might not go out of the country. But no order of council could be had for that end, for the king had a deſign to keep him in cloſe ward till a ſhip was ready to convey him firſt to London and then to Virginia, but providence had ordered otherwiſe, for upon ſeveral petitions in his behalf he was liberate out of priſon, upon lord Cranſton's being bail that he ſhould depart out of the country.

After this Mr. Calderwood went with lord Cranſton to the king at Carliſle, where the ſaid lord preſented a petition to him, that Mr. David might only be confined to his pariſh, but the king inveighed againſt him ſo much, that ot laſt he repulſed Cranſton with his elbow. He inſiſted again for a prorogation of time for his departure till the laſt of April, becauſe of the winter ſeaſon, that he might have leiſure to get up his years ſtipend.—The king anſwered, Howbeit he begged it were no matter, he would know himſelf better the next time, and for the ſeaſon of the year, if he drowned in the ſeas, he might thank God that he had eſcaped a worſe death. Yet Cranſton being ſo importunate for the prorogation, the king anſwered, I will adviſe with my biſhops. Thus the time was delayed until the year 1619, that he wrote a book called Perth Aſſembly, which was condemned by the council in the month of December that ſame year,—but as he himſelf ſays *, Neither the book nor the author could be found, for in the month of Auguſt preceding, he had embarked for Holland.

During his abode there, one Patrick Scot a landed gentleman near Falkland, having waſted his patrimony, had no other means to recover his ſtate, but by ſome unlawful ſhift at court, and for that end in the year 1624, he ſet forth a recantation under the name of a baniſhed miniſter, *viz.* Mr. David Calderwood, who, becauſe of his long ſickneſs before, was ſuppoſed by many to have been dead. The king (as he had alledged to ſome of his friends) furniſhed him with the matter, and he ſet it down in form. This project failing, he went over to Holland, and ſought Mr. Calderwood in ſeveral towns, particularly in Amſterdam, in the month of November, in order to diſpatch him, as afterward appeared. After he had ſtayed twenty days in Amſterdam, making all the ſearch he could, he was informed that Mr. Calderwood had returned home privately to his native country, which fruſtrated his intention.—— After the death of king James he put out a pamphlet full of

† See his own hiſtory, page 732.

of this, intitled *vox vera*, and yet notwithſtanding of all his wicked and unlawful purſuits, he died ſoon after, ſo poor, that he had not wherewith to defray the charges of his funeral.

Mr. Calderwood, being now returned home after the death of king James, remained as private as poſſible, and was moſtly at Edinburgh (where he ſtrengthened the hands of non-conformiſts, being alſo a great oppoſer of ſectarianiſm) until after the year 1638, that he was admitted miniſter at Pancaitland in Eaſt Lothian.

He contributed very much to the covenanted work carried on in that period; for firſt he had an active hand in drawing up ſeveral excellent papers, wherein were contained the records of church-policy betwixt the year 1576 and 1596, which were preſented and read by Mr. Johnſton the clerk at the general aſſembly at Glaſgow *anno* 1638, as alſo by recommendation of the general aſſembly 1646, he was ordered to conſider the order of the viſitation of kirks, and trials of preſbyteries, and to make report thereof unto the next general aſſembly; and likewiſe at the general aſſembly 1648, a further recommendation was given him to draw a draught of the form of viſitation of particular congregations, againſt the next aſſembly; and was alſo one of thoſe appointed with Mr. David Dickſon, to draw up the form of the directory for the public worſhip of God, by the general aſſembly 1643 †.

After he had both ſpent and been ſpent, with the apoſtle, for the cauſe and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt, when the Engliſh army lay at Lothian *anno* 1651, he went to Jedburgh, where he ſickened and died in a good old age. He was another valiant champion for the truth, who, in pleading for the crown and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt, knew not what it was to be daunted by the face and frowns of the higheſt and moſt incenſed adverſaries.

Before he went to Holland, he wrote the book intitled, Perth Aſſembly. While in Holland he wrote that learned book called, *Altare Damaſcenum*, with ſome other pieces in Engliſh, which contributed ſomewhat to keep many ſtraight in that declining period. After his return he wrote the hiſtory of our church as far down as the year 1625, of

† Mr. Calderwood gave in a proteſt againſt the aſſembly 1649, for enacting the directory for election of miniſters, which proteſt was not given in, in favours of patronage, as the author of the modeſt inquiry would inſinuate, for Mr. Calderwood in his *Altare Damaſcenum* hath affirmed once and again, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the people's right to chooſe their own paſtor.

which the printed copy that we have is only a ſhort abſtract of that large written hiſtory, which both as to the ſtile and the manner wherein it is executed, is far preferable to the printed copy; and whoever compares the two or the laſt with his *Altare Damaſcenum*, both of which are yet in the hands of ſome, will readily grant the truth of this aſſertion; and yet all this derogates nothing from the truth of the facts reported in the printed copy, and therefore no offence need be taken at the information, that there is a more full and better copy than is yet extant. See the note on the 78th page of Mr. Livingſton's life and memorable characteriſtics, *&c.*

The Life of Mr. HUGH BINNING.

HE was ſon to John Binning of Dalvennan, and Margaret M'Kell daughter of Mr. Matthew M'Kell miniſter at Bothwel, and ſiſter to Mr. Hugh M'Kell one of the miniſters of Edinburgh. His father's worldly circumſtances were ſo good (being poſſeſt of no inconſiderable eſtate in the ſhire of Ayr), that he was enabled to give his ſon Hugh a very liberal education, the good effects of which appeared very early upon him;—for the greatneſs of his ſpirit and capacity of judgment, gave his parents good grounds to conceive the pleaſing hopes of his being a promiſing child.

When he was at the grammar-ſchool, he made ſo great proficiency in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and the Roman authors, that he out-ſtripped his fellow-ſcholars, even ſuch as were by ſome years older than himſelf. When they went to their diverſions he declined their ſociety, and chooſed to employ himſelf either in ſecret duty with God, or conference with religious people, thinking time was too precious to be laviſhed away in theſe things. He began to have ſweet familiarity with God, and to live in near communion with him, before others began ſeriouſly to lay to heart their loſt and undone ſtate and condition by nature, *&c.* ſo that before he arrived at the 13th or 14th year of his age, he had even attained to ſuch experience in the way of God, that the moſt judicious and exerciſed Chriſtians in the place confeſſed they were much edified, ſtrengthened and comforted by him, nay that he provoked them to diligence

ligence in the duties of religion, being abundantly ſenſible that they were much out-run by ſuch a youth.

Before he was fourteen years of age, he entered upon the ſtudy of philoſophy in the univerſity of Glaſgow, wherein he made a very conſiderable progreſs, by which means he came to be taken notice of in the college by the profeſſors and ſtudents, and at the ſame time he advanced remarkably in religion alſo. The abſtruſe depths of philoſophy, which are the torture of a ſlow genius and a weak capacity, he dived into without any pain or trouble, ſo that by his ready apprehenſion of things, he was able to do more in one hour than others could do in many days by hard ſtudy and cloſe application; and yet he was ever humble, and never exalted with ſelf-conceit, the common foible of young men.

As ſoon as his courſe of philoſophy was finiſhed, he commenced maſter of arts with great applauſe. He began the ſtudy of divinity with a view to ſerve God in the holy miniſtry, at which time there happened to be a vacancy in the college of Glaſgow, by the reſignation of Mr. James Dalrymple † of Stair, who had ſome time been his maſter. And though Mr. Binning was but lately his ſcholar, yet he was determined, after much intreaty, to ſtand as a candidate for that poſt.

According to the uſual laudable cuſtom, the maſters of the college emitted a program, and ſent it to all the univerſities of the kingdom, inviting ſuch as had a mind for a profeſſion of philoſophy, to ſiſt themſelves before them, and offer themſelves to compete for that preferment, giving aſſurance that without partiality the place ſhould be conferred upon him who ſhould be found *dignior et doctior*.

The miniſters of the city of Glaſgow, conſidering how much it was the intereſt of the church that well-qualified perſons be put into the profeſſion of philoſophy, *&c.* and knowing that Mr. Binning was eminently pious, and of a bright genius, as well as ſolid judgment, ſet upon him to ſiſt himſelf among the other competitors; but they had

* This gentleman entered advocate in the year 1648, and was, by the Protector, made one of the judges of the ſeſſion in the year 1657, and became preſident in the year 1681. In the year 1682, he had to retire to Holland: in 1689, he was reſtored to his office, and in 1690, was created a viſcount. He wrote the inſtitutions of the law of Scotland, and alſo publiſhed a ſyſtem of phyſic greatly valued at that time, with a book intitled, a vindication of the divine attributes, in which there is diſcovered great force of argument and ſound knowledge.

difficulty to overcome his modeſty. They at laſt prevailed upon him to declare his willingneſs to undertake the diſpute before the maſters. Among others, there were other two candidates, one of whom had the advantage of great intereſt with Dr. Strang principal of the college at that time, and the other a ſcholar of great abilities, yet Mr. Binning ſo managed the diſpute, and acquitted himſelf in all parts of his trial, that to the conviction of the judges, he darkened his rivals. But the doctor and ſome of the faculty who joined him, though they could not pretend the perſon they inclined to prefer, had an equality, much leſs a ſuperiority in the diſpute, yet they argued, *cæteris paribus*, that this perſon they intended was a citizen's ſon, of a competency of learning, and a perſon of more years, and by that means had greater experience than what Mr. Binning, who was in a manner but of yeſterday, could be ſuppoſed to have.——But to this it was replied, That Mr. Binning was ſuch a pregnant ſcholar, ſo wiſe and ſedate, as to be above all the follies and vanities of youth, and what was wanting in years was made up ſufficiently by his more than ordinary and ſingular endowments. Whereupon a member of the faculty, perceiving the ſtruggle to be great, (as indeed there were plauſible reaſons on both ſides), propoſed a diſpute between the two candidates *extempore*, upon any ſubject they ſhould be pleaſed to preſcribe. This being conſidered, ſoon put a period to the diviſion amongſt them, and thoſe who had oppoſed him, not being willing to engage their friend with ſuch an able antagoniſt a ſecond time, Mr. Binning was elected.

Mr. Binning was not quite 19 years of age when he commenced regent and profeſſor of philoſophy, and, though he had not time to prepare a ſyſtem of any part of his profeſſion, as he had inſtantly to begin his claſs, yet ſuch was the quickneſs and fertility of his invention, the tenaciouſneſs of his memory and the ſolidity of his judgment, that his dictates to his ſcholars had a depth of learning and perſpicuity of expreſſion, and was among the firſt in Scotland, that began to reform philoſophy from the barbarous terms and unintelligible jargon of the ſchool-men.

He continued in this profeſſion three years, and diſcharged his truſt ſo as to gain the general applauſe of the univerſity for academical exerciſes:—And this was the more remarkable, that having turned his thoughts towards the miniſtry, he carried on his theological ſtudies at the ſame time, and made great improvements therein, for his memory was ſo retentive, that he ſcarcely forgot any thing he

he had heard or read. It was eaſy and ordinary for him to tranſcribe any ſermon, after he returned to his chamber, at ſuch a length, that the intelligent and judicious reader, who had heard it preached, would not find one ſentence wanting.

During this period, he gave full proof of his progreſs and knowledge in divinity, by a compoſition from 2 Cor. v. 14 *For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us*, &c. Which performance he ſent to a gentlewoman who had been ſome time at Edinburgh, for her private edification, who having peruſed the ſame, judged it to have been a ſermon of ſome eminent miniſter in the weſt of Scotland, and put it into the hands of the then provoſt of Edinburgh, who judged of it in the ſame manner. But when ſhe returned to Glaſgow, ſhe found her miſtake by Mr. Binning's aſking it at her :——This was the firſt diſcovery he had given of his dexterity and abilities in explaining the ſcripture.

At the expiration of three years as a profeſſor of philoſophy, the pariſh of Govan, which lies adjacent to the city of Glaſgow, happened to be vacant, and before this whoever was principal of the college of Glaſgow was alſo miniſter there; but this being attended with inconveniencies, an alteration was made, and the preſbytery having a view to ſupply that vacancy with Mr. Binning, they took him upon trials, in order to be licenſed a preacher;—and preaching there to the great ſatisfaction of that people, he was ſome time after called to be miniſter of that pariſh, which call the preſbytery approved of, and entered him upon trials for ordination about the 22d year of his age, and went through them to the unanimous approbation of the preſbytery, giving their teſtimony of his fitneſs to be one of the miniſters of the city upon the firſt vacancy,——having a view at the ſame time to bring him back to the univerſity, whenever the profeſſion of divinity ſhould be vacant.

He was, conſidering his age, a prodigy of learning. For before he had arrived at the 26th year of his life, he had ſuch a large ſtock of uſeful knowledge, as to be *philologus, philoſophus et theologus eximius*, and might well have been an ornament to the moſt famous and flouriſhing univerſity in Europe. This was the more ſurpriſing, conſidering his weakneſs and infirmity of body, as not being able to read much at a time, or to undergo the fatigue of continual ſtudy, in ſo much that his knowledge ſeemed rather to have been born with him, than to have been acquired by hard and laborious ſtudy.

Though

Though he was bookiſh, and much intent upon the fulfilling his miniſtry, yet he turned his thoughts to marriage, and did eſpouſe a virtuous and excellent perſon Mrs. Barbara Simpſon, daughter to Mr. James Simpſon a miniſter in Ireland. Upon the day he was to be married, he went accompanied with his friend (and ſome others, among whom were ſeveral worthy miniſters) unto an adjacent country congregation, upon the day of their weekly ſermon. The miniſter of the pariſh delayed ſermon till they would come, hoping to put the work upon one of the miniſters whom he expected to be there, but all declining it, he tried next to prevail on the bridegroom, with whom he ſucceeded, though the invitation was not expected. It was no difficult taſk to him to preach upon a ſhort warning; he ſtepped aſide a little to pre-meditate and implore his Maſter's preſence and aſſiſtance (for he was ever afraid to be alone in this work), and entered the pulpit immediately, and preached upon 1 Pet. i. 15. *But as he that hath called you is holy*, &c. At which time he was ſo remarkably helped, that all acknowledged that God was with him of a truth, *&c.*

When the unhappy differences betwixt the reſolutioners and proteſters fell out, among whom Mr. Binning was of the laſt denomination, this diſtinction proved to be of fatal conſequence. He ſaw ſome of the evils of it in his own time, and being of a catholic and healing ſpirit, with a view to the cementing of differences, he wrote an excellent treatiſe of Chriſtian love, which contains very ſtrong and pathetic paſſages moſt appoſite to this ſubject. He was no fomenter of factions, but ſtudious of the public tranquillity. He was a man of moderate principles and temperate paſſions, never impoſing or overbearing upon others but willingly hearkened to advice, and always yielded to reaſon.

The prevailing of the Engliſh ſectarians under Oliver Cromwel ‡ to the overthrow of the preſbyterian intereſt in England, and the various attempts which they made in Scotland on the conſtitution and diſcipline of this church was

‡ It is ſaid that the preſbyterians and independents being on a certain time to diſpute before Cromwell, while he was in Scotland, in or about Glaſgow, whereat Mr. Binning being preſent, managed the points controverted, that he not only non pluſſed Cromwell's miniſters, but even put them to ſhame, which, after the diſpute, made Oliver aſk the name of that learned and bold young man, and being told his name was Mr. Hugh Binning, he ſaid, He hath bound well indeed, but clapping his hand on his ſword, ſaid, This will loose all again.

was one of the greateſt difficulties, which the miniſters had then to ſtruggle with. Upon this he hath many excellent reflections in his ſermons, particularly in that ſermon from Deut. xxxii. 4, 5. See his works, page 502, 557, *&c.*

After he had laboured four years in the miniſtry, ſerving God with his ſpirit in the goſpel of his Son, he died in the year 1653, of a conſumption, when he was ſcarce come to the prime and vigour of his life, being only in the 26th year of his age, leaving behind him a ſweet ſavour and an epiſtle of commendation upon the hearts of thoſe who were his hearers.

He was a perſon of ſingular piety, of a humble, meek, and peaceable temper, a judicious and lively preacher, nay ſo extraordinary a perſon, that he was juſtly accounted a prodigy of human learning and knowledge of divinity. From his childhood he knew the ſcriptures, and from a boy had been much under deep and ſpiritual exerciſe, until the time (or a little before) that he entered upon the office of the miniſtry, when he came to a great calm and tranquillity of mind, being mercifully relieved from all theſe doubtings, which for a long time he had been exerciſed with, and though he ſtudied in his diſcourſes to condeſcend to the capacity of the meaner ſort of hearers, yet it muſt be owned that his gift of preaching was not ſo much accommodated to a country congregation, as it was to the judicious and learned. Mr. Binning's method was peculiar to himſelf, much after the haranguing way; he was no ſtranger to the rules of art, and knew well how to make his matter ſubſervient to the ſubject he handled. His diction and language was eaſy and fluent, void of all affectation and bombaſt, and has a kind of undeſigned negligent elegance which arreſts the reader's attention. Conſidering the time he lived in, it might be ſaid, that he carried the orator's prize from his contemporaries in Scotland, and was not at that time inferior to the beſt pulpit orator in England. While he lived he was highly eſteemed, having been a ſucceſsful inſtrument of ſaving himſelf, and them that heard him, of turning ſinners unto righteouſneſs and of perfecting the ſaints. He died much lamented by all good people who had the opportunity of knowing him. That great divine Mr. James Durham gave him this verdict, "That there was no ſpeaking after Mr. Binning;" and truly he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to ſpeak a word in ſeaſon.

Beſides his works which are bound up in one quarto volume, and that wrote upon occaſion of the public reſolutioners,

lutioners, which has been already mentioned, ſome other little pieces of his have been publiſhed ſince. There is alſo a book in quarto ſaid to be his, intitled, An uſeful caſe of conſcience learnedly and acutely diſcuſſed and reſolved, concerning aſſociation and confederacies with idolators, heretics, malignants, *&c.* firſt printed *anno* 1693, which was like to have had ſome influence at that time upon king William's ſoldiers while in Flanders, which made him ſuppreſs it. And raiſe a perſecution againſt Mr. James Kid for publiſhing the ſame at Utrecht in the Netherlands.

The Life of Mr. ANDREW GRAY.

MR. ANDREW GRAY (by the calculation of his age and the date of his entry into the miniſtry) ſeems to have been born about the year 1634, and being very early ſent to ſchool, where he learned ſo faſt, that in a ſhort time he was ſent to the univerſity, and here, by the vivacity of his parts and ready genius, he made ſuch proficiency both in ſcholaſtic learning and divinity, that before he was twenty years of age he was found accompliſhed for entering into the holy office of the miniſtry.

From his very infancy he had ſtudied to be acquainted with the ſcriptures, and, like another young Samſon, the Spirit of God began very early to move him, there being ſuch a delightful gravity in his young converſation, that what Gregory Nazianzen once ſaid of the great Bazil, might be applied to him,—"That he held forth learning "beyond his age, and fixedneſs of manners beyond his "learning."

This earthly veſſel being thus filled with heavenly treaſure, he was quickly licenſed to preach, and got a call to be miniſter of the outer kirk of the high church of Glaſgow, though he was ſcarce twenty years of age complete (far below the age appointed by the conſtitution of this church unleſs in caſes extraordinary).

No ſooner was this young ſervant of Chriſt entered into his Maſter's vineyard, than the people from all quarters flocked to attend his ſermons, it being their conſtant emulation who ſhould be moſt under the refreſhing drops of his miniſtry, in ſo much that as he and his learned colleague Mr. Durham were one time walking together, Mr. Durham, obſerving the multitude thronging into that church

church where Mr. Gray was to preach, and only a very few going into the church in which he was to preach, ſaid to him, "Brother, I perceive you are to have a throng church "to-day."—To which he anſwered, "Truly, brother, "they are fools to leave you and come to me."——Mr. Durham replied, "Not ſo dear brother, for none can re- "ceive ſuch honour and ſucceſs in his miniſtry, except it "be given him from heaven, I rejoice that Chriſt is prea- "ched and that his kingdom and intereſt is getting ground, "for I am content to be any thing or nothing that Chriſt "may be all and all.

And indeed Mr. Gray had a notable and ſingular gift in preaching, being one experienced in the moſt myſterious points of a Chriſtian practice and profeſſion; and in handling of all his ſubjects, free of youthful vanity, or affectation of human literature, though he had a moſt ſcholaſtic genius and more than ordinary abilities; that he did outſtrip many that entered into the Lord's vineyard before him, his experience being every way warm and rapturous, and well adapted to affect the hearts of his hearers, yea he had ſuch a faculty, and was ſo helped to preſs home God's threatenings upon the conſciences of his hearers, that his contemporary the foreſaid Mr. Durham obſerved, That many times he cauſed the very hairs of their head to ſtand up.

Among his other excellencies in preaching (which were many) this was none of the leaſt, that he could ſo order his ſubject as to make it reliſh every palate. He could ſo dreſs a plain diſcourſe as to delight a learned audience, and at the ſame time preach with a learned plainneſs, having ſo learned to conceal his art. He had ſuch a clear notion of high myſteries, as to make them ſtoop to the meaneſt capacity. He had ſo learned Chriſt, and being a man of a moſt zealous temper, the great bent of his ſpirit and that which he did ſpend himſelf anent, was to make people know their dangerous ſtate by nature, and to perſuade them to believe and lay hold of the great ſalvation.

All which ſingularities ſeem to have been his peculiar mercy from the Lord, to make him a burning and ſhining light in the weſtern climate, for about the ſpace of two years * only, the Spirit of the Lord as it were ſtirring up

* According to the date of his exhortations at Kirkiſton, June 12th, 1653, and his letter to lord Warriſton, when on his death-bed affixed to his ſelect ſermons, dated Feb. 7, 1656, it ſhould appear, if both be authentic, that he was at leaſt two years and a half in the miniſtry.

a lamp unto a ſudden blaze, that was not to cootinue long in his church. On which a late prefacer of ſome of his ſermons has very pertinently obſerved,——"Yea, how a-"wakening, convincing and reproving may the example "of this very young miniſter be to many miniſters of the "goſpel, who have been many years in the vineyard, but "fall far ſhort of his labours and progreſs! God thinks "fit now and then to raiſe up a child to reprove the ſloth "and negligence of many thouſands of advanced years, and "ſhews that he can perfect his own praiſe out of the mouth "of babes, &c."

His ſermons are now in print, and well known in the world. His works do praiſe him in the gates, and though they are free from the metaphyſical ſpeculations of the ſchools, yet it muſt be granted that the excellencies of the ancient fathers and ſchool-men do all concenter in them: For his doctrine carries light, his reproofs are weighty, and his exhortations powerful, and though they are not in ſuch an accurate or grammatical ſtyle as ſome may expect, yet that may be eaſily accounted for, if we conſider, (1.) The great alteration and embelliſhment in the ſtyle of the Engliſh language ſince his time. And (2.) There can be no ground to doubt but they muſt be far inferior unto what they were when delivered by the author, who neither corrected, nor, as appears, intended that they ſhould ever be publiſhed, and yet all this is ſufficiently made up otherwiſe, for what is wanting in ſymmetry of parts or equality of ſtyle, in the pleaſure of variety, like the grateful odours of various flowers, or the pleaſant harmony of different ſounds, for ſo is truth in its own native dreſs.

It hath been often ſaid that Mr. Gray many times longed for the 22d year of his age, wherein he expected to reſt from his labours by a a perpetual jubilee, to enjoy his bleſſed Lord and Maſter. However it is certain that in his ſermons we often find him longing for his majority, that he might enter into the poſſeſſion of his heavenly Father's inheritance prepared for him before the foundations of the world were laid.

He eſcaped death very narrowly, when going to Dundee in company with Mr. Robert Fleming (ſome time miniſter at Cambuſlang) which remarkable ſea-deliverance was matter of his thankfulneſs to God all his life after.

There is one thing that may be deſiderated by the inquiſitious, *i. e.* what Mr. Gray's ſentiments were concerning the public reſolutions, ſeeing he entered the miniſtry about the third year after theſe reſolutions took place.——

What-

Whatever his contentions in public were, it is creditably reported, that he debated in private againſt theſe defections with his learned colleague Mr. Durham, who afterwards on his death bed aſked, What he thought of theſe things?—He anſwered, That he was of the ſame mind with what he had formerly heard—and did much regret that he had been ſo ſparing in public againſt theſe woeful reſolutions, ſpeaking ſo pathetically of their ſinfulneſs and the calamities they would procure, that Mr. Durham, contrary to his former practice, durſt never after ſpeak in defence of them.

But the time now approaching that the Lord was about to accompliſh the deſire of his ſervant, he fell ſick, and was caſt into a high fever for ſeveral days. He was much toſſed with ſore trouble, without any intermiſſion, and all the time continued in a moſt ſedate frame of mind.

It is a loſs that his laſt dying words were neither wrote nor remembered, only we may gueſs what his ſpiritual exerciſes were, from that ſhort but excellent letter ſent from him, a little before his death, to lord Warriſton, bearing date Feb. 7, 1656, wherein he ſhows that he not only had a moſt clear diſcovery of the toleration then granted by Cromwel, and the evils that would come upon theſe lands for all theſe things, but alſo was moſt ſenſible of his own caſe and condition, as appears from the concluſion of that letter, where he accoſts his lordſhip thus, "Now, not to "trouble your lordſhip, whom I highly reverence, and "my ſoul was knit to you in the Lord, but that you will be"ſpeak my caſe to the great Maſter of requeſts, and lay my "broken ſtate before him who hath pled the deſperate caſe "of many according to the ſweet word in Lam. iii. 5, 6. "*Thou haſt heard my voice, hide not thine ear*, &c. This is "all at this time from one in a very weak condition, in a "great fever, who, for much of ſeven nights, hath ſleep"ed little at all, with many other ſad particulars and cir"cumſtances.

Thus in a ſhort time, according to his deſire, it was granted to him, by death, to paſs unto the author of life, his ſoul taking its flight into the arms of his bleſſed Saviour, whom he had ſerved faithfully in his day and generation (being about twenty-two years old). He ſhone too conſpicuous to continue long, and burned ſo intenſely, he behoved ſoon to be extinguiſhed, but now ſhines in the kingdom of his Father, in a more conſpicuous refulgent manner, even as the brightneſs of the firmament and the ſtars for ever and ever.

He was in his day a moſt ſingular and pious youth, and though he died young, yet was old in grace, having lived long, and done much for God in a little time, being one, both in public and private life, who poſſeſſed in a high degree, every domeſtic and ſocial virtue that could adorn the character of a moſt powerful and pathetic preacher, a loving huſband*, an affable friend, ever cheerful and agreeable in converſation, always ready to exert himſelf for the relief of all who aſked or ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance, which uncommon talents not only endeared him to his brethren the clergy, but alſo to many others from the one extremity of the lands to the other (that heard or knew any thing of him) who conſidered and highly eſteemed him as one of the moſt able advocates for the propagation and advancement of Chriſt's kingdom.

His well-known ſermons are printed in ſeveral ſmall pieces. Thoſe called his works are bound in one volume octavo. To the eleven ſermons printed ſometime ago, are lately publiſhed a large collection to the number of fifty-one, intitled his ſeleſt ſermons, whereof only three, for connection ſake, and his letter to lord Warriſton are inſerted, which were before publiſhed in his works. So that by this time moſt (if not all) of the ſermons are now in print that ever were preached by him.

The Life of Mr. JAMES DURHAM.

MR. JAMES DURHAM was born about the year 1622, and lineally deſcended from the ancient and honourable family of Grange Durham, in the pariſh of Monufeith in the ſhire of Angus. He was the eldeſt ſon of John Durham of Eaſter Powrie, Eſq; now called Wedderburn after the gentleman's name who is the preſent profeſſor thereof.

Having gone through all the parts of uſeful learning with ſucceſs and applauſe, he left the univerſity before he was graduate, and for ſometime lived as a private gentleman at his own dwelling houſe in the country, without any thought then of farther proſecuting his ſtudies eſpecially for the miniſtry; and though he was always blameleſs

*It appears that Mr Gray was ſome ſhort time married to that worthy young gentlewoman, who afterward was married to Mr. George Hutcheſon ſometime miniſter of the goſpel at Irvine.

leſs and moral in his life, both in the univerſity and when he left it, yet he was much a ſtranger to religion in the ſerious exerciſe and power of it, and, through prejudice of education, did not ſtand well affected to the preſbyterial government. He firſt married a daughter of the laird of Duntervie: his wife and her mother were both very pious women.

His converſion to the Lord was very remarkable. For going with his lady to viſit her mother in the pariſh of Abercorn, ſome miles weſt from Edinburgh,—it happened, that at this time the ſacrament was to be adminiſtered in that pariſh upon Saturday,—his mother-in-law earneſtly preſſed them to go with them to church and hear ſermon; at firſt he ſhewed much unwillingneſs, but partly by their perſuaſion, and partly by his complaiſant diſpoſition, he went along with them. The miniſter that preached that day was extremely affectionate and ſerious in his delivery, and though the ſermon was a plain familiar diſcourſe, yet his ſerioufneſs fixed Mr. Durham's attention very cloſely, and he was much affected therewith. But the change was reſerved till the morrow. When he came home, he ſaid to his mother-in-law, The miniſter hath preached very ſeriouſly this day, I ſhall not need to be preſſed to go to church to-morrow. Accordingly on Sabbath morning, riſing early, he went to church, where Mr. Melvil preached from 2 Pet. ii. 7. *To you that believe he is precious*, &c. where he ſo ſweetly and ſeriouſly opened up the precioufneſs of Chriſt, and the Spirit of God wrought ſo effectually upon his ſpirit, that in hearing of this ſermon, he firſt cloſed with Chriſt, and then went to the Lord's table, and took the ſeal of God's covenant. After this he ordinarily called Mr. Melvil father when he ſpoke of him.

Afterward he made ſerious religion his buſineſs both in ſecret and in his family, and in all places and companies where he came, and did cordially embrace the intereſt of Chriſt and his church as then eſtabliſhed, and gave himſelf much up to reading; for which reaſon, that he might be free of all diſturbance, &c. he cauſed build a ſtudy for himſelf; in which little chamber, he gave himſelf to prayer, reading and meditation, and was ſo cloſe a ſtudent there, that he often forgot to eat his bread, being ſometimes ſo intent upon his ſtudies, that ſervants who were ſent to call him down, often returned without anſwer, yea, his lady frequently called on him with tears, before he would come:—Such ſweet communion he had with the Lord ſometimes in that place.

He

He made great proficiency in his ſtudies, and not only became an experimental Chriſtian, but alſo a very learned man. One evidence of which he gave in a ſhort diſpute with one of the then miniſters of Dundee, while he was in that town: He met (in a houſe where he was occaſionally) with the parſon of the pariſh (for ſo the miniſters were then called), who knew not Mr. Durham. After ſome diſcourſe he fell upon the Popiſh controverſy with him, and ſo put him to ſilence, that he could not anſwer a word but went ſneakingly out of the room from Mr. Durham to the provoſt, craving his aſſiſtance to apprehend Mr. Durham as a Jeſuit, aſſuring the provoſt, that if ever there was a jeſuit in Rome he was one, and that if he were ſuffered to remain in the town or country, he might pervert many from the faith.——Upon which the provoſt, going along with him to the houſe where the pretended jeſuit was, and entering the room, he immediately knew Mr. Durham, and ſaluted him as laird of Eaſter Powrie, craving his pardon for their miſtake, and turning to the parſon, aſked where the perſon was he called the jeſuit?—Mr. Durham ſmiled, and the parſon aſhamed, aſked pardon of them both, and was rebuked by the provoſt, who ſaid, Fy, fy! that any country gentleman ſhould he able to put our parſon thus to ſilence.

His call and coming forth to the miniſtry was ſomewhat remarkable, for in the time when the civil wars broke forth, ſeveral gentlemen being in arms for the cauſe of religion, among whom he was choſen and called to be a captain, in which ſtation he behaved himſelf like another Cornelius, being a devout man, and one that feared God with all his houſe, and prayed to God always with his company, *&c.* When the Scots army were about to engage with the Engliſh, he judged meet to call his company to prayer before the engagement, and as he began to pray, Mr. David Dickſon, then profeſſor of divinity at Glaſgow coming paſt the army, ſeeing the ſoldiers addreſſing themſelves to prayer, and hearing the voice of one praying, drew near, alighted from his horſe, and joined with them; and was ſo much taken with Mr. Durham's prayer, that he called for the captain, and having converſed with him a little, he ſolemnly charged him, that as ſoon as this piece of ſervice was over, he ſhould devote himſelf to ſerve God in the holy miniſtry, for to that he judged the Lord called him. But though, as yet, Mr. Durham had no clearneſs to hearken to Mr. Dickſon's advice, yet two remarkable providences falling out juſt upon the back of this ſolemn charge,

ſerved very much to clear his way to comply with Mr. Dickſon's deſire :—The firſt was, In the engagement his horſe was ſhot under him, and he was mercifully preſerved; the ſecond was, In the heat of the battle, an Engliſh ſoldier was on the point of ſtriking him down with his ſword, but apprehending him to be a miniſter by his grave carriage, black cloth and band (as was then in faſhion with gentlemen), he aſked him if he was a prieſt? To which Mr. Durham replied, I am one of God's prieſts;—and he ſpared his life. Mr. Durham, upon reflecting how wonderfully the Lord had ſpared him, and preſerved his life, and that his ſaying he was a prieſt had been the mean thereof, reſolved therefore, as a teſtimony of his grateful and thankful ſenſe of the Lord's goodneſs to him, henceforth to devote himſelf to the ſervice of God in the holy miniſtry, if the Lord ſhould ſee meet to qualify him for the ſame.

Accordingly, in purſuance of this reſolution, he quickly went to Glaſgow, and ſtudied divinity under Mr. David Dickſon then profeſſor there, and made ſuch proficiency therein, that in a ſhort time (being called thereto) he humbly offered himſelf to trials *anno* 1646, and ſo was licenſed by the preſbytery of Irvine to preach the goſpel, and next year, upon Mr. Dickſon's recommendation, the ſeſſion of Glaſgow appointed Mr. Ramſay one of their miniſters, to intreat Mr. Durham to come and preach in Glaſgow. Accordingly he came and preached two ſabbath days and one week day. The ſeſſion being fully ſatisfied with his doctrine and the gifts beſtowed on him by the Lord for ſerving him in the holy miniſtry, did unanimouſly call him to the miniſtry of the Black-friar church then vacant, in conſequence of which he was ordained miniſter there in November 1647.

He applied himſelf to the work of the miniſtry with great diligence, ſo that his profiting did quickly appear to all; but conſidering that no man that warreth entangleth himſelf with the affairs of this life, he obtained leave of his people to return to his own country for a little time to ſettle his worldly affairs there; yet he was not idle here, but preached every ſabbath. He firſt preached at Dundee, before a great multitude, from Rom. i. 16. *I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt*, and ſhewed that it was no diſparagement for the greateſt to be a goſpel-miniſter; and a ſecond time he preached at Ferling (in his own country) upon 2 Cor. v. 18. *He hath given to us the miniſtry of reconciliation*, &c.; and a third time at Monufeith, at the deſire of the miniſter there, he preached from 2 Cor. v. 20.

We then are ambaſſadors for Chriſt, &c. In both places he indeed acted like an ambaſſador for Chriſt, and managed the goſpel-treaty of peace to good purpoſe. The next ſabbath he deſigned to have preached at Murroſe, but receiving an expreſs to return to Glaſgow in haſte, his wife being dangerouſly ſick, he came away, leaving his affairs to the care of his friends, and returned to Glaſgow, where, in a few days, his wife, who had been the deſire of his eyes, died. His Chriſtian ſubmiſſion under this afflicting diſpenſation was moſt remarkable. After a ſhort ſilence, he ſaid to ſome about him, "Now, who could perſuade me that this diſ-"penſation of God's providence was good for me, if the "Lord had not ſaid it was ſo," He was afterward married to Margaret Muir relict of Mr. Zechariah Boyd, miniſter of the Barony of Glaſgow.

In the year 1650, Mr. Dickſon profeſſor of divinity in the college of Glaſgow, being called to be profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Edinburgh, the commiſſioners of the general aſſembly authorized for viſiting the univerſity of Glaſgow, unanimouſly deſigned and called Mr. Durham to ſucceed Mr. Dickſon as profeſſor there. But before he was admitted to that charge, the general aſſembly of this church, being perſuaded of his eminent piety and ſtedfaſtneſs, prudence and moderation, *&c.* did, after mature deliberation, that ſame year, pitch upon him, though then but about twenty-eight years of age, as among the ableſt and beſt accompliſhed miniſters then in the church, to attend the king's family as chaplain. In which ſtation, tho' the times were moſt difficult, as abounding with ſnares and temptations, he did ſo wiſely and faithfully acquit himſelf, that there was a conviction left upon the conſciences of all who obſerved him. Yea, during his ſtay at court, and whenever he went about the duty of his place, they did all carry gravely, and did forbear all lightneſs and profanity, none allowing themſelves to do any thing offenſive before him. So that while he ſerved the Lord in the holy miniſtry, and particularly in that poſt and character of the king's chaplain, his ambition was to have God's favour, rather than the favour of great men, and ſtudied more to profit and edify their ſouls, than to tickle their fancy, as ſome court-paraſites in their ſermons do: One inſtance whereof was, that being called to preach before the parliament, where many rulers were preſent, he preached from John iii. 10. *Art thou a maſter in Iſrael, and knoweſt not theſe things?* when he moſtly inſiſted that it was a moſt unaccountable thing for rulers and nobles in Iſrael, *&c.* to be ignorant

ignorant of the great and neceſſary things of regeneration, and being born again of the Spirit; and did moſt ſeriouſly preſs all, from the king to the beggar, to ſeek and know experimentally theſe things. A good pattern for all miniſters who are called to preach on the like occaſion. He continued with the king till he went to England, and then returned.

Towards the end of January 1651, the common ſeſſion of Glaſgow, appointed Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie to write a letter to Mr. Durham, concerning Mr. Robert Ramſay's being profeſſor of divinity in place of the ſaid Mr. James Durham, in the univerſity of Glaſgow. In conſequence of which, Mr. Durham came to Glaſgow, for he is mentioned preſent in the ſeſſion in the beginning of April next. At the ſame time, Cromwel and his army were in Glaſgow, and on the Lord's day Cromwel heard Mr. Durham preach, when he teſtified againſt his invaſion to his face. Next day he ſent for Mr Durham, and told him, He always thought he had been a wiſer man, than to meddle with matters of public concern in his ſermons.—To which he anſwered, It was not his practice, but that he judged it both wiſdom and prudence to ſpeak his mind on that head ſeeing he had the opportunity to do it in his preſence.—— Cromwell diſmiſſed him very civilly, but deſired him to forbear inſiſting on that ſubject in public; and at the ſame time ſundry miniſters both in town and country met with Cromwel and his officers, and repreſented in ſtrong terms the injuſtice of his invaſion.

It would appear that Mr. Durham, ſome time after this, had withdrawn from Glaſgow, and therefore a letter was, in Auguſt next, ordered to be ſent to him to come and viſit them and preach; and in September next, there being a vacancy in the inner kirk by the death of Mr. Ramſay, the common ſeſſion gave an unanimous call (with which the town-council agreed) to Mr Durham to be miniſter there. And ſome time after this he was received miniſter in the inner kirk, Mr. John Carſtairs his brother-in-law being his colleague in that church.

In the whole of his miniſtry he was a burning and ſhining light, and particularly he ſhined in humility and ſelf-denial. An inſtance of which was, Upon a day when Mr. Andrew Gray and he were to preach, being walking together, Mr. Durham obſerving multitudes thronging to Mr. Gray's church, and only a few into his, ſaid to Mr. Gray, "Brother, you are like to have a throng church to-day." To which Mr. Gray anſwered, "Truly, brother, they are

" fools to leave yon and come to me."—" Not ſo, dear " brother, replied Mr. Durham, for a miniſter can receive " no ſuch honour and ſucceſs in his miniſtry, except it be " given him from heaven. I rejoice that Chriſt is preach- " ed, though my eſteem in people's hearts ſhould decreaſe " and be diminiſhed; for I am content to be any thing ſo " that Chriſt be all in all."

He was alſo a perſon of the utmoſt gravity, and ſcarce ſmiled at any thing. Once when Mr. William Guthrie being exceeding merry, made Mr. Durham ſmile with his pleaſant, facetious and harmleſs converſation, at which Mr. Durham was at firſt a little diſguſted, but it being the laudable cuſtom of that family to pray after dinner, which Mr. Guthrie did, upon being deſired, with the greateſt meaſure of ſerioufneſs and fervency, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent: when they aroſe from prayer, Mr. Durham embraced him and ſaid, " O William, you are a happy man, " if I had been ſo merry as you have been, I could not " have been in ſuch a ſerious frame for prayer for the ſpace " of forty-eight hours."

As Mr. Durham was devout in all parts of his miniſterial work, ſo more eminently at communion occaſions. Then he endeavoured through grace to rouſe and work up himſelf to ſuch a divineneſs of frame, as very much ſuited the ſpiritual ſtate and majeſty of that ordinance. Yea, at ſome of theſe ſolemn and ſweet occaſions, he ſpoke ſome way as a man that had been in heaven commending Jeſus Chriſt, making a glorious diſplay of free grace, *&c.* and brought the offers thereof ſo low that they were made to think the rope or cord of the ſalvation offered, was let down to ſinners, that thoſe of the loweſt ſtature might catch hold of it. He gave himſelf much up to meditation, and uſually ſaid little to perſons that came to propoſe their caſes to him, but heard them patiently, and was ſure to handle their caſe in his ſermons.

His healing diſpoſition and great moderation of ſpirit remarkably appeared when this church was grievouſly divided betwixt the reſolutioners and proteſtors; and as he would never give his judgment upon either ſide, ſo he uſed to ſay, That diviſion was worſe by far than either of the ſides. He was equally reſpected by both parties, for at a meeting of the ſynod in Glaſgow, when thoſe of the different ſides met ſeparately, each of them made choice of Mr. Durham for their moderator, but he refuſed to join either of them, till they would both unite together, which they accordingly did. At this meeting he gave in ſome overtures

vertures for peace, the ſubſtance of which was, that they ſhould eſchew all public awakening or lengthening out the debate either by preaching or ſpreading of papers on either ſide, and that they ſhould forbear practiſing, executing or preſſing of acts made in the laſt aſſembly at St Andrews and Dundee, and alſo preſſing or ſpreading appeals, declinatures, *&c.* againſt the ſame, and that no church-officer ſhould be excepted at on account of theſe things, they being found otherwiſe qualified, *&c.* *

So weighty was the miniſterial charge upon his ſpirit, that if he were to live ten years longer, he would chooſe to live nine years in ſtudy, for preaching the tenth; and it was thought his cloſe ſtudy and thoughtfulneſs caſt him into that decay whereof he died. In the time of his ſickneſs, the better part being afraid that the magiſtrates and ſome of the miniſtry who were for the public reſolutions, would put in one of that ſtamp after his death, moved Mr. Carſtairs his colleague, in a viſit to deſire him to name his ſucceſſor, which after ſome demur, injoining ſecrecy till it was nearer his death, he at laſt named Mr. David Vetch then miniſter of Govan; but afterwards when dying, to the magiſtrates, miniſters and ſome of the people, he named other three to take any of them they pleaſed.—This alteration made Mr. Carſtairs inquire the reaſon after the reſt were gone, to whom Mr. Durham replied, O Brother, Mr. Vetch is too ripe for heaven to be tranſported to any church on earth; he will be there almoſt as ſoon as I.—Which proved ſo; for Mr. Durham died the Friday after, and next Sabbath Mr. Vetch preached, and (though knowing nothing of this) told the people in the afternoon it would be his laſt ſermon to them, and the ſame night taking bed, he died next Friday morning about three o'clock; the time that Mr. Durham died, as Dr. Rattray, who was witneſs to both, did declare.—When on his death-bed, he was under conſiderable darkneſs about his ſtate, and ſaid to Mr. John Carſtair's brother, "For all that I have preached or written, there is but one "ſcripture I can remember or dare gripe unto; tell me if "dare lay the weight of my ſalvation upon it, *Whoſoever "cometh unto me, I will in no wiſe caſt out.*"—Mr. Carſtairs anſwered, "You may depend on it, though you had a "thouſand ſalvations at hazard." When he was drawing towards his departure in a great conflict and agony, finding ſome difficulty in his paſſage, yet he ſenſibly, through the ſtrength

* See theſe overtures at large in the account of his life prefixe to his com mentary on the Revelation.

ſtrength of God's grace, triumphantly overcame; he cried out in a rapture of holy joy ſome little time before he committed his ſoul to God, "Is not the Lord good! Is he not "infinitely good! See how he ſmiles! I do ſay it, and I do "proclaim it." He died on Friday the 25th of June 1658, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age.

Thus died the eminently pious, learned and judicious Mr. James Durham, whoſe labours did always aim at the advancement of practical religion, and whoſe praiſe in the goſpel is throughout all the churches both at home and abroad. He was a burning and a ſhining light, a ſtar of the firſt magnitude, and of whom it may be ſaid (without derogating from the merit of any), that he attained unto the firſt three and had a name among the mighty. He was alſo one of great integrity and authority in the country where he lived, inſomuch, that when any difference fell out, he was always choſen by both parties as their great referee or judge, unto whoſe ſentence all parties ſubmitted. Such was the quality of his calm and healing ſpirit.

His colleague Mr. John Carſtairs, in his funeral ſermon from Iſa. lvii. 1, 2. *The righteous man periſheth, and no one layeth it to heart*, &c. gives him this character,—"Know "ye not that there is a prince among paſtors fallen to-day! "a faithful and wiſe ſteward, that knew well how to give "God's children their food in due ſeaſon, a gentle and "kind nurſe, a faithful admoniſher, reprover, &c. a ſkilful counſellor in all ſtraits and difficulties; in dark matters he was eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, a burning and ſhining light in the dark world, an interpreter of "the word among a thouſand, to him men gave ear, and "after his words no man ſpake again."

His learned and pious works, (wherein all the excellencies of the primitive and ancient fathers ſeem to concenter) are a commentary on the Revelation; ſeventy-two ſermons on the fifty-third chapter of the prophecy of the prophet Iſaiah; an expoſition of the ten commandments; an expoſition of the Song of Solomon; his ſermons on death; on the unſearchable riches of Chriſt; his communion ſermons; ſermons on godlineſs and ſelf-denial; a ſermon on a good conſcience. There are alſo a great many of his ſermons in manuſcript (never yet publiſhed), *viz.* three ſermons upon reſiſting the Holy Ghoſt from Acts vii. 51.; eight on quenching the Spirit; five upon giving the Spirit; thirteen upon truſting and delighting in God; two againſt immoderate anxiety; eight upon the one thing needful; with a diſcourſe upon prayer, and ſeveral other ſermons and diſcourſes

courſes from Eph. v. 15. 1 Cor. xi. 24. Luke i. 6. Gal. v. 16. Pſal. cxix. 67. 1 Theſſ. v. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 14. Matth. viii. 7. There is alſo a treatiſe on ſcandal, and an expoſition by way of lecture upon Job ſaid to be his, but whether theſe, either as to ſtyle or ſtrain, co-here with the other works of the laborious Mr. Durham, muſt be left to the impartial and unbiaſſed reader.

The Life of Mr. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

MR. SAMUEL RUTHFRFORD a gentleman by extraction, having ſpent ſometime at the grammar-ſchool, went to the univerſity of Edinburgh, where he was ſo much admired for his pregnancy of parts, and deſervedly looked upon as one from whom ſome great things might be expected, that in a ſhort time (though then but very young) he was made profeſſor of philoſophy in that univerſity.

Sometime after this he was called to be miniſter at Anwoth, in the ſhire of Galloway, unto which charge he entered by means of the then viſcount of Kenmuir, without any acknowledgment or engagement to the biſhops. There he laboured with great diligence and ſucceſs, both night and day, riſing uſually by three o'clock in the morning, ſpending the whole time in reading, praying, writing, catechiſing, viſiting, and other duties belonging to the miniſterial profeſſion and employment.

Here he wrote his *exercitationes de gratia*, &c. for which he was ſummoned (as early as June 1630) before the high commiſſion court, but the weather was ſo tempeſtuous as to obſtruct the paſſage of the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews hither, and Mr. Colvil one of the judges having befriended him, the diet was deſerted. About the ſame time his firſt wife died after a ſore ſickneſs of thirteen months, and he himſelf being ſo ill of a tertian fever for thirteen weeks, that then he could not preach on the Sabbath day, without great difficulty.

Again in April 1634, he was threatened with another proſecution at the inſtance of the biſhop of Galloway, before the high commiſſion court, and neither were theſe threatnings all the reaſons Mr. Rutherford had to lay his account with ſuffering, and as the Lord would not hide from his faithful ſervant Abraham the things he was about to do,

do, neither would he conceal from this ſon of Abraham what his purpoſes were concerning him; for in a letter to the provoſt's wife of Kirkcudbright, dated April 20, 1633, he ſays, "That upon the 17th and 18th of Auguſt he got "a full anſwer of his Lord to be a graced miniſter, and a "choſen arrow hid in his quiver*." Accordingly the thing he looked for came upon him, for he was again ſummoned before the high commiſſion court for his non-conformity, his preaching againſt the five articles of Perth, and the forementioned book of *exercitationes apologeticæ pro divina gratia*, which book they alledged did reflect upon the church of Scotland, but the truth was, ſays a late hiſtorian†, The argument of that book did cut the ſinews of Arminianiſm, and galled the Epiſcopal clergy to the very quick, and ſo biſhop Sydreſert could endure him no longer. When he came before the commiſſion court he altogether declined them as a lawful judicatory, and would not give the chancellor (being a clergyman) and the biſhops their titles by lording of them, yet ſome had the courage to befriend him, particularly, the lord Lorn (afterwards the famous marquis of Argyle), who did as much for him as was within his power to do; but the biſhop of Galloway, threatning that if he got not his will of him, he would write to the king; it was carried againſt him, and upon the 27th of July 1636, he was diſcharged to exerciſe any part of his miniſtry within the kingdom of Scotland, under pain of rebellion, and ordered within ſix months to confine himſelf within the city of Aberdeen, *&c.* during the king's pleaſure, which ſentence he obeyed, and forthwith went toward the place of his confinement.

From Aberdeen he wrote many of his famous letters, from which it is evident that the conſolation of the Holy Spirit did greatly abound with him in his ſufferings, yea, in one of theſe letters, he expreſſes it in the ſtrongeſt terms, when he ſays, "I never knew before, that his love was in "ſuch a meaſure. If he leave me, he leaves me in pain, "and ſick of love, and yet my ſickneſs is my life and "health. I have a fire within me, I defy all the devils in "hell and all the prelates in Scotland to caſt water on it." Here he remained upwards of a year and a half, by which time he made the doctors of Aberdeen know that the puritans (as they called them) were clergymen as well as they. But upon notice that the privy council had received in a declinature againſt the high commiſſion court in the year 1638,

* See his letters, part iii. letter 27. † See Stevenſon's hiſtory, vol. 1. page 149. Rowe's hiſtory, page 295.

1638, he adventured to return back again to his flock at Anwoth, where he again took great pains, both in public and private, amongſt that people, who from all quarters reſorted to his miniſtry, ſo that the whole country ſide might account themſelves as his particular flock, and it being then in the dawning of the reformation, found no ſmall benefit by the goſpel, that part of the ancient prophecy being farther accompliſhed, *for in the wilderneſs ſhall waters break out, and ſtreams in the deſert*, Iſa. xxxv. 6.

He was before that venerable aſſembly held at Glaſgow in 1638, and gave an account of all theſe his former proceedings with reſpect to his confinement, and the cauſes thereof. By them he was appointed to be profeſſor of divinity at St. Andrews, and colleague in the miniſtry with the worthy Mr. Blair, who was tranſlated hither about the ſame time. And here God did again ſo ſecond this his eminent and faithful ſervant, that by his indefatigable pains both in teaching in the ſchools and preaching in the congregation, St. Andrews the ſeat of the arch-biſhop (and by that means the nurſery of all ſuperſtition, error and profaneneſs) ſoon became forthwith a Lebanon out of which were taken cedars, for building the houſe of the Lord, almoſt through the whole land, many of whom he guided to heaven before himſelf (who received the ſpiritual life by his miniſtry), and many others did walk in that light after him.

And as he was mighty in the public parts of religion, ſo he was a great practiſer and encourager of the private duties thereof. Thus in the year 1640, when a charge was foiſted in before the general aſſembly at the inſtance of Mr. Henry Guthrie miniſter at Stirling (afterward biſhop of Dunkeld), againſt private ſociety meetings (which were then abounding in the land), on which enſued much reaſoning, the one ſide yielding that a paper before drawn up by Mr. Henderſon ſhould be agreed unto concerning the order to be kept in theſe meetings, *&c.* but Guthrie and his adherents oppoſing this, Mr. Rutherford, who was never much diſpoſed to ſpeak in judicatories, threw in this ſyllogiſm, "What the ſcriptures do warrant no aſſembly "may diſcharge; but private meetings for religious exer-"ciſes the ſcriptures do warrant, Mal. v. 16. *Then they that* "*feared the Lord ſpake often one to another*, &c. James v. 16. "*Confeſs your faults one to another, and pray one for another*, "&c. Theſe things could not be done in public meetings, "&c." And although the earl of Seaforth there preſent, and thoſe of Guthrie's faction upbraided this good man for this,

this, yet it had influence upon the majority of the members, ſo that all the oppoſite party got done, was an act anent the ordering of family-worſhip.

He was alſo one of the Scots commiſſioners appointed *anno* 1643, to the Weſtminſter aſſembly, and was very much beloved there for his unparalelled faithfulneſs and zeal in going about his Maſter's buſineſs. It was during this time that he publiſhed *lex rex*, and ſeveral other learned pieces againſt the Eraſtians, Anabaptiſts, Independents, and other ſectaries that began to prevail and increaſe at that time, and none ever had the courage to take up the gauntlet of defiance thrown down by this champion *.

When the principal buſineſs of this aſſembly was pretty well ſettled, Mr. Rutherford, on October 24, 1647, moved that it might be recorded in the ſcribe's book, that the aſſembly had enjoyed the aſſiſtance of the commiſſioners of the church of Scotland, all the time they had been debating and perfecting theſe four things mentioned in the ſolemn league, *viz.* Their compoſing a directory for worſhip, an uniform confeſſion of faith, a form of church-government and diſcipline, and the public catechiſm, which was done in about a week after he and the reſt returned home.

Upon the death of the learned Dematius *anno* 1651, the magiſtrates of Utrecht in Holland, being abundantly ſatisfied as to the learning, piety, and true zeal of the great Mr. Rutherford, invited him to the divinity chair there, but he could not be perſuaded. His reaſons elſewhere (when diſſuading another gentleman from going abroad) ſeem to be expreſſed in theſe words:——"Let me intreat "you to be far from the thoughts of leaving this land. I "ſee it and find it, that the Lord hath covered the whole "land with a cloud in his anger, but though I have been "tempted to the like, I had rather be in Scotland beſide "angry Jeſus Chriſt (knowing he mindeth no evil to us), "than in any Eden or garden on the earth †." From which it is evident that he choſe rather to ſuffer affliction in his own native country, than to leave his charge and flock in time of danger. He continued with them till the day of his death in the free and faithful diſcharge of his duty.

When

* It is reported, that when King Charles ſaw *lex rex* he ſaid, It would ſcarcely ever get an anſwer; nor did it ever get any, except what the parliament in 1661 gave it, when they cauſed it to be burnt at the croſs of Edinburgh, by the hands of the hangman.

† See his letter to Col. Gib, Ker, part II. letter 59.

When the unhappy difference fell out between thoſe called the proteſters and the public reſolutioners, *anno* 1650, and 1651, he eſpouſed the proteſtors quarrel, and gave faithful warning againſt theſe public reſolutions, and likewiſe during the time of Cromwel's uſurpation he contended againſt all the prevailing ſectaries that then uſhered in with the ſectaries by virtue of his toleration*. And ſuch was his unwearied aſſiduity and diligence, that he ſeemed to pray conſtantly, to preach conſtantly, to catechiſe conſtantly, and to viſit the ſick exhorting them from houſe to houſe, to teach as much in the ſchools, and ſpend as much time with the ſtudents and young men in fitting them for the miniſtry, as if he had been ſequeſtrate from all the world beſides, and yet withal to write as much as if he had been conſtantly ſhut up in his ſtudy.

But no ſooner did the reſtoration of Charles II. take place, than the face of affairs began to change, and after his fore-mentioned book *lex rex* was burnt at the croſs of Edinburgh, and at the gates of the new college of St. Andrews, where he was profeſſor of divinity, the parliament in 1661, were to have an indictment laid before them againſt him, and ſuch was their humanity (when every body knew he was a-dying) that they cauſed ſummon him to appear before them at Edinburgh, to anſwer to a charge of high treaſon†: But he had a higher tribunal to appear before, where his judge was his friend, and was dead before that time came, being taken away from the evil to come.

When on his death-bed, he lamented much that he was with-held from bearing witneſs to the work of reformation

* Betwixt this toleration and that of the duke of York there was this difference; in this all ſects and religions were tolerated, except popery and prelacy; but in that of York theſe two were only tolerated, and all others except thoſe who profeſſed true preſbyterian covenanted principles; and as for Queen Ann's toleration, it was no hing elſe than a reduplication upon this to reſtore their beloved idol prelacy again.

† It is commonly ſaid, that when the ſummons came he ſpoke out of his bed and ſaid, Tell them I have got ſummons already before a ſuperior judge and judicatory, and I behove to anſwer my firſt ſummons, and ere your day come I will be where few kings and great folks come. When they returned and told he was a dying, the parliament put to a vote, Whether or not to let him die in the college. It carried, Put him out, only a few diſſenting. My lord Burleigh ſaid, Ye have voted that honeſt man out of the college, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven. Some ſaid, He would never win there, hell was too good for him. Burleigh ſaid, I wiſh I were as ſure of heaven as he is, I would think myſelf happy to get a grip of his ſleeve to hawl me in. See Walker's Rem. page 171.

ſince the year 1638, and upon the 28th of February he gave a large and faithful teſtimony ‡ againſt the ſinful courſes of that time, which teſtimony he ſubſcribed twelve days before his death, being full of joy and peace in believing.

During the time of his laſt ſickneſs, he uttered many ſavoury ſpeeches and often broke out in a kind of ſacred rapture, exalting and commending the Lord Jeſus, eſpecially when his end drew near. He often called his bleſſed Maſter his kingly King. Some days before his death he ſaid, "I ſhall ſhine, I ſhall ſee him as he is, I ſhall ſee him "reign and all his fair company with him, and I ſhall have "my large ſhare. Mine eyes ſhall ſee my Redeemer, theſe "very eyes of mine, and none other for me. This may "ſeem a wide word, but it is no fancy or deluſion.——It is "true.—Let my Lord's name be exalted, and, if he will, "let my name be grinded to pieces, that he may be all in "all. If he ſhould ſlay me ten thouſand times, I will truſt." —He often repeated Jer. xv. 16. *Thy words were found and I did eat them*, &c.

When exhorting one to diligence, he ſaid, "It is no eaſy "thing to be a Chriſtian. For me I have got the victory, "and Chriſt is holding out both his arms to embrace me." At another time to ſome friends preſent he ſaid, "At the "beginning of my ſufferings I had mine own fears like o-"ther ſinful men, leſt I ſhould faint and not be carried "creditably through, and I laid this before the Lord, and "as ſure as ever he ſpoke to me in his word, as ſure as his "Spirit witneſſeth to my heart, he hath accepted my ſuf-"ferings. He ſaid to me, Fear not, the outgate ſhall not "be ſimply matter of prayer, but matter of praiſe. I ſaid "to the Lord, If he ſhould ſlay me five thouſand times five "thouſand I would truſt in him, and I ſpeak it with much "trembling, fearing I ſhould not make my part good, but "as really as ever he ſpoke to me by his Spirit, he witneſ-"ſed to my heart that his grace ſhould be ſufficient." The Thurſday night before his death, being much grieved with the ſtate of the public, he had this expreſſion, "Horror "hath taken hold on me." And afterwards, falling on his own condition, he ſaid, "I renounce all that ever he "made me will and do, as defiled and imperfect, as com-"ing from me; I betake myſelf to Chriſt for ſanctification "as well as juſtification:—Repeating theſe words, *He is* "*made of God to me wiſdom, righteouſneſs*, &c.——adding, I "cloſe with it, let him be ſo, he is my all in all.

March

‡ See this teſtimony and ſome of his laſt words publiſhed in 1712.

March 17th, three gentlewomen came to ſee him, and after exhorting them to read the word, and be much in prayer, and much in communion with God, he ſaid, "My "honourable Maſter and lovely Lord, my great royal King "hath not a match in heaven nor in earth. I have my "own guilt even like other ſinful men, but he hath par- "doned, loved, waſhed, and given me joy unſpeakable "and full of glory. I repent not that ever I owned his "cauſe. Theſe whom ye call proteſtors, are the witneſſes "of Jeſus Chriſt. I hope never to depart from that cauſe "nor ſide with thoſe that have burnt the cauſes of God's "wrath. They have broken their covenant oftener than "once or twice, but I believe *the Lord will build Zion, and* "*repair the waſte places of Jacob.* Oh! to obtain mercy "to wreſtle with God for their ſalvation. As for this "preſbytery, it hath ſtood in oppoſition to me theſe years "paſt. I have my record in heaven I had no particular "end in view, but was ſeeking the honour of God, the "thriving of the goſpel in this place, and the good of the "new college, that ſociety which I have left upon the "Lord. What perſonal wrongs they have done me, and "what grief they have occaſioned to me, I heartily for- "give them, and deſire mercy to wreſtle with God for mer- "cy to them, and for the ſalvation of them all.

The ſame day Meſſrs. James M'Gil, John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburne, all members of the ſame preſbytery with him, coming to viſit him, he made them welcome, and ſaid, "My Lord and Maſter "is the chief of ten thouſand, none is comparable to him "in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him, "pray for Chriſt, preach for Chriſt, feed the flock com- "mitted to your charge for Chriſt, do all for Chriſt, be- "ware of men-pleaſing, there is too much of it amongſt "us. The new college hath broke my heart, I can ſay "nothing of it, I have left it upon the Lord of the houſe, "and it hath been and ſtill is my deſire that he may dwell "in this ſociety, and that the youth may be fed with ſound "knowledge."——After this he ſaid, "Dear brethren, it "may ſeem preſumptuous in me a particular man, to ſend "a commiſſion to a preſbytery;—and Mr. M'Gill replying, "It was no preſumption, he continued,—Dear brethren, "take a commiſſion from me a dying man, to them to ap- "pear for God and his cauſe, and adhere to the doctrine "of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed "to their charge, let them feed the flock out of love, preach "for God, viſit and catechiſe for God, and do all for

" God, beware of men-pleaſing, the chief ſhepherd will " appear ſhortly, *&c.* I have been a ſinful man, and have " had mine own failings, but my Lord hath pardoned and " accepted my labours. I adhere to the cauſe and cove- " nant, and reſolve never to depart from the proteſtation* " againſt the controverted aſſemblies. I am the man I " was. I am ſtill for keeping the government of the kirk " of Scotland intire, and would not for a thouſand worlds " have had the leaſt hand in the burning of the cauſes of " God's wrath. Oh! for grace to wreſtle with God for " their ſalvation."

Mr. Vilant having prayed at his deſire, as they took their leave he renewed their charge to them to feed the flock out of love. The next morning, as he recovered out of a fainting, in which they who looked on expected his diſſolution, he ſaid, " I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and " rejoice, I feed on manna. Mr. Blair (whoſe praiſe is in the churches) being preſent, he took a little wine in a ſpoon to refreſh himſelf, being then very weak, he ſaid to him, " Ye feed on dainties in heaven, and think no- " thing of our cordials on earth."—He anſwered, " They " are all but dung, but they are Chriſt's creatures, and " out of obedience to his command I take them.——Mine " eyes ſhall ſee my Redeemer, I know he ſhall ſtand the " laſt day upon the earth, and I ſhall be caught up in the " clouds to meet him in the air, and I ſhall be ever with " him, and what would you have more, there is an end.—— And ſtretching out his hands he ſaid again, " There is an " end.——And a little after he ſaid, I have been a ſingle " man, but I ſtand at the beſt paſs that ever a man did, " Chriſt is mine and I am his."—And ſpoke much of the white ſtone and new name. Mr. Blair (who loved with all his heart to hear Chriſt commended) ſaid to him again.— " What think ye now of Chriſt?—To which he anſwered, " I ſhall live and adore him. Glory! glory to my Crea- " tor and my Redeemer for ever! Glory ſhines in Emma- " nuel's land." In the afternoon of that day he ſaid, Oh! " that all my brethren in the public may know what a " Maſter I have ſerved, and what peace I have this day, I " ſhall ſleep in Chriſt, and when I awake I ſhall be ſatisfi- " ed with his likeneſs. This night ſhall cloſe the door and " put my anchor within the vail, and I ſhall go away in a " ſleep

* This appears to be theſe papers bearing the name of repreſentations, propoſitions, proteſtations, *&c.* given in by him, and Meſſrs. Cant and Livingſton to the miniſters and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24th 1652.

" ſleep by five of the clock in the morning (which exactly fell out). Though he was very weak, he had often this expreſſion, " Oh! for arms to embrace him! Oh! for a " well tuned harp!" He exhorted Dr. Colvil (a man who complied with prelacy afterward) to adhere to the government of the church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the covenant, and to have a care to feed the youth with ſound knowledge.——And the doctor being the profeſſor of the new college, he told him, That he heartily forgave him all the wrongs he had done him. He ſpake likewiſe to Mr. Honeyman (afterward biſhop Honeyman) who came to ſee him, ſaying, " Tell the preſbytery to anſwer for God " and his cauſe and covenant, ſaying, The caſe is deſpe- " rate, let them be in their duty."——Then directing his ſpeech to Mr. Colvil and Mr. Honeyman, he ſaid, " Stick " to it. You may think it an eaſy thing in me a dying " man, that I am now going out of the reach of all that " men can do, but he before whom I ſtand knows I dare " adviſe no colleague or brother to do what I would not " cordially do myſelf upon all hazard, and as for the cau- " ſes of God's wrath that men have now condemned, tell " Mr. James Wood from me, that I had rather lay down " my head on a ſcaffold, and have it chopped off many " times (were it poſſible), before I had paſſed from them." And then to Mr. Honeyman he ſaid, " Tell Mr. Wood, I " heartily forgive him all the wrongs he has done me, and " deſire him from me to declare himſelf the man that he is " ſtill for the government of the church of Scotland."

Afterwards when ſome ſpoke to him of his former painfulneſs and faithfulneſs in the miniſtry, he ſaid, " I diſ- " claim all that, the port that I would be at, is redemption " and forgiveneſs through his blood, *thou ſhalt ſhew me the* " *path of life, in thy ſight is fulneſs of joy*, there is nothing " now betwixt me and the reſurrection, *but to-day thou ſhalt* " *be with me in paradiſe.*" Mr. Blair ſaying, Shall I praiſe the Lord for all the mercies he has done and is to do for you? He anſwered, " Oh! for a well tuned harp." To his child † he ſaid, " I have again left you upon the Lord, " it may be, you will tell this to others, that *the lines are* " *fallen to me in pleaſant places, I have got a goodly heritage.* " I bleſs the Lord that he gave me counſel."

Thus by five o'clock in the morning (as he himſelf foretold) it was ſaid unto him, Come up hither, and he gave up

† It appears that he married a ſecond wife by whom he had only one child alive. See his letters part III. letter 55.

up the ghoſt, and the renowned eagle took its flight unto the mountains of ſpices.

In the foreſaid manner died the famous Mr. Rutherford who may juſtly be accounted among the ſufferers of that time, for ſurely he was a martyr both in his own deſign and reſolution, and by the deſign and determination of men. Few men ever ran ſo long a race without ceſſation, ſo conſtantly, ſo unweariedly, and ſo unblameably. Two things (rarely to be found in one man) were eminent in him, *viz.* a quick invention and ſound judgment, and theſe accompanied with a homely but clear expreſſion, and graceful elocution; ſo that ſuch as knew him beſt were in a ſtrait whether to admire him moſt for his penetrating wit and ſublime genius in the ſchools, and peculiar exactneſs in diſputes and matters of controverſy, or his familiar condeſcenſion in the pulpit, where he was one of the moſt moving and affectionate preachers in his time, or perhaps in any age of the church.——To ſum up all in a word, He ſeems to be one of the moſt reſplendent lights that ever aroſe in this horizon.

In all his writings he breathes the true ſpirit of religion, but in his every-way admirable letters he ſeems to have outdone himſelf, as well as every body elſe, which, although jeſted on by the profane wits of this age becauſe of ſome homely and familiar expreſſions in them, it muſt be owned by all who have any reliſh for true piety, that they contain ſuch ſublime flights of devotion that they muſt at once raviſh and edify every ſober, ſerious, and underſtanding reader.

Among the poſthumous works of the laborious Mr. Rutherford are his letters; the trial and triumph of faith; Chriſt's dying and drawing of ſinners, *&c.*; and a diſcourſe on prayer; all in octavo. A diſcourſe on the covenant; on liberty of conſcience; a ſurvey of ſpiritual antichriſt; a ſurvey of antinomianiſm; antichriſt ſtormed; and ſeveral other controverted pieces, ſuch as *lex rex*; the due right of church-government; the divine right of church-government; and a peaceable plea for preſbytery; are for the moſt part in quarto, as alſo his ſummary of church diſcipline, and a treatiſe on the divine influence of the Spirit. There are alſo a variety of his ſermons in print, ſome of which were preached before both houſes of parliament *anno* 1644, and 1645. He wrote alſo upon providence, but this being in Latin, is only in the hands of a few; as are alſo the greater part of his other works, being ſo ſeldom republiſhed. There is alſo a volume of ſermons, ſacramental diſcourſes, *&c.* which I have been deſired to publiſh.

An EPITAPH *on his Grave-ſtone.*

What tongue! What pen, or ſkill of men
Can famous Rutherford commend!
His learning juſtly rais'd his fame,
True goodneſs did adorn his name.
He did converſe with things above,
Acquainted with Emmanuel's love.
Moſt orthodox he was and ſound,
And many errors did confound.
For Zion's King, and Zion's cauſe,
And Scotland's covenanted laws,
Moſt conſtantly he did contend,
Until his time was at an end.
At laſt he wan to full fruition
Of that which he had ſeen in viſion.

October 9th, 1735. W. W.

The Life of the honourable ARCHIBALD CAMPBEL *Marquis of Argyle.*

ARCHIBALD CAMPBEL having, after a good claſſical education, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, became well acquainted with the moſt intereſting points of religion, which he retained and cultivated amidſt his moſt laborious and higheſt employments both in church and ſtate ever after.

From his earlier years he ſtood well affected to the preſbyterian intereſt, and being ſtill a favourer of the puritans (the preſbyterians then ſo called) when Mr. Rutherford was, for his non-conformity, brought before the high commiſſion court *anno* 1638, he interpoſed to his utmoſt in his behalf; concerning which Mr. Rutherford in his letters ſays, * "My Lord hath brought me a friend from the high-"lands of Argyle, my lord Lorn, who hath done as much "as was within the compaſs of his power. God give me "favour in his eyes." And elſewhere to the lady Kenmuir, "And write thanks to your brother, my lord of "Lorn, for what he has done for me, a poor unknown "ſtranger to him. I ſhall pray for him and his houſe "while

* Part I. letter 4. and part III. letter 57.

" while I live. It is his honour to open his mouth in the " ſtreets for his wronged and oppreſſed Maſter Chriſt Je- " ſus." Nor was this all: for about the ſame time, he ſo laboured and prevailed with the biſhop of Galloway, that worthy Earlſton was relaxed from the ſentence of baniſh- ment unto which he was aſſigned for the ſame noble cauſe.

And no ſooner did our reformation (commonly called the ſecond reformation) begin to dawn *anno* 1637, than he eſpouſed the ſame cauſe himſelf; for we find next year, that the earl of Argyle (his father dying about that time), though a private counſellor, diligently attending all the ſeſſions of that famous general aſſembly held then at Glaſ- gow, in order to hear their debates and determinations concerning dioceſan epiſcopacy, and the five articles of Perth, wherein he declared his full ſatisfaction with their deciſions. And here it was that this noble peer began to diſtinguiſh himſelf by a concern for the Redeemer's glory, in which he continued, and was kept faithful therein, un- til he got the crown of martyrdom at laſt.

At this meeting, amongſt many other things, his lord- ſhip propoſed an explication of the confeſſion and cove- nant, in which he wiſhed them to proceed with great deli- beration, leſt (ſaid he) they ſhould bring any under ſuſpi- cion of perjury, who had ſworn it in the ſenſe he had done, which motion was taken in good part by the mem- bers, and entered upon in the 8th ſeſſion of that aſſembly. Mr. Henderſon the moderator, at the concluſion of this aſ- ſembly, judging that, after all, the countenance give to their meetings by this noble peer deſerved a particular ac- knowledgment, wiſhed his lordſhip had joined with them ſooner, but he hoped God had reſerved him for the beſt times, and would honour him here and hereafter. Where- upon his lordſhip roſe, and delivered an excellent ſpeech *ex tempore*, before the aſſembly, in which amongſt other things he ſaid, " And whereas you wiſhed I had joined " you ſooner; truly it was not for want of affection for " the good of religion, and my own country which de- " tained me, but a deſire and hope that by ſtaying with " the court I might have been able to bring a redreſs of " grievances, and when I ſaw that I could no longer ſtay " without proving unfaithful to my God and my country, " I thought good to do as I have done; *&c.*——I remem- " ber I told ſome of you that pride and avarice are two e- " vils that have wrought much woe to the church of " Chriſt, and as they are grievous faults in any man, they " are eſpecially ſo in church-men, *&c.*—I hope every man " here

" here, ſhall walk by the ſquare and rule which is now ſet " before him, obſerving duty, 1. To ſuperiors. 2. To e- " quals; and 3. To inferiors.—Touching our duty to ſu- " periors, there needs nothing be added to what has been " wiſely ſaid by the moderator. Next, concerning equals, " there is a caſe much ſpoken of in the church, *i. e.* the " power of ruling elders, ſome miniſters apprehending it " to be a curbing of their power; truly it may be ſome el- " ders are not ſo wiſe as there is need for.—But as unity " ought to be the endeavour of us all, let neighbouring " pariſhes and preſbyteries meet together for ſettling the " ſame, *&c.* And thirdly, for inferiors, I hope miniſters " will diſcharge their duty to their flocks, and that people " will have a due regard to thoſe that are ſet over them " to watch for their ſouls, and not to think, that becauſe " they want biſhops, they may live as they will, *&c.*" †

After this, when the Scots covenanters were obliged to take arms in their own defence, *anno* 1639, and having marched towards the borders of England, under the command of general Leſlie, this noble lord being ſet to guard the weſtern coaſt, contributed very much by his diligence and prudence to preſerve peace in theſe parts, and that not only in conveening the gentlemen in theſe quarters, and taking ſecurity of them for that purpoſe, but alſo raiſed four hundred men in the ſhire of Argyle, which he took in hand to maintain at his own charges. Which number he afterward increaſed to nine hundred able men, one half whereof he ſet on Kintyre to wait on the marquis of Antrim's deſign, and the reſt on the head of Lorn to attend the motions of thoſe of Lochaber, and the weſtern iſles. From thence he himſelf went over to Arran with ſome cannon, and took the caſtle of Brodick, belonging to Hamilton; which ſurrendered without reſiſtance.

He was again, in the abſence of the covenanters army, *anno* 1640, appointed to the ſame buſineſs, which he managed with no leſs ſucceſs, for he apprehended no leſs than eight or nine of the ring-leaders of the maligant faction, and made them give bonds for their better behaviour in time coming. Which induſtrious and faithful conduct in this great man ſtirred up the malice of his and truth's adverſaries, that they ſought on all occaſions to vent their miſchief againſt him afterward.

For, at the very next ſitting down of the Scots parliament, the earl of Montroſe diſcovered a moſt miſchievous

† See this diſcourſe at large in Stevenſon's hiſtory, page 674.

attempt to wound his reputation, and to ſet the king at perpetual variance with his lordſhip; and among other offenſive ſpeeches uttered by Montroſe, one was, That when the earl of Athol and the other eight gentlemen taken up by him laſt year (for carrying arms againſt their country), were in his lordſhip's tent at the ford of Lyons, he (*viz.* Argyle) ſhould have ſaid publicly, "That they (meaning "the parliament) had conſulted both lawyers and divers o-"thers, anent the depoſing of the king, and had got reſo-"lution that it might be done in three caſes, *viz.* 1. De-"ſertion. 2. Invaſion; and 3. Vendition. And that "they once thought to have done it at the laſt ſitting of "parliament, but would do it at the next ſitting thereof." Montroſe condeſcended on Mr. James Stuart commiſſary of Dunkeld, one of the foreſaid eight taken by Argyle, as his informer; and ſome of his lordſhip's friends, having brought the ſaid commiſſary to Edinburgh, he was ſo fool-hardy as to ſubſcribe the acknowledgment of the above report to Montroſe. The earl of Argyle denied the truth of this in the ſtrongeſt terms, and reſolved to proſecute Mr. Stuart before the court of juſticiary where his lordſhip inſiſted for an impartial trial, which was granted, and according to his deſire four lords of the ſeſſion were added *hac vice* to the court of juſticiary. Stuart was accuſed upon the laws of leaſing, particularly of a principal ſtateſman, to evite the eminent danger of which he wrote to Argyle, wherein he cleared him of the charge as laid againſt him, and acknowledged that he himſelf forged them, out of malice againſt his lordſhip, &c. But though Argyle's innocency was thus cleared, it was thought neceſſary to let the trial go on, and the fact being proven he was condemned to die. Argyle would willingly have ſeen the royal clemency extended to the unfortunate wretch; but others thought the crime tended to mar the deſign of the late treaty, and judged it needful as a terror to others, to make an example. At his execution, he diſcovered a great deal of remorſe for what he had done, and although this worthy nobleman was vindicated in this, yet we find that after the reſtoration it was made one of the principal handles againſt this noble martyr.

During theſe tranſactions, the king diſagreeing with his Engliſh parliament, made another tour to Scotland, and attended the Scots parliament there; in which parliament, (that he might more effectually gain the Scots over to his intereſt) he not only granted a ratification of all their former proceedings, both in their own defence, and with re-

ſpect

ſpect to religion, but alſo dignified ſeveral of the Scots nobility: and being ſenſible of the many great and good ſervices done by this noble earl, he was placed at the head of the treaſury, and the day before the riſing of the parliament all the commiſſions granted to, and ſervices and employments performed by Archibald, earl of Argyle, in the ſervice of his country were approved of; and an act of parliament made thereon was read and voted, the king giving him this teſtimony in public, That he dealt over honeſtly with him, though he was ſtill ſtiff as to the point in controverſy. And on the ſame day, Nov, 15th, 1641, the king delivered a patent to the lion king at arms, and he to the clerk regiſter, who read it publicly, whereby his majeſty created Archibald earl of Argyle, *&c.* marquis of Argyle, earl of Kintyre, lord Lorn, *&c.* which being read, aud given back to the king, his majeſty delivered the ſame with his own hand to the marquis, who roſe and made a very handſome ſpeech in gratitude to his majeſty, ſhewing that he neither expected nor deſerved ſuch honour or preferment.

During the ſitting of the foreſaid parliament, another incident occurred, wherein a plot was laid to deſtroy this nobleman, in the following manner: Some of the nobility, envying the power, preferment and influence that he and the marquis of Hamilton had with the king, laid a cloſe deſign for their lives. The earl of Crawford, colonel Cochran, and lieut. Alexander Stuart, were to have been the actors (in which it was inſinuated, that his majeſty, lord Almond, *&c.* were privy to the deſign), which was, that Hamilton and Argyle ſhould be called for in the dead of the night to ſpeak with the king; in the way they were to have been arreſted as traitors, and delivered to earl Crawford, who was to wait for them with a conſiderable body of armed men. If any reſiſtance was made, he was to ſtab them immediately, if not, carry them priſoners to a ſhip of war in the road of Leith, where they were to be confined until they ſhould be tried for treaſon.—But this breaking out before it was fully ripe, the two noblemen the night before went off to a place of more ſtrength, twelve miles diſtant, and ſo eſcaped this danger, as a bird out of the hands of the fowler. Yet ſuch was their lenity and clemency, that upon a petition from them, the foreſaid perſons were ſet at liberty.

After this, the earl (now marquis) of Argyle had a moſt active hand in carrying on the work of reformation, and uniformity in religion *anno* 1643. And while he was buſi-

ed among the covenanters *anno* 1644, Montroſe and ſome others aſſociated themſelves to raiſe forces for the king, intending to draw the Scots army forth of England.—To effect which, the earl of Antrim undertook to ſend over ten thouſand Iriſh, under the command of one Alaſter M'Donald, a Scotſman, to the north of Scotland. A conſiderable body was accordingly ſent, who committed many outrages in Argyle's country.—To ſuppreſs this inſurrection, the committee of eſtates *April* 10, gave orders to the marquis to raiſe three regiments; which he accordingly did, and with them marched northward, took ſeveral of their principal chieftains, and diſperſed the reſt for ſome time. But Montroſe being ſtill on the field, wherein he gained ſeveral victories during this and the following year, and in the mean time plundered and murdered the greater part of Argyle-ſhire, and other places belonging to the covenanters, without mercy, and although he was at laſt defeated and totally routed by general Leſly at Philiphaugh, yet ſuch was the cruelty of thoſe cut-throats, that the foreſaid M'Donald and his Iriſh band returned to Argyle-ſhire (in the beginning of the year 1646) and burnt and plundered the dwellings of the well-affected, in ſuch a terrible manner, that about twelve hundred men aſſembled in a body under Acknalaſe, who brought them down to Monteith, to live upon the diſaffected in that country, but the Athol men falling upon them at Calender (and being but poorly armed) ſeveral of them were killed, and the reſt fled towards Stirling, where their maſter the noble marquis met them, and commiſerating their deplorable condition, carried them through to Lennox, to live upon the lands of the lord Napier and others of the diſaffected, until they were better provided for. And in the mean time went over himſelf to Ireland, and brought over the remains of the Scots forces, and with thoſe landed in Argyle-ſhire, upon which M'Donald betook himſelf to the iſles, and from thence returned back to Ireland; whereby peace was reſtored in thoſe parts †.

Again *anno* 1648, when the ſtate fell into two factions, that of the malignants was headed by the duke of Hamilton; and the other (the covenanters) by the marquis of Argyle, from which it is eaſy to conclude, that from the year 1643, (when he had ſuch an active hand in calling the convention of eſtates, and entering into the ſolemn league and covenant) to 1648, he was the principal agent amongſt the

† See a more full account of theſe tranſactions in Stevenſon's hiſtory, vol. III. page 176.

the covenanters, and never failed on all occaſions to appear in defence of the civil and religious liberties of his native country.

And for what was enacted *anno* 1649, is is well known what appearances he made, and what intereſt he had in the parliament, and to the utmoſt of his power did employ the ſame for bringing home Charles II. and poſſeſſing him of his crown and the exerciſe of his royal authority, and in this he ſucceeded to good purpoſe, as long as the king followed his counſel and advice. But afterwards taking in the malignant faction into places of power and truſt, all went to ſhipwreck together, which was no ſmall matter of grief to this worthy and religious nobleman.

And as the king was well received then by the marquis of Argyle, ſo he pretended a great deal of regard and kindneſs for him about that time; as appears from a letter or declaration given under his own hand at St. Johnſton Sept. 24, 1650, in which he ſays, "Having taken to my "conſideration the faithful endeavours of the marquis of "Argyle, for reſtoring me to my juſt rights, &c.——I am "deſirous to let the world ſee how ſenſible I am of his real "reſpect to me, by ſome particular favour to him.——And "particularly I do promiſe that I ſhall make him duke of "Argyle, a knight of the garter, and one of the gentle-"men of my bed-chamber, and this to be performed when "he ſhall think fit. I do further promiſe to hearken to "his counſel, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore me "to my juſt rights in England, I ſhall ſee him paid the "40,000 pounds ſterling which are due to him. All which "I do promiſe to make good upon the word of a king.

C. R.

But how all theſe fair promiſes were performed will come afterwards to be obſerved. For this godly nobleman taking upon him to reprove the king for ſome of his immoralities*, which faithful admonition, however well it appeared to be taken off the marquis's hand for the preſent, yet it appeared afterwards that this godly freedom was never forgot, until it was again repaid him with the higheſt reſentment (ſuch was the way to hearken to his counſel); for if debauchery and diſſimulation had ever been accounted among the liberal ſciences, then this prince was altogether a maſter in that faculty†.

In

* Some accounts bear that this was a rape committed by him.

† See the national covenant.

In the mean time January 1. 1651, the king was crowned at Scone, where after an excellent ſermon by Mr. Robert Douglas from 2 Kings ii. 17, the king took the coronation oath, then ſitting down in the chair of ſtate (after ſome other ceremonies were performed), the marquis of Argyle taking the crown in his hands, (Mr. Douglas prayed) he ſet it on the king's head; and ſo aſcending the ſtage, attended by the officers of the crown, he was inſtalled unto the royal throne by Archibald marquis of Argyle, ſaying, "Stand, *&c.* faſt from henceforth the place whereof you "are the lawful and righteous heir, by a long and lineal "ſucceſſion of your fathers, which is now delivered to you "by the authority of God Almighty *" Then the ſolemnity was concluded by a pertinent exhortation, both to king and people, wherein they were certified, that if they ſhould conſpire together againſt the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, both ſupporters and ſupported ſhould fall together.

But the king's forces having been before that defeated by Cromwel at Dunbar, and being no longer able to make head againſt the Engliſh, he went for England, and here by his particular allowance the marquis of Argyle (after kiſſing his hand) was left at Stirling. But the king's army being totally routed on the third of September at Worceſter, and from thence driven from all his dominions; in the mean time the Engliſh over-run the whole country, ſo that the repreſentatives of the nation were either obliged to take the tender, or elſe ſuffer great hardſhips, which tender the marquis had refuſed at Dunbarton, whereupon they reſolved to invade the highlands and the ſhire of Argyle, being incloſed on all hands with regiments of foot and horſe. Major Dean coming to the marquis's houſe at Inverary where he was lying ſick, preſented a paper, which he behoved to ſubſcribe againſt to-morrow, or elſe be carried off priſoner, which (though ſore againſt his will) for his own and his vaſſals and tenants ſafety he was obliged to ſubſcribe with ſome alterations, which capitulation was made a mighty handle againſt him afterwards. And although he had ſome influence upon the uſurper, and was preſent at ſeveral meetings wherein he procured an equal hearing to the proteſtors at London, while he was there *anno* 1657, yet he was rather a priſoner on demand than a free agent, and ſo continued until the reſtoration.

Soon after the king's return, this noble marquis being very much ſolicited to repair to court, and no doubt he him-

* See the coronation of Charles II. page 38, *&c.*

himſelf inclined to wait on a prince on whoſe head he had ſet the crown, and though ſome of his beſt friends uſed ſeveral arguments to divert him from his purpoſe till matters were better ſettled, yet from the teſtimony of a good conſcience, knowing that he was able to vindicate himſelf from all aſperſions, if he was but once admitted to the king's preſence. He ſet out for London, where he arrived on the 8th of July, and went directly to Whitehall to ſalute his majeſty, but whenever the king heard he was come thither (notwithſtanding his former fair promiſes) he ordered Sir William Fleming to apprehend him, and carry him to the tower, where he continued till toward the beginning of December, that he was ſent down in a man of war, to abide his trial before the parliament in Scotland. On the 20th they landed at Leith, and next day he was taken up (the ſtreets of Edinburgh covered) betwixt two of the town-baillies to the caſtle, where he continued until his trial came on.

On Feb. 13, 1661, his lordſhip was brought down from the caſtle in a coach, with three of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, attended by the town-guard, and preſented before the bar of the houſe, where the king's advocate Sir John Fletcher accuſed him in common form of high treaſon, and producing an indictment, craved that it might be read. The marquis himſelf begged liberty to ſpeak before that was done, but the houſe refuſed his reaſonable deſire, and ordered it to be read, and though he intreated them to hear a petition he had to preſent, yet that was too great a favour to be granted. The indictment, which was more months in forming than he had days allowed at firſt to bring his defence, conſiſted of fourteen articles, the principal of which were, his entering into the ſolemn league and covenant with England; and his complying with Oliver Cromwel, *&c.*; all the reſt being a heap of ſlanders, and perverſion of matters of fact, gathered up againſt this good and great man, all which he abundantly takes off in his information and anſwers*.

After his indictment was read, he had leave to ſpeak and diſcourſed for ſometime to good purpoſe. Among other things he ſaid with Paul in another caſe, "The things "laid againſt him cannot be proven;—but this he confeſſed, that in the way allowed by ſolemn oath and covenant, he ſerved his God, his king, and his country; and though he

* See theſe articles at large and his anſwers in Wodrow's church hiſtory, vol. I. page 43,——52.

he owned he wanted not failings common to all perſons in public buſineſs in ſuch a time, yet he bleſſed God that he was able to make the falſehood of every article of his charge appear, that he had done nothing with a wicked mind, but with many others had the misfortune to do many things, the unforeſeen events of which had proved bad.

The parliament fixed on the 27th of February for bringing in his defence, which was too ſhort a time for replying to ſo many articles. However, at his requeſt it was put off till the 5th of March, when he appeared before the lord of the articles, who ordered him immediately to produce his defence, whereupon he delivered a very moving ſpeech, and gave in a moſt affecting petition, remitting himſelf to the king's mercy, and beſeeching the parliament to intercede for him, which are too long here to be inſerted. March the 6th, he was brought before the parliament—It was reported from the articles, that he had offered a ſubmiſſion to his majeſty, *&c.* but his ſubmiſſion was voted not ſatisfactory, and he commanded on the morrow to give in his defence to the lords of the articles. When he came before them, and told his defence was not ready, he was appointed to give them in on Monday April 9th, otherwiſe they would take the whole buſineſs before them, without any regard to what he ſhould afterwards ſay, but it ſeems on the day appointed, his defence was given in, which contained fifteen ſheets of ſmall print, wherein the marquis's management was fully vindicated from all the falſehoods and calumnies in the indictment.

Upon the 16th of April he was again before the parliament, where after the proceſs was read, he had a very handſome and moving ſpeech, wherein at a conſiderable length†, he removed ſeveral reproaches caſt upon him, and touched at ſome things not in his papers, but whatever he or his lawyers could ſay, had little weight with the members of parliament. Some of them were already reſolved what to do; the houſe had many meſſages to haſten his proceſs to an end, but the miſgiving of many of their deſigned probations againſt this good man embarraſſed them mightily for ſome time, for it appears that there were upwards of thirty different libels all formed againſt him, and all came to nothing when they began to prove them, as other lies uſually do; ſo that they were forced to betake themſelves to the innocent but neceſſary compliance with the

† See the appendix to Wodrow's hiſtory, No. 18.

the Engliſh, after every ſhire and burgh in Scotland had made their ſubmiſſion to their conquerors.

In the beginning of May witneſſes were examined and depoſitions taken againſt him, after which he was upon the 25th brought before the bar of the houſe to receive his ſentence from his judges, who were *ſocii criminis* (or accomplices, as he told the king's advocate). The houſe was very thin, all withdrawing except thoſe who were reſolved to follow the courſes of the time. He put them in mind of the practice of Theodoſius the emperor, who enacted that the ſentence of death ſhould not be executed till thirty days after it was paſſed, and added, I crave but ten that the king may be acquainted with it—but this was refuſed. Then the ſentence was pronounced, "That he was found "guilty of high treaſon, and adjudged to be executed to "the death as a traitor, his head to be ſevered from his "body at the croſs of Edinburgh, upon Monday the 27th "inſtant, and affixed on the ſame place where the mar-"quis of Montroſe's head formerly was, and his arms torn "before the parliament at the croſs." Upon this he offered to ſpeak, but the trumpet ſounding he ſtopped till they ended, and then ſaid, "I had the honour to ſet the "crown on the king's head, and now he haſtens me to a "better crown than his own." And directing himſelf to the commiſſioner and parliament, he ſaid, "You have the "the indemnity of an earthly king among your hands, and "have denied me a ſhare in that, but you cannot hinder "me from the indemnity of the King of kings, and ſhort-"ly you muſt be before his tribunal. I pray he mete not "out ſuch meaſure to you as you have done to me, when "you are called to an account for all your actings, and this "amongſt the reſt."

After his ſentence he was ordered to the common priſon, where his excellent lady was waiting for him. Upon ſeeing her he ſaid, "They have given me till Monday to be "with you, my dear, therefore let us make for it." She embracing him wept bitterly and ſaid, "The Lord will re-"quire it: The Lord will require it." Which drew tears from all in the room.——But being himſelf compoſed, he ſaid, "Forbear, forbear. I pity them, they know not "what they are doing. They may ſhut me in where they "pleaſe, but they cannot ſhut God out from me. For my "part I am as content to be here as in the caſtle, and as "content in the caſtle as in the tower of London, and as "content there as when at liberty, and I hope to be as "content on the ſcaffold as any of them all, &c." He added

ded, "He remembered a ſcripture cited by an honeſt mini-
"ſter to him while in the caſtle, which he intended to put
"in practice. When Ziklag was taken and burnt, the
"people ſpake of ſtoning David, but he encouraged him-
"ſelf in the Lord."

He ſpent all his ſhort time till Monday with the greateſt ſerenity and cheerfulneſs, and in the proper exerciſe of a dying Chriſtian. To ſome miniſters, who were permitted to attend him, he ſaid, "That ſhortly they would envy "him who was got before them,——and added, Remem-"ber that I tell you, my ſkill fails me, if you who are mi-"niſters will not either ſuffer much or ſin much; for tho' "you go along with theſe men in part, if you do not in "all things, you are but where you were, and ſo muſt ſuf-"fer, and if you go not at all with them you muſt but "ſuffer."

During his life he was reckoned rather timorous than bold to any exceſs. In priſon, he ſaid he was naturally inclined to fear in his temper, but deſired thoſe about him as he could not but do, to obſerve that the Lord had heard his prayer, and removed all fear from him, *&c.* At his own deſire his lady took her leave of him on the Sabbath night. Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. George Hutcheſon preached to him in the tolbooth on the Lord's day, and his dear and much valued friend Mr. David Dickſon (I am told, ſays Mr. Wodrow) was his bedfellow the laſt night he was in time.

The marquis had a ſweet time in the tolbooth as to his ſouls caſe, and it ſtill increaſed nearer his end, as he had ſleeped calmly and pleaſantly his laſt night, ſo in the intervals of his neceſſary buſineſs, he had much ſpiritual converſation. On Monday morning though he was much engaged in ſettling his affairs in the midſt of company, yet he was ſo overpowered with a ſenſible effuſion of the Holy Spirit, that he broke out in a rapture and ſaid, "I thought "to have concealed the Lord's goodneſs, but it will not do. "I am now ordering my affairs, and God is ſealing my "charter to a better inheritance, and juſt now ſaying to "me, *Son, be of good cheer, thy ſins are forgiven thee.*"

Some time before he went to the place of execution, he received an excellent letter from a certain miniſter, and wrote a moſt moving one to the king, and dined preciſely at twelve o'clock along with his friends with great cheerfulneſs, and then retired a little. Upon his opening the door Mr. Hutcheſon ſaid, What cheer, my lord? He anſwered, "Good cheer, Sir, the Lord hath again confir-

"med

"med and ſaid to me from heaven, *Thy ſins be forgiven* "*thee.*" Upon this tears of joy flowed in abundance; he retired to the window and wept there; from that he came to the fire, and made as if he would ſtir it a little to conceal his concern, but all would not do, his tears ran down his face, and coming to Mr. Hutcheſon he ſaid, "I think "his kindneſs overcomes me. But God is good to me, "that he let not out too much of it here, for he knows I "could not bear it*. Get me my cloke and let us go." But being told that the clock was kept back till one, till the bailies ſhould come,——He anſwered, They are far in the wrong; and preſently kneeled and prayed before all preſent, in a moſt ſweet and heavenly manner. As he ended, the bailies ſent up word for to come down; upon which he called for a glaſs of wine, and aſked a bleſſing to it, ſtanding, and continuing in the ſame frame, he ſaid, "Now let us go, and God be with us."

After having taken his leave of ſuch in the room, who were not to go with him to the ſcaffold, when going towards the door he ſaid, "I could die like a Roman, but "chooſe rather to die like a Chriſtian. Come away, gen- "tlemen, he that goes firſt goes cleanlieſt." When going down ſtairs, he called the reverend Mr. James Guthrie to him, and embracing him in a moſt endearing way, took his farewel of him; Mr. Guthrie at parting addreſſed the marquis thus, "My lord, God hath been with you, he is "with you, and will be with you. And ſuch is my re- "ſpect for your lordſhip, that if I were not under ſentence "of death myſelf, I would cheerfully die for your lord- "ſhip." So they parted, to meet again in a better place on the Friday following.

Then the marquis accompanied with ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen mounted in black, with his cloke and hat on, went down the ſtreet, and mounted on the ſcaffold with great ſerenity and gravity, like one going to his Father's houſe, and ſaluted all on it. Then Mr. Hutcheſon

* The hiſtorian Burnet in the introduction to his hiſtory page 30. *&c.* is pleaſed to ſay, "This Argyle was a pretender to high degrees of piety. Warriſton went to very high notions of lengthened devotions, and whatſoever ſtruck his fancy during theſe effuſions he looked on it as an anſwer of prayer." But perhaps the biſhop was much a ſtranger both to high degrees of piety and lengthened devotions, and alſo to ſuch returns of prayer, for theſe two gallant noblemen faced the bloody ax and gibbet rather than forgo their profeſſion, with more courage, and (I may ſay) upon better principles or grounds of ſuffering, than what any dioceſan biſhop in Scotland at leaſt, or even the doctor himſelf was honoured to do.

prayed, after which his lordſhip delivered his ſpeech, in which among other things he ſaid, "I come not here to "juſtify myſelf, but the Lord, who is holy in all his ways, "righteous in all his works, holy and bleſſed is his name. "Neither come I to condemn others. I bleſs the Lord, I "pardon all men, and deſire to be pardoned of the Lord "myſelf. Let the will of the Lord be done, that is all I "deſire.——I was real and cordial in my deſires to bring "the king home, and in my endeavours for him when he "was home, and had no correſpondence with the adver-"ſaries army, nor any of them when his majeſty was in "Scotland, nor had I any hand in his late majeſty's mur-"der. I ſhall not ſpeak much to theſe things for which I "am condemned, leſt I ſeem to condemn others.—It is "well known it is only for compliance, which was the epi-"demical fault of the nation; I wiſh the Lord to pardon "them. I ſay no more——but God hath laid engagements "on Scotland. We are tied by covenants to religion and "reformation, thoſe who were then unborn are yet en-"gaged, and it paſſeth the power of all the magiſtrates "under heaven to abſolve from the oath of God. Theſe "times are like to be either very ſinning or ſuffering times, "and let Chriſtians make their choice, there is a ſad di-"lemma in the buſineſs, ſin or ſuffer, and ſurely he that "will chooſe the better part will chooſe to ſuffer, others "that will chooſe to ſin will not eſcape ſuffering. They "ſhall ſuffer, but perhaps not as I do (pointing to the "maiden) but worſe. Mine is but temporal, theirs ſhall "be eternal. When I ſhall be ſinging, they ſhall be howl-"ing. Beware therefore of ſin, whatever you are aware "of, eſpecially in ſuch times.—And hence my condition "is ſuch now, as, when I am gone, will be ſeen not to be "as many imagined. I wiſh, as the Lord hath pardoned "me, ſo may he pardon them, for this and other things, "and what they have done to me may never meet them in "their accounts.——I have no more to ſay, but to beg the "Lord that when I go away, he would bleſs every one "that ſtayeth behind."

When he had delivered this his ſeaſonable and pathetic ſpeech, which with his laſt words is recorded at length in Naphtali *. Mr. Hamilton prayed, after which he prayed moſt ſweetly himſelf, then he took his leave of all his friends on the ſcaffold. He firſt gave to the executioner a napkin with ſome money in it; to his ſons in law Caith-neſs

* Or the wreſtling of the church of Scotland, page 166.

neſs and Ker his watch and ſome other things out of his pocket, he gave to Loudon his ſilver penner, to Lothian a double ducat, and then threw off his coat. When going to the maiden, Mr. Hutcheſon ſaid, My lord, now hold your grip ſickker.——He anſwered, "You know Mr. Hut-"cheſon, what I ſaid to you in the chamber. I am not "afraid to be ſurpriſed with fear." The laird of Sholmerlie took him by the hand, when near the maiden, and found him moſt compoſed. He kneeled down moſt cheerfully, and after he had prayed a little, he gave the ſignal (which was by lifting up his hand), and the inſtrument called the maiden ſtruck off his head from his body, which was fixed on the weſt end of the tolboth, as a monument of the parliaments injuſtice and the land's miſery. His body was by his friends put in a coffin and conveyed with a good many attendants through Linlithgow and Falkirk to Glaſgow, and from thence to Kilpatrick, where it was put in a boat, carried to Denune, and buried in Kilmunn church.

Thus died the noble marquis of Argyle, the proto-martyr to religion ſince the reformation from popery, the true portrait of whoſe character cannot be (a hiſtorian † ſays I dare not) drawn. His enemies themſelves will allow him to have been a perſon of extraordinary piety, remarkable wiſdom and prudence, great gravity and authority, and ſingular uſefulneſs. He was the head of the covenanters in Scotland, and had been ſingularly active in the work of reformation there, and of any almoſt that had engaged in that work he ſtuck cloſeſt by it, when moſt of the nation quitted it very much, ſo that this attack upon him was a ſtroke at the root of all that had been done in Scotland from 1638, to the uſurpation. But the tree of prelacy and arbitrary meaſures behoved to be ſoaked when planting, with the blood of this excellent patriot, ſtaunch preſbyterian, and vigorous aſſertor of Scotland's liberty, and as he was the great promoter thereof during his life, and ſtedfaſt in witneſſing to it at his death, ſo it was to a great degree buried with him in Scotland, for many years. In a word, he had piety for a chriſtian, ſenſe for a counſellor, carriage for a martyr, and ſoul for a king. If ever any was, he might be ſaid to be a born Scotſman.

† Wodrow in his hiſtory, vol. I. page 56.

The

The Life of Mr. JAMES GUTHRIE.

MR. JAMES GUTHRIE ſon to the laird of Guthrie (a very honourable and ancient family) having gone through his courſe of claſſical learning at the grammar ſchool and college, taught philoſophy in the univerſity of St. Andrews, where for ſeveral years he gave abundant proof that he was an able ſcholar. His temper was very ſteady and compoſed; he could reaſon upon the moſt ſubtle points with great ſolidity, and when every one elſe was warm his temper was never ruffled. At any time when indecent heats or wranglings happened to fall in when reaſoning, it was his ordinary cuſtom to ſay, "Enough of "this, let us go to ſome other ſubject; we are warm, and "can diſpute no longer with advantage." Perhaps he had the greateſt mixture of fervent zeal and ſweet calmneſs in his temper, of any man in his time. But being educated in oppoſition to preſbyterian principles he was highly prelatical in his judgment when he came firſt to St. Andrews, but by converſing with worthy Mr. Rutherford and others, and eſpecially through his joining the weekly ſociety's meetings there, for prayer and conference, he was effectually brought off from that way, and perhaps it was this that made the writer of the diurnal (who was no friend of his) ſay, "That if Mr. Guthrie had continued fixt to his firſt "principles, he had been a ſtar of the firſt magnitude in "Scotland." Whenas he came to judge for himſelf, he happily departed from his firſt principles, and upon examination of that way wherein he was educated, he left it, and thereby became a ſtar of the firſt magnitude indeed. It is ſaid, that while he was regent in the college of St. Andrews, Mr. Sharp being then a promiſing young man there, he ſeveral times wrote this verſe upon him,

If thou, Sharp, die the common death of men,
I'll burn my bill, and throw away my pen.

Having paſſed his trials, *anno* 1638, he was ſettled miniſter at Lauder, where he remained for ſeveral years. *Anno* 1646, he was appointed one of thoſe miniſters who were to attend the king, while at Newcaſtle, and likewiſe he was one of thoſe nominated in the commiſſion for the public

public affairs of the church, during the intervals betwixt the general aſſemblies. And in about three years after this, he was tranſlated to Stirling, where he continued until the reſtoration, a moſt faithful watchman upon Zion's walls, who ceaſed not day and night to declare the whole counſel of God to his people, *ſhewing Iſrael their iniquities, and the houſe of Jacob their ſins.*

After he came to Stirling, he again not only evidenced a ſingular care over that people he had the charge of, but alſo was a great aſſiſtant in the affairs of the church, being a moſt zealous enemy to all error and profanity. And when that unhappy difference fell out with the public reſolutioners, he was a moſt ſtaunch proteſtor, oppoſing theſe reſolutions unto the utmoſt of his power, inſomuch as after the preſbytery of Stirling had wrote a letter to the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, ſhewing their diſlike and diſſatisfaction with the reſolutioners, after they had been concluded upon at Perth Dec. 14. 1650. Mr. Guthrie and his colleague Mr. Bennet went ſomewhat further, and openly preached againſt them, as a thing involving the land in conjunction with the malignant party, for which by a letter from the chancellor they were ordered to repair to Perth on Feb. 19th, 1651, to anſwer before the king * and the

* It ſurely was a piece of ill adviſed conduct (as many of themſelves afterward acknowledged), that ever they elected or admitted any of that family of Ahab, after the Almighty had ſo remarkably driven them forth of theſe kingdoms, unto the regal dignity, upon any terms whatſoever; particularly Charles II. after he had given ſuch recent proofs of his diſſimulation and diſſaffection un to the cauſe and people of God in theſe nations. After which they never had a day to proſper; for by contending againſt meligants, and yet at the ſame time vowing and praying for the head of malignants they not only had malignants and ſectaries to fight with, but alſo made a deſuetude unto their former attainments, and ſo came to contend with one another, until prelacy proved their utter ruin at laſt. It is objected that king Charles was a good natured man, and that the extermination of our excellent conſtitution, was from evil counſellors. It is but too true, that evil counſellors have many times proved the ruin of kingdoms and commonwealths, elſe the wiſe man would not have ſaid, *Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed*, Prov. xxv. 5. But take the matter as it is, he was ſtill the head of that conſtitution and (not to ſpeak of his other immoralities), a moſt perfidious, treacherous and wicked man, and could engage to day and break to-morrow, and all to obtain an earthly crown. For a further illuſtration of this, ſee a letter ſhewing the defection of both addreſſers and proteſtors, &c.; Dr. Oweo's ſermon before the protector in Scotland; the hiſtory of the Stuarts; and Bennet's memorial of Britain's deliverances, &c.

the committee of eſtates for that letter and their doctrine; but upon the indiſpoſition of one of them, they excuſed themſelves by a letter, for their non-appearance that day, but promiſed to attend upon the end of the week. Accordingly on the 22d they appeared at Perth, where they gave in a proteſtation; ſignifying, that although they owned his majeſty's civil authority, yet was Mr. Guthrie challenged by the king and his council for a doctrinal theſis which he had maintained and ſpoken to in a ſermon,—— whereof they were incompetent judges in matters purely eccleſiaſtical, ſuch as is the examination and cenſuring of doctrines,—he did decline them on that account †.

The matter being deferred for ſome days, till the king returned from Aberdeen, in the mean time the two miniſters were confined to Perth and Dundee, whereupon they (Feb. 28.) preſented another paper or proteſtation ‡, which was much the ſame, though in ſtronger terms, and ſupported by many excellent arguments. After this the king and committee thought proper to diſmiſs them, and to proceed no farther in the affair at preſent, and yet Mr. Guthrie's declining the king's authority in matters eccleſiaſtical here, was made the principal article in his indictment ſome ten years after, to give way to a perſonal pique Middleton had againſt this good man, the occaſion of which is as follows:

By improving an affront the king met with *anno* 1659, ſome malignants about him ſo prevailed to heighten his fears of the evil deſigns of thoſe about him, that by a correſpondence with the papiſts, malignants, and ſuch as were diſaffected to the covenants in the north, matters came in a little to ſuch a paſs, that a conſiderable number of noblemen, gentlemen, and others were to riſe and form themſelves into an army under Middleton's command, and the king was to caſt himſelf into their arms, *&c.* Accordingly the king with a few in his retinue, as if he were going a-hunting, left his beſt friends, croſſed the Tay, and came to Angus, where he was to have met with thoſe people, but ſoon finding himſelf diſappointed, he came back to the committee of eſtates, where indeed his greateſt ſtrength lay. In the meanwhile ſeveral who had been in the plot fearing puniſhment, got together under Middleton's command. General Leſlie marched towards them, and the

† Apologetical relation, § v. page 83.

‡ See theſe proteſtations in Wodrow's church-hiſtory, vol. I. p. 58 & 59.

the king wrote to them to lay down their arms. The committee ſent an indemnity to ſuch as ſhould ſubmit, and while the ſtates were thus dealing with them, the commiſſion of the aſſembly were not wanting to ſhew their zeal againſt ſuch as ventured to diſturb the public peace, and it is ſaid that Mr. Guthrie here propoſed ſummary excommunication, as a cenſure Middleton deſerved, and as what he thought to be a ſuitable teſtimony from the church at this juncture. This higheſt ſentence was carried in the commiſſion by a plurality of votes, and Mr. Guthrie was appointed the next ſabbath to pronounce the ſentence. In the mean time the committee of eſtates (not without ſome debates) had agreed upon an indemnity to Middleton.—There was an expreſs ſent to Stirling with an account how things ſtood, and a letter deſiring Mr. Guthrie to forbear the intimation of the commiſſion's ſentence. But this letter coming to him juſt as he was going to the pulpit, he did not open it till the work was over, and though he had, it is a queſtion if he would have delayed the commiſſion's ſentence upon a private miſſive to himſelf. However the ſentence was inflicted, and although the commiſſion of the church Jan. 3, 1651. (being their next meeting) did relax Middleton from that cenſure, (and laid it on a better man, col. Strachan †) yet it is believed Middleton never forgave or forgot what Mr. Guthrie did upon that day, as will afterward be made more fully to appear.

Mr. Guthrie about this time wrote ſeveral of the papers upon the proteſtors ſide, for which, and his faithfulneſs, he was one of thoſe three who were depoſed by the pretended aſſembly at St. Andrews 1657. Yea, ſuch was the malice of theſe woeful reſolutioners, that upon his refuſal of one of that party, and acceſſion to the call of Mr. Rule, to be his colleague at Stirling (upon the death of Mr. Bennet *anno* 1656) they proceeded to ſtone this ſeer in Iſrael with ſtones, his teſtimony while alive ſo tormented the men who dwell upon the earth.

And as Mr. Guthrie did faithfully teſtify againſt the reſolutioners and the malignant party, ſo he did equally oppoſe himſelf to the ſectaries and to Cromwell's uſurpation; and although he went up to London *anno* 1657, when the marquis of Argyle procured an equal hearing betwixt the

† This unjuſt ſentence was pronounced in the high church of Glaſgow by Mr John Carſtairs, who prefaceth Mr Durham's poſthumous works, ſome of which are ſuppoſed to be vitiated by him eſpecially his treatiſe on ſcandal.

proteſtors and the reſolutioners, yet he ſo boldly defended the king's right in public debate with Hugh Peters, Oliver's chaplain, and from the pulpit aſſerted the king's title in the face of the Engliſh officers, as was ſurprizing to all gainſayers. Yet for this and other hardſhips that he endured on this account, at this time, he was but ſorrily rewarded, as by and by will come to be obſerved.

Very ſoon after the reſtoration, while Mr. Guthrie and ſome other of his faithful brethren (who aſſembled at Edinburgh) were drawing up a paper, *Aug.* 23d, in way of ſupplication tu his majeſty, they were all apprehended (except one who happily eſcaped) and impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and from thence Mr. Guthrie was taken to Stirling caſtle (the author of the apologetical relation ſays to Dundee), where he continued till a little before his trial, which was upon the 20th of February, 1661. When he came to his trial, the chancellor told him, He was called before them to anſwer to the charge of high treaſon, (a copy of which charge he had received ſome weeks before) and the lord advocate propoſed, his indictment ſhould be read; which the houſe went into: The heads of which were:

(1.) His contriving, conſenting to, and exhibiting before the committee of eſtates, the paper called, The weſtern remonſtrance.

(2.) His contriving, writing and publiſhing that abominable pamphlet, called, the cauſes of the Lord's wrath.

(3.) His contriving, writing and ſubſcribing the paper called the humble petition * of the twenty-third of *Auguſt* laſt.

(4.) His convocating of the king's lieges, *&c.*

(5.) His declaring his majeſty, by his appeals and proteſtations preſented by him at Perth, incapable to be judge over him. And,

(6.) Some treaſonable expreſſions he was alledged to have uttered in a meeting in 1650 or 1651.

His indictment being read, he made an excellent ſpeech before the parliament (wherein he both defended himſelf, and that noble cauſe for which he ſuffered), which being too nervous to abridge, and too prolix to inſert in this place: The reader will find it elſewhere †.

After he had delivered this ſpeech, he was ordered to remove. He humbly craved, that ſome time might be given

* See this paper called the humble petition in Crookſhank's hiſtory, vol. I. p. 64. † Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. p. 61.

ven him to conſult with his lawyers. This was granted; and he was allowed till the 29th to give in his defence.—It is affirmed, upon very good authority, that when he met with his lawyers to form his defence, he very much ſurprized them by his exactneſs in our Scots laws, and ſuggeſted ſeveral things to be added that had eſcaped his advocate, which made Sir John Niſbet expreſs himſelf to this purpoſe, "If it had been in the reaſoning part, or in conſequences from ſcripture and divinity, I would have wondered the leſs if he had given us ſome help, but even in the matter of our own profeſſion, our ſtatutes and acts of parliament, he pointed out ſeveral things that had eſcaped us." And likewiſe the day before his firſt appearance in parliament, it is ſaid he ſent a copy of the forementioned ſpeech to Sir John and the reſt of his lawyers of the reaſoning and law part, and they could mend nothing therein.

The advocate's conſidering his defence, and the giving of it in, took up ſome weeks, until April the 11th, when the proceſs againſt him was read in the houſe, upon which he made a ſpeech affecting and cloſe to the purpoſe; in which he concludes thus:

"My Lord, in the laſt place, I humbly beg, that having brought ſo pregnant and clear evidence from the word of God, ſo much divine reaſon and human laws, and ſo much of the common practice of kirk and kingdom in my defence; and being already caſt out of my miniſtry, out of my dwelling and maintenance; myſelf and my family put to live on the charity of others; having now ſuffered eight months impriſonment, your Lordſhips, would put no other burden upon me. I ſhall conclude with the words of the prophet Jeremiah, *Behold, I am in your hands*, ſaith he, *do to me what ſeemeth good to you: I know, for certain, that the Lord hath commanded me to ſpeak all theſe things; and that if you put me to death, you ſhall bring innocent blood upon yourſelves, and upon the inhabitants of this city.*"

"My Lords, my conſcience I cannot ſubmit; but this old crazy body and mortal fleſh I do ſubmit, to do with it whatever ye will, whether by death, or baniſhment, or impriſonment, or any thing elſe; only I beſeech you to ponder well what profit there is in my blood: it is not the extinguiſhing of me or many others, that will extinguiſh the covenant and work of reformation ſince the year 1638. My blood, bondage, or baniſhment will contribute more for the propagation of theſe things, than my

"life or liberty could do, though I ſhould live many "years, &c."

And though this ſpeech had not that influence that might have been expected, yet it made ſuch impreſſion upon ſome of the members that they withdrew, declaring to one another, that they would have nothing to do with the blood of this righteous man. But his judges were determined to proceed, and accordingly his indictment was found relevant. Bp. Burnet ‡ ſays, "The earl of Tweeddale was the only "man that moved againſt putting him to death; he ſaid, "Baniſhment had hitherto been the ſevereſt cenſure laid "upon preachers for their opinions,—yet he was condem-"ned to die." The day of his execution was not named till the 28th of May, when the parliament ordered him and William Govan to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh, on the firſt of June, and Mr. Guthrie's head to be fixed on the Nether-bow, his eſtate to be confiſcated, and his arms torn: and the head of the other upon the weſtport of Edinburgh.

And thus a ſentence of death was paſſed upon Mr. Guthrie, for his acceſſion to the cauſes of God's wrath, his writing the petition laſt year, and the proteſtation abovementioned; matters done a good many years ago, and every way agreeable and conform to the word of God, the principles and practice of this and other churches, and the laws of the kingdom. After he received his ſentence, he accoſted the parliament thus, "My lords, let never this ſen-"tence affect you more than it does me, and let never my "blood be required of the king's family."

Thus it was reſolved that this excellent man ſhould fall a ſacrifice to private and perſonal pique, as the marquis's was ſaid to be to a more exalted revenge; and it is ſaid, that the managers had no ſmall debate what his ſentence ſhould be, for he was dealt with by ſome of them to retract what he had done and written, and join with the preſent meaſures, and he was even offered a biſhopric. The other ſide were in no hazard in making the experiment, for they might be aſſured of his firmneſs in his principles. A biſhopric was a very ſmall temptation to him, and the commiſſioner improved his inflexibility to have his life taken away, to be a terror to others, that they might have the leſs oppoſition in eſtabliſhing prelacy.

Betwixt Mr. Guthrie's ſentence and his execution, he was in perfect compoſure and ſerenity of ſpirit, and wrote a great

‡ Hiſtory of his own times, page 127.

great many excellent letters to his friends and acquaintances. In this interval, he uttered ſeveral prophetical expreſſions, which, together with the foreſaid religious letters, could they now be recovered, might be of no ſmall uſe in this apoſtate and backſlidden age. June 1ſt, the day on which he was executed, upon ſome reports that he was to buy his life at the expence of retracting ſome of the things he had formerly ſaid and done, he wrote and ſubſcribed the following declaration.

"These are to declare that I do own the cauſes of God's "wrath, the ſupplication at Edinburgh Auguſt laſt, and "the acceſſion I had to the remonſtrances. And if any do "think, or have reported that I was willing to recede from "theſe, they have wronged me, as never having any "ground from me to think, or to report ſo. This I at-"teſt under my hand at Edinburgh, about eleven o'clock "forenoon, before theſe witneſſes."

Mr. Arthur Forbes, Mr. John Guthrie,
Mr. Hugh Walker, Mr. James Cowie.

That ſame day he dined with his friends with great cheerfulneſs. After dinner he called for a little cheeſe, which he had been diſſuaded from taking for ſome time, as not good for the gravel, which he was troubled with, and ſaid, I am now beyond the hazard of the gravel.—— When he had been ſecret for ſometime, he came forth with the utmoſt fortitude and compoſure, and was carried down under a guard from the tolbooth to the ſcaffold, which was erected at the croſs. Here he was ſo far from ſhewing any fear, that he rather expreſſed a contempt at death, and ſpake an hour upon the ladder with the compoſure of one delivering a ſermon. His laſt ſpeech is in Naphtali, where among other things becoming a martyr, he ſaith, "One thing I warn you all of, That God is ve-"ry wroth with Scotland, and threatens to depart, and "remove his candleſtick. The cauſes of his wrath are ma-"ny, and would to God it were not one great cauſe, that "cauſes of wrath are deſpiſed. Conſider the caſe that is "recorded, Jer. xxxvi. and the conſequences of it, and "tremble and fear. I cannot but alſo ſay that there is a "great addition of wrath by that deluge of profanity that "overfloweth all the land, in ſo far that many have not "only loſt all uſe and exerciſe of religion, but even of mo-"rality. 2. By that horrible treachery and perjury that "is in the matters of the covenant and cauſe of God. Be "ye aſtoniſhed, O ye heavens, at this! &c. 3. Horrible "in-

"ingratitude. The Lord, after ten years oppreſſion, hath "broken the yoke of ſtrangers, from off our necks, but "the fruits of our delivery, is to work wickedneſs and to "ſtrengthen our hands to do evil, by a moſt dreadful ſa-"criſicing to the creature. We have changed the glory of "the incorruptible God into the image of a corruptible "man, in whom many have placed almoſt all their ſalva-"tion. God is alſo wroth with a generation of carnal "corrupt time-ſerving miniſters. I know and do bear teſ-"timony, that in the church of Scotland there is a true "and faithful miniſtry, and I pray you to honour theſe, "for their works ſake. I do bear my witneſs to the na-"tional covenant of Scotland, and ſolemn league and co-"venant betwixt the three kingdoms. Theſe ſacred ſo-"lemn public oaths of God, I believe can be looſed or "diſpenſed with by no perſon or party or power upon "earth, but are ſtill binding upon theſe kingdoms, and "will be ſo for ever hereafter, and are ratified and ſealed "by the converſion of many thouſand ſouls, ſince our en-"tering thereinto. I bear my teſtimony to the proteſta-"tion againſt the controverted aſſemblies, and the public "reſolutions. I take God to record upon my ſoul, I would "not exchange this ſcaffold with the palace or mitre of "the greateſt prelate in Britain. Bleſſed be God, who "hath ſhewed mercy to me ſuch a wretch, and has reveal-"ed his Son in me, and made me a miniſter of the ever-"laſting goſpel, and that he hath deigned, in the midſt of "much contradictions from Satan and the world, to ſeal "my miniſtry upon the hearts of not a few of his people, "and eſpecially in the ſtation wherein I was laſt, I mean "the congregation and preſbytery of Stirling. Jeſus Chriſt "is my light and my life, my righteouſneſs, my ſtrength "and my ſalvation, and all my deſire. Him! O him! I "do with all the ſtrength of my ſoul commend to you. "Bleſs him, O my ſoul, from henceforth, even for ever!" He concluded with the words of old Simeon, *Now let thy ſervant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.* He gave a copy of this his laſt ſpeech and teſtimony, ſubſcribed and ſealed, to a friend to keep, which he was to deliver to his ſon, then a child, when he came to age. When on the ſcaffold he lifted the napkin off his face juſt before he was turned over and cried,

A few weeks after he was executed, and his head placed on the Neitherbow-port, Middleton's coach coming down that way, ſeveral drops of blood fell from the head upon the coach, which all their art and diligence could not wipe off,

off, and when phyſicians were called, and deſired to inquire, If any natural cauſe could be given for this, but they could give none. This odd incident being noiſed abroad, and all means tried, at length the leather was removed, and a new cover put on: But this was much ſooner done, than the wiping off the guilt of this great and good man's blood upon the ſhedders of it, and this poor nation *.

Thus fell the faithful Mr. James Guthrie, who was properly the firſt who ſuffered unto death in that period, for aſſerting the kingly prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt in oppoſition to Eraſtian ſupremacy. He was a man honoured of God to be zealous and ſingularly faithful in carrying on the work of reformation, and had carried himſelf ſtraight under all changes and revolutions, and becauſe he had been ſuch, he muſt live no longer. He did much for the intereſt of the king in Scotland, which the king no doubt was ſenſible of: When he got notice of his death, he ſaid with ſome warmth, "And what have you done with Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie." He was anſwered, that having ſo many friends in the houſe, his life could not be taken. Well, ſaid the king, "If I had known you would have ſpared "Mr. Gilleſpie, I would have ſpared Mr. Guthrie." And indeed he was not far out with it; for Mr. Guthrie was capable to have done him as much ſervice. For he was one accompliſhed with almoſt every qualification natural or acquired, neceſſary to complete both a man and a Chriſtian.

But it is a loſs we are favoured with ſo few of the writings of this worthy. For beſide thoſe papers already mentioned, he wrote ſeveral others upon the proteſtors ſide, among which was alſo a paper wrote againſt the uſurper Oliver Cromwel, for which he ſuffered ſome hardſhips during the time of that uſurpation. His laſt ſermon at Stirling preached from Matth xiv. 22. was publiſhed in 1738, intitled a cry from the dead, &c.; with his ten conſiderations anent the decay of religion, firſt publiſhed by himſelf in 1660.; and an authentic paper wrote and ſubſcribed by himſelf upon the occaſion of his being ſtoned by the reſolution party about 1656, for his acceſſion to the call of Mr. Robert Rule to be his colleague, after the death of Mr.

* Mr. Alexander Hamilton, when a ſtudent at the college of Edinburgh, at the hazard of his life, took down Mr. Guthrie's head and buried it, after it had ſtood a ſpectacle for twenty ſeven years; and it is obſervable that the very ſame perſon afterward ſucceeded him at Stirling, where he was miniſter for twelve years.

Mr. Bennet. He alſo wrote a treatiſe on ruling elders and deacons, about the time he entered into the miniſtry, which is now affixed to the laſt edition of his couſin Mr. William Guthrie's treatiſe of the trial of a ſaving intereſt in Chriſt.

The Life of JOHN CAMPBEL *Earl of Loudon.*

HE was heir to Sir James Campbel of Lawer, and huſband of Margaret Baroneſs of Loudon.

The firſt of his ſtate-preferments was *anno* 1633. when king Charles I. came to Scotland, in order to have his coronation performed there*. At which time he dignified ſeveral of the Scots nobility with higher titles of honour; and among the reſt this nobleman, who was created earl of Loudon May 12th, 1633.

It appears, that from his youth he had been well affected to the preſbyterian intereſt, for no ſooner did that reformation (commonly called the ſecond reformation) begin to take air, which was about the year 1637, than he appeared a principal promotter thereof, and that not only in joining theſe petitioners, afterwards called the covenanters, but alſo when the general aſſembly ſat down at Glaſgow in Nov. 1638, he thought it his honour to attend the ſame in almoſt every ſeſſion thereof, and was of great ſervice both by his advice in difficult caſes, and alſo by ſeveral excellent ſpeeches that he delivered therein. As witneſs, Upon the very entry, when the difference aroſe between the marquis of Hamilton the king's commiſſioner, and ſome of the reſt, anent chooſing a clerk to the aſſembly, the marquis refuſing to be aſſiſted by Traquair and Sir Lewis Stuart, urged ſeveral reaſons for compliance with his majeſty's pleaſure, *&c.* and at laſt renewed his proteſt, whereupon lord Loudon, in name of commiſſioners to the aſſembly, gave in reaſons of a pretty high ſtrain, why the lord commiſſioner and his aſſeſſors ought to have but one vote in the aſſembly, *&c.* Of theſe reaſons Traquair craved a double,

* He was crowned on the 8th of June by Sportſwood archbiſhop of St. Andrews, aſſiſted by the biſhops of Roſe and Murray, Laud then biſhop of London had the direction of the ceremony. He preached in the chapel royal, and inſiſted upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverence due to the ceremonies of the church, *&c.* But this diſcourſe was far from being to the guſt of the people. See Stevenſon's hiſtory, Vol. I. Bennet's memorial, page 178.

double, and promiſed to anſwer them, but it appears never found leiſure for this employment.

About this time, he told the king's commiſſioner roundly, "They knew no other bonds betwixt a king and his "ſubjects but religion and laws; and if theſe were broken, "mens lives were not dear to them. They would not be "ſo; ſuch fears were paſt with them *."

The king and the biſhops being galled to the heart to ſee that, by the aſſembly, preſbytery was almoſt reſtored, and prelacy well nigh aboliſhed, he immediately put himſelf at the head of an army in order to reduce them, *&c.* The Scots, hearing of the preparation, provided as well as they could. Both armies marched towards the border, but upon the approach of the Scots, the Engliſh were moved with great timidity, whereupon enſued a pacification.—— Commiſſioners being appointed to treat on both ſides, the Scots were permitted to make known their deſires; the lord Loudon being one of the Scots commiſſioners, upon his knees ſaid, "That their demand was only to enjoy their "religion and liberties, according to the eccleſiaſtical and "civil laws of the kingdom." The king replied, "That "if that was all that was to be deſired, the peace would "ſoon be made." And after ſeveral particulars were agreed upon, the king promiſed, "That all eccleſiaſtical "matters ſhould be decided by an aſſembly, and civil mat"ters by the parliament, which aſſembly ſhould be kept "once a-year. That on the 6th of Auguſt ſhould be held "a free general aſſembly when the king would be preſent, "and paſs an act of oblivion, *&c.*" The articles of the pacification were ſubſcribed June 18th, by the commiſſioners of both ſides, in view of both armies at kirks near Berwick, *anno* 1639.

But this treaty was ſhort-lived and ill obſerved, for the king irritated by the biſhops, ſoon after burnt the pacification by the hands of the hangman, charging the Scots with a breach of the articles of the treaty, although the earl of Loudon gave him ſufficient proofs to the contrary. Which freedom uſed by his lordſhip no way pleaſed the king; but he was ſuffered to return home, and the king kept his reſentment unto another opportunity.

In the mean time, the general aſſembly ſat down at Edinburgh, Auguſt 12th. Mr. Dickſon was choſen moderator, and at this aſſembly, after ſeveral matters were diſcuſſed, Meſſrs. Henderſon and Ramſay entered upon a

* Vide Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. page 69.

demonſtration, that epiſcopacy hath its beginning from men, and is of human inſtitution, &c. But they had not proceeded far, till they were interrupted by Traquair, the king's commiſſioner, who declared he did not deſire them to fall upon any ſcholaſtic diſpute, but how far thoſe in the reformation had found epiſcopacy contrary to the conſtitution of this church; whereupon the truly noble lord Loudon (being preſent) did moſt ſolidly explain the act of the general aſſembly, 1580, which condemned the office of biſhops in the moſt expreſs terms, prior to the ſubſcription of the national covenant, and becauſe of a difficulty raiſed from theſe words in that act, *viz.* (as it was then uſed) his lordſhip obſerved that in the aſſemblies 1560, 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578, epiſcopacy came ſtill under conſideration, though not directly as to the office, yet as to the corruption, &c. and having enlarged upon the office of biſhops as without a warrant from the word of God, he concludes—"As we have ſaid, ſo that the connection "between the aſſemblies of 1574, and of 1581, is quite "clear; epiſcopacy is put out as wanting warrant from the "word of God, and preſbytery put in, as having that di-"vine warrant; and was accordingly ſworn unto."

The ſame day on which the aſſembly aroſe, the parliament ſat down, but falling upon matters that did not correſpond with the king's deſign, Traquair did all he could to ſtop them that they might have nothing done, whereupon they agreed to ſend up the earls of Dunfermline and Loudon to implore his majeſty to allow the parliament to proceed, and to determine what was before them, &c. But ere theſe two lords had reached the court, orders were ſent them diſcharging them in the king's name, from coming within a mile of him, on ſuppoſition they had no expreſs warrant from the lord commiſſioner; and they were returned home.

In the mean time the parliament by the kings orders is prorogued to the 2d of June 1640, and matters continued ſo till Jan. 1641, that the committee of parliament having obtained leave to ſend up commiſſioners to repreſent their grievances, did again commiſſion the two foreſaid earls, to whom they added Sir William Douglas of Cavers, and Mr. Barclay provoſt of Irvine. On their arrival they were allowed to kiſs the king's hand, and ſome time after were appointed to attend at the council chamber, but underſtanding they were not to have a hearing of the king himſelf, they craved a copy of Traquair's information to the council of England, which was denied. At laſt the king

gave

gave them audience himſelf upon the third of March, when the lord Loudon, after having addreſſed his majeſty, ſhewed that his ancient and native kingdom is independent upon any other judicatory whatever, and craved his majeſty's protection in defence of religion, liberty, and the cauſe of the church and kingdom, and then ſpeaking concerning thoſe who have or may miſrepreſent or traduce theſe his moſt loyal Scots ſubjects, he ſays, "If it pleaſe "God, for our ſins to make our condition ſo deplorable "as they may get the ſhadow of your majeſty's authority, "(as we hope in God they will not) to palliate theirends, "then as thoſe who are ſworn to defend our religion, our "recourſe muſt be only to the God of Jacob for our re-"fuge, who is the Lord of lords, and king of kings, and by "whom kings do reign and princes decree juſtice. And "if, in ſpeaking thus out of zeal to religion, and the duty "we owe to our country, and that charge which is laid u-"pon us, any thing hath eſcaped us, ſith it is ſpoken from "the ſincerity of our hearts, we fall down at your ma-"jeſty's feet, craving pardon for our freedom." Again having eloquently expatiated upon the deſires of his ſubjects, and the laws of the kingdom, he ſpeaks of the laws of God and power of the church, and ſays, "Next, we "muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt the church and the ſtate, be-"twixt the eccleſiaſtical and civil power; both which are "materially one, yet formally they are contradiſtinct in "power, in juriſdiction, in laws, in bodies, in ends, in "offices and officers, and although the church and eccle-"ſiaſtic aſſemblies thereof be formally different and diſ-"tinct from the parliament and civil judicatories, yet there "is ſo ſtrict and neceſſary a conjunction betwixt the eccle-"ſiaſtic and civil juriſdiction, betwixt religion and juſtice; "as the one cannot firmly ſubſiſt and be preſerved without "the other, and therefore they muſt ſtand and fall, live "and die together, *&c*". He enlarged further upon the privileges of both church and ſtate, and then concluded with mentioning the ſum of their deſires, which——"is "that your majeſty (ſaith he) may be graciouſly pleaſed to "command that the parliament may proceed freely to de-"termine all theſe articles given in to them, and whatſo-"ever exceptions, objections, or informations are made "againſt any of the particular overtures, *&c.* we are moſt "willing to receive the ſame in write, and are content in "the ſame way, to return our anſwers and humble deſires*."

* Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I page 140.

March 11, the commiſſioners appeared, and brought their inſtructions, whereupon enſued ſome reaſonings betwixt them and the king, in which time archbiſhop Laud, who ſat on the king's right-hand, was obſerved to mock the Scots commiſſioners, cauſing the king put ſuch queſtions to them as he pleaſed. At laſt Traquair gave in ſeveral queries and objections to them, unto which they gave moſt ſolid and ſufficient anſwers in every particular.

But this farce being over, for it ſeems nothing elſe was here intended by the court than to intrap the commiſſioners, (and particularly this noble earl who had ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the laws and liberties of his native country). In the end, all the deputies, by the king's order, were taken into cuſtody, and the earl of Loudon ſent to the tower for a letter alledged to be wrote by him, and ſent by the Scots to the French king, as to their ſovereign, imploring his aid againſt their natural king, of the following tenor:

"*SIRE*,

"YOUR majeſty being the refuge and ſanctuary of afflicted princes and ſtates, we have found it neceſſary to ſend this gentleman Mr. Colvil, to repreſent unto your majeſty, the candor and ingenuity as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our inventions, which we deſire to be ingraven and written in the whole world, with a beam of the ſun, as well as to your majeſty. We therefore beſeech you, Sire, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he ſhall ſay on our part, touching us and our affairs. Being much aſſured, Sire, of an aſſiſtance equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and ſo often ſhewed to the nation, which will not yield the glory of any other whatſoever, ſo be eternally, Sire, your majeſty's moſt humble, moſt obedient and moſt affectionate ſervants."

THIS letter, ſays a hiſtorian *, was adviſed to and compoſed by Montroſe, when the king was coming againſt Scotland with a potent army, tranſcribed by lord London, and ſubſcribed by them two and the lords Rothes, Marr, Montgomery and Forreſter, and general Leſlie; but the tranſlation being found faulty by lord Maitland, *&c.* it was dropped altogether, which copy wanted both the date, which the worſt of its enemies never pretended it had, and a direction, which the Scots confidently affirmed it never had,

* Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. I. p. 180.

had; but falling into the king's hand (by means of Traquair), he intended to make a handle of it, to make lord Loudon the firſt ſacrifice. This noble lord being examined before the council, did very honeſtly acknowledge the hand writing and ſubſcription to be his; but ſaid, It was before the late pacification, when his majeſty was marching in hoſtility againſt his native country; that in theſe circumſtances it ſeemed neceſſary to have an interceſſor to mitigate his wrath, and they could think of none ſo well qualified as the French king, being the neareſt relation by affinity to their ſovereign of any other crowned head in the world; but that being but ſhortly thought on before the arrival of the Engliſh on the border, was judged too late, and therefore was never either addreſſed by them, or ſent to the French king.

Notwithſtanding this evil was intended againſt this noble peer, and being re-manded back to priſon, was very near being diſpatched, and that not only without the benefit of his peers, but without any legal trial or conviction. Burnet fairly acknowledges †, that the king was adviſed to proceed capitally againſt him. But the Engliſh hiſtorians ‡ go ſtill farther, and plainly ſay, That the king about three o'clock in the afternoon, ſent his own letter to William Balfour lieutenant of the tower, commanding him to ſee the lord Loudon's head ſtruck off, within the tower, before nine the next morning, (a ſtriking demonſtration of the juſt and forgiving ſpirit for which by ſome king Charles is ſo much extolled). Upon this command, the lieutenant of the tower, that his lordſhip might prepare for death, gave him notice of it; which awful intimation, he (knowing the juſtice of his cauſe) received with aſtoniſhing compoſure and ſerenity of mind. The lieutenant went himſelf to the marquis of Hamilton, who he thought was bound in honour to interpoſe in this matter. The marquis and the lieutenant made their way to the king, who was then in bed. The warrant was ſcarce named, when the king, underſtanding their errand, ſtopped them, ſaying, By G--d it ſhall be executed. But the marquis laying before him the odiouſneſs of the fact, by the violation of the ſafe conduct he had granted to that nobleman, and the putting him to death without conviction, or ſo much as a legal trial, with the diſmal conſequences that were like to attend an action of that nature, not only in reſpect of Scotland, which

† Memoirs of the duke of Hamilton, p. 163.
‡ Rushworth's hiſtory, vol. I. Oldmixon, vol. I. p. 140.

which would certainly be loſt, but likewiſe of his own perſonal ſafety from the nobility. Whereupon the king called for the warrant, tore it, and diſmiſſed the marquis and the lieutenant ſomewhat abruptly.—After this, about the 28th of June, this noble lord (upon promiſe of concealing from his brethren in Scotland the hard treatment he had met with from the king, and of contributing his endeavours to diſpoſe them to peace) was liberated from his confinement, and allowed to return home.

But things being now ripened for a new war, the king put himſelf at the head of another army, in order to ſuppreſs the Scots: On the other hand the Scots reſolved not to be behind in their preparations, and entered England with a numerous army, moſtly of veteran troops, many of whom had ſerved in Germany under Guſtavus Adolphus *. A party of the king's forces diſputed the paſſage of the Tyne, but were defeated by them at Newburn; whereupon the Scots took Newcaſtle and Berwick, puſhing their way as far as Durham. Here the noble earl of Loudon acted no mean part, for he not only gained upon the citizens of Edinburgh and other places, to contribute money and other neceſſaries, for the uſe and ſupply of the Scots army, but alſo commanded a brigade of horſe, with whom, in the foreſaid ſkirmiſh at Newburn, he had no ſmall ſhare of the victory. The king retired to York, and finding himſelf environed on all hands, appointed commiſſioners to treat with the Scots a ſecond time. On the other ſide, the Scots nominated the earls of Dunfermline, Rothes, and Loudoun, with ſome gentlemen, and Meſſrs. Henderſon and Johnſon, advocates for the church, as their commiſſioners for the treaty. Both commiſſioners upon Oct. 1, 1640, met at Rippon, where, after agreeing upon ſome articles for a ceſſation of arms for three months, the treaty was transferred to London. Unto which the Scots commiſſioners (upon a patent granted from the king for their ſafe conduct) conſented and went thither. And becauſe great hopes were entertained by friends in England, from their preſence and influence at London, the committee at Newcaſtle appointed Mr. Robert Blair, for his dexterity in dealing with the Independents; Mr. Robert Bailey, for his eminence in managing the Arminian controverſy; and Mr. George Gilleſpie for his nervous and pithy confutation of the Engliſh ceremonies, to accompany

* See Dr. Welwood's memoirs, p. 30.

by the three noblemen, as their chaplains: And Meſſrs. Smith and Borthwick followed ſoon after.

After this treaty, things went pretty ſmooth for ſome time in Scotland, but the king, not reliſhing the proceedings of the Engliſh parliament, made a tour next year to Scotland, where he attended the Scots parliament. When this parliament ſat down (before the king's arrival), Traquair, Montroſe, and ſeveral other incendiaries, having been cited before them for ſtirring up ſtrife between the king and his ſubjects, for undoing the covenanters, of whom ſome appeared, and ſome appeared not. In the mean while, the noble earl of Loudoun ſaid ſo much in favours of ſome of them, diſcharging himſelf ſo effectually of all the orders laid on him laſt year by the king, that ſome, forgetting the obligation he came under to ſteer with an even hand, began to ſuſpect him of changing ſides, ſo that he was well nigh left out of the commiſſion to England with the parliament's agreement to the treaty; which ſo much offended his lordſhip, that he ſupplicated the parliament to be examined by them of his paſt conduct and negotiations, if they found him faithful (ſo far was he emboldened, having the teſtimony of a good cenſcience), which grieved the members of the houſe very much. The houſe declared, indeed, that he had behaved himſelf faithfully and wiſely in all his public employments, and that he not only deſerved to have an act of approbation, but likewiſe to be rewarded by the eſtates, that their favours and his merit might be known to poſterity, *&c.* They further conſidered, that the loſs of ſuch an eminent inſtrument could not be eaſily ſupplied. The Engliſh dealt not ſo freely with any of our commiſſioners, as with lord Loudon, nor did ever any of our commiſſioners uſe ſo much ingenuous freedom with his majeſty as he did; and he behoved once more to return to London, with the treaty new-reviſed by the parliament, ſubſcribed by the lord preſident and others.

After the return of the commiſſioners, the king being arrived in parliament, they began to dignify ſeveral of the Scots nobility with offices of ſtate, and becauſe a lord-treaſurer was a-wanting, it was moved that none did deſerve that office ſo well as the earl of Loudon, who had done ſo much for his country. But the king, judging more wiſely in this, thought it was more difficult to find a fit perſon for the chancery than for the treaty, was obliged to make the earl of Loudon chancellor, contrary, both to his own inclination (for he never was ambitious of preferment)

and

and to the ſolicitation of his friends. But to make amends for the ſmallneſs of his fees, an annual penſion of 1000 pounds was added to this office.

Accordingly upon the 2d of Oct. 1642, this noble lord did ſolemnly, in the face of the parliament, on his bended knees, before the throne, firſt ſwear the oath of allegiance, then that of private counſellor, and laſtly, when the great ſeal, (which for two years had been kept by the marquis of Hamilton) was with the mace delivered to him out of his majeſty's hand, he did ſwear the oath *de fideli adminiſtratione officii*, and was by the lion king at arms, placed in the ſeat under his majeſty's feet, on the right hand of the lord preſident of parliament; from thence he immediately aroſe, and proſtrating himſelf before the king, ſaid, "Preferment "comes neither from the eaſt nor from the weſt, but from "God alone. I acknowledge, I have this from your ma"jeſty as from God's vicegerent upon earth, and the foun"tain of all earthly honour here, and I will endeavour to "anſwer that expectation your majeſty has of me, and to "deſerve the good-will of this honourable houſe, in faith"fully diſcharging what you both (without deſert of mine) "have put on me. And kiſſing his majeſty's hand, he re-tired to his ſeat.

This was a notable turn of affairs from the womb of providence; for behold him, who laſt year, (for the cauſe of Chriſt and love of his country) in all ſubmiſſion receiving the meſſage or ſentence of death, is now, for his great wiſdom and prudence, advanced by the ſame perſon and authority unto the helm of the higheſt affairs of the kingdom; which verifies what the wiſe man ſaith, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom, and before honour is humility*, Prov. xv. 33.

As ſoon as this excellent nobleman was advanced unto this dignity and office, he not only began to exert his power for the utility and welfare of his own native country, but alſo, the next year, went up to London to importune his majeſty to call his Engliſh parliament, as the moſt expedient way to bring about a firm, permanent or laſting peace betwixt the two kingdoms. And although he was not one of thoſe commiſſioners nominated and ſent up from the parliament and aſſembly of the church of Scotland, *anno* 1643, yet it is evident from a letter ſent from them while at London, bearing the date of Jan. 6th, 1645, that he was amongſt them there, uſing his utmoſt endeavours for bringing about that happy uniformity of religion, in doctrine, diſcipline, and church-government, which

which took place, and was eſtabliſhed in theſe nations at that time.

And next year, before the king ſurrendered himſelf to the Scots army to Newcaſtle, lord Loudon, being ſent up as commiſſioner to the king, (after the lord Leven at the head of 100 officers in the army had preſented a petition upon their knees, beſeeching his majeſty to give them ſatisfaction in point of religion, and to take the covenant, *&c.*) did, in plain terms, accoſt the king in this manner: "The difference between your majeſty and your parliament "is grown to ſuch an height, that after many bloody bat-"tles, they have your majeſty with all your garriſons and "ſtrong holds in their hands, *&c.* They are in a capacity "now to do what they will in church and ſtate; and ſome "are ſo afraid, and others ſo unwilling to proceed to ex-"tremities, till they know your majeſty's laſt reſolution. "Now, Sire, if your majeſty ſhall refuſe your aſſent to the "propoſitions, you will loſe all your friends in the houſe "and in the city, and all England will join againſt you, as "one man; they will depoſe you and ſet up another go-"vernment; they will charge us to deliver your majeſty to "them, and remove our arms out of England, and upon "your refuſal, we will be obliged to ſettle religion and "peace without you, which will ruin your majeſty and your "poſterity. We own, the propoſitions are higher in ſome "things than we approve of, but the only way to eſtabliſh "your majeſty is to conſent to them at preſent. Your ma-"jeſty may recover, in a time of peace, all that you have "loſt in a time of tempeſt and trouble." Whether or not the king found him a true prophet in all this, muſt be left to the hiſtory of theſe times.

He was again employed in the like errand to the king, *anno* 1648, but with no better ſucceſs, as appears from two excellent ſpeeches to the Scots parliament at his return, concerning theſe proceedings †. And in the ſame year, in the month of June, he was with a handful of covenanters at a communion at Mauchline muir, where they were ſet upon by Calender and Middleton's forces, after they had given their promiſe to his lordſhip of the contrary.

Although this noble earl (through the influence of the earl of Lanerk) had given his conſent at firſt to the king, who was ſetting on foot an army for his own reſcue, yet he came to be among thoſe who proteſted againſt the duke

† See theſe ſpeeches in the hiſtory of church and ſtate, vol. III. pages 1215 21.

of Hamilton's unlawful engagement. To account ſome way for this,—He had before received a promiſe of a gift of the teinds, and a gift ſometimes blindeth the eyes, and much more of a nobleman whoſe eſtate was at that time ſomewhat burdened; but by converſing with ſome of the proteſting ſide, and ſome miniſters, who diſcovered to him his miſtake (when his foot was well nigh ſlipt), he was ſo convinced that this was contrary to his truſt, that he ſubſcribed an admonition to more ſtedfaſtneſs for the commiſſion of the church, in the high church of Edinburgh.

But at laſt Charles I, being executed, and his ſon Charles II. called home by the Scots, a new ſcene begins to appear *anno* 1650, for malignants being then again brought into places of power and truſt, it behoved the lord chancellor (who never was a friend to malignants) to demit. He had now for near the ſpace of ten years preſided in parliament, and had been highly inſtrumental in the hand of the Lord, to eſtabliſh in this nation, both in church and ſtate, the pureſt reformation that ever was eſtabliſhed in any particular nation, under the new Teſtament diſpenſation; but now he was turned out, and lord Burleigh ſubſtituted in his place.

In what manner he was moſtly employed during the time of Cromwel's uſurpation, there is no certain account, only it is probable, that notwithſtanding the many ſtruggles he had in aſſerting the king's intereſt, he moſtly lived a private life, as moſt of the noblemen and gentlemen of the nation did at that time.

But no ſooner was the king reſtored again unto his dominions, than theſe lands did again return back unto the old vomit of popery, prelacy and ſlavery; and it is inconceivable to expreſs the grief of heart this godly nobleman ſuſtained, when he beheld not only the carved work of the ſanctuary cut down, by defacing that glorious ſtructure of reformation, which he had ſuch an eminent hand in erecting and building up, but alſo to find himſelf at the king's mercy, for his acceſſion to the ſame. He knew, that next to the marquis of Argyle, he was the butt of the enemies malice, and he had frequently applied for his majeſty's grace, but was as often refuſed; ſo that the violent courſes now carrying on, and the plain invaſions upon the liberties and religion of the nation made him weary of his life; and being then at Edinburgh, he often exhorted his excellent lady to pray faſt, that he might never ſee the next ſeſſion of parliament, elſe he might follow his dear friend the marquis of Argyle; and the Lord was pleaſed to grant

his

his requeſt: For he died in a moſt Chriſtian manner at Edinburgh March 15th, 1662, and his corpſe was carried home and interred beſide his anceſtors.

The moſt exaggerated praiſes that can be at preſent beſtowed on this renowned patriot, the worthy earl of Loudon, muſt be far below his merit, who was poſſeſſed of ſuch ſingular prudence, eloquence and learning, joined with remarkable courage. Which excellent endowments he invariably applied for the ſupport of our ancient and admirable conſtitution, which he maintained upon all hazards and occaſions; whereby he might be truly accounted the chief advocate both for the civil and religious liberties of the people. To ſum up all in a few words: he was a moſt exquiſite orator in the ſenate, a refined politician without what ſome would ſay it is impoſſible to be ſo, and an honour to his name, an ornament to this nation, and in every virtue in politic, ſocial and domeſtic life, a pattern worthy of imitation. And although HIS OFFSPRING * have hitherto all along retained a ſenſe of their civil liberties, yet it is to be lamented, that few or none of our noblemen at this day, will follow his example.

* His ſon James earl of Loudon ſuffered much after his father's death, during the perſecuting period; and at laſt was obliged to leave his native country, and died an exile at Leyden, after having endured a ſeries of hardſhips. And there are recent inſtances of the truly noble and independent ſpirit for liberty this worthy family have all along retained, which, we doubt not, will be tranſmitted to their poſterity.

The Life of Mr. ROBERT BAILEY.

MR. ROBERT BAILEY was born at Glaſgow *anno* 1539. His father was a citizen there, being lineally deſcended from Bailey of Jerviſton, a brother of the houſe of Carphin, and a branch of the ancient houſe of Lamington, all in the county of Lanerk; and by his mother's ſide, he was of the ſame ſtock with the Gibſons of Durie, who have made ſuch a figure in the law. He received his education at Glaſgow, and, at that univerſity, plied his ſtudies ſo hard, that, by his induſtry and uncommon genius, he attained to the knowledge of twelve or

thirteen of the languages, and could write a Latin ſtyle, that, in the opinion of the learned, might well become the Auguſtan age.

After his ſtudy of divinity, he took orders from arch-biſhop Law, about the year 1622, and was ſoon after preſented by the earl of Eglinton to the church of Kilwinning. When the reformation began *anno* 1637, he wanted not his own difficulties, from his education and tenderneſs of the king's authority, to ſee through ſome of the meaſures then taken. Yet after reaſoning, reading and prayer, (as he himſelf expreſt it) he came heartily into the covenanters intereſt about that time.

Being a man of diſtinct and ſolid judgment, he was often employed in the public buſineſs of the church. In 1638, he was choſen by his own preſbytery, to be a member of that memorable aſſembly held at Glaſgow, where he behaved himſelf with great wiſdom and moderation.

He was alſo one of thoſe who attended as chaplains to the army in 1639, and 1640, and was preſent during the whole treaty begun at Rippon and concluded at London. ——What comfort he had in theſe things he deſcribes in theſe words, "As for myſelf, I never found my mind in a "better temper than it was all that time, from my outſet "until my head was again homeward. I was one who had "taken leave of the world, and reſolved to die in that ſer-"vice. I found the favour of God ſhining on me, and a "ſweet, meek and humble, yet ſtrong and vehement ſpirit "leading me along." The ſame year 1640, he was by the covenanting lords ſent to London to draw up an accuſation againſt arch-biſhop Laud, for the innovations he had obtruded upon the church of Scotland.

He was tranſlated from Kilwinning to be profeſſor of divinity at Glaſgow, when Mr. David Dickſon was tranſlated from thence to the divinity chair at Edinburgh. And he was one of thoſe commiſſioners ſent from the church of Scotland to the Weſtminſter aſſembly *anno* 1645, where he remained almoſt the whole time of that aſſembly. And after they roſe, as an acknowledgement of his good ſervices, the parliament of England made him a handſome preſent of ſilver plate, with an inſcription, ſignifying it to be a token of their great reſpect to him, which not long ſince was to be ſeen in the houſe of Carnbrue, being carefully preſerved, and perhaps it remains there to this day.

By his firſt wife Lillias Fleming he had one ſon and four daughters, by his ſecond wife, principal Strang's daughter, he

he had one daughter who was married to Walkinſhaw of Barrowfield.

About this time he was a great confident of the marquis of Argyle, the earls of Caſſils, Eglinton, Lauderdale, and Loudon, lord Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnſton lord Warriſton, with others of the chief managers among the covenanters, whereby he obtained the moſt exact knowledge of the tranſactions of that time, which he has carefully collected in his letters; as he expreſſes himſelf, there was not any one from whom his correſpondent could get a more full narrative under Cromwell's uſurpation. He joined with that party called reſolutioners, and compoſed ſeveral of the papers belonging to that ſide *anno* 1661. He was by Lauderdale's intereſt, made principal of the college of Glaſgow, upon the removal of Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie, about which time it is commonly ſaid, he had a biſhopric offered him, but that he refuſed it, becauſe, ſays the writer of the memorial*, he did not chooſe to enter into a diſpute with thoſe, with whom he had formerly lived in friendſhip. But this was only a ſly way of wounding an amiable character, for Mr. Bailey continued firmly attached to preſbyterian government, and in oppoſition to prelacy to his very laſt; ſeveral inſtances could be brought to this purpoſe, but a few excerpts from ſome of his own letters, particularly one to Lauderdale a little before his death†, may effectually wipe away that reproach. "Having the occaſion of this bearer, I tell you my heart is "broken with grief, and I find the burthen of the public "weighty, and haſtening me to my grave. What need "you do that diſſervice to the king, which all of you "cannot recompenſe, to grieve the hearts of all your godly friends in Scotland, with pulling down all our laws at "once, which concerned our church ſince 1633? Was "this good advice, or will it thrive? Is it wiſdom to bring "back upon us the Canterburian times, the ſame deſigns, "the ſame practices? Will they not bring on the ſame effects, whatever fools dream?" And again, in the ſame letter downward, he ſays, "My lord, you are the noble"man in all the world I love beſt, and eſteem moſt.——I "think I may ſay I write to you what I pleaſe. If you "have gone with your heart to forſake your covenant; to "countenance the re-introduction of biſhops and books, and

* Of his life prefixed to his letters.

† See this and another of his letters to Lauderdale, Wodrow's hiſtory, Vol. I. page 129.

" and ſtrengthen the king by your advice in thoſe things, " I think you a prime tranſgreſſor, and liable among the " firſt to anſwer for that great ſin, *&c.*" And when the arch-biſhop came to viſit him, when on his death-bed, he would not ſo much as give him the appellation of lord: yea it appears, that the introduction of prelacy was a mean of bringing on his death, as appears evident from his laſt public letter to his couſin Mr. Spang, dated May 12, 1662, ſome weeks before his death. After ſome account of the weſt-country miniſters, being called in to Edinburgh, he ſays, " The guiſe is now, the biſhops will trouble no man, " but the ſtates will puniſh ſeditious miniſters. This poor " church is in the moſt hard taking that ever we have ſeen. " This is my daily grief; this hath brought all my bodily " trouble on me, and is like to do me more harm. And very quickly after that, in the month of July, he got to his reſt and glorious reward, being aged 63 years.

Mr. Robert Bailey may very juſtly, for his profound and univerſal learning, exact and ſolid judgment, be accounted amongſt the great men of his time. He was an honour to his country, and his works do praiſe him in the gates; among which are, his ſcripture-chronology, wrote in latin; his Canterburian ſelf-conviction; his parallel or compariſon of the liturgy with the maſs-book; his diſſuaſive againſt the errors of the times; and a large manuſcript collection of hiſtorical papers and letters, conſiſting of four volumes *folio*, beginning at the year 1637, and ending at the reſtoration, never hitherto publiſhed. To him is, by ſome, aſcribed that book, intitled, *Hiſtoria motuum in regno Scotiæ, annis* 1634,———1640.; and if he was the author of that, then alſo of another anonymous paper called, a ſhort relation of the ſtate of the kirk of Scotland, from the reformation of religion to the month of October 1638. For, from the preface of the laſt mentioned book, it appears, that both were wrote by the ſame hand. He alſo wrote Laudenſium, an anecdote againſt Arminianiſm; a reply to the modeſt enquirer, with other tracts and ſome ſermons on public occaſion.

N. B. In the life and now publiſhed letters of principal Bailie, we have a recent proof of human frailty.—Nay more, that even great and good men will be biaſſed in judgment, aud prejudiced in mind at others more faithful than themſelves: for inſtance, theſe very noblemen and miniſters to whom he gives the higheſt elogiums of praiſe, for being the prime inſtruments in God's hand for carry-

carrying on the work of reformation betwixt 1638, and 1649,—As ſoon as they took the remonſtrators ſide, he not only repreſents ſome of them to be of ſuch a character as I ſhall forbear to mention; but even gives us a very diminutive view of their moſt faithful contendings about that time; wherein the gallant Argyle,—couragious Loudon,—the able ſtateſman Warriſton,—faithful Guthrie,—godly Rutherford,—peaceable Livingſton,—honeſt M'Ward, *&c.* cannot evite their ſhare of reflections; which no doubt add nothing to the credit of the laſt ten years of his hiſtory; and all from a miſtaken view of the controverſy betwixt thoſe proteſtors and his own party the reſolutioners; taking all the diviſions and calamities that befel church, ſtate and army at that time to proceed from the proteſtors not concurring with them; whereas it is juſt the reverſe; the taking in Charles II. that atheiſtical wretch, and his malignant faction into the boſom of the church, proved the Achan in the camp, that brought all theſe evils upon the church, ſtate, and army, at and ſince that time.—Theſe proteſtors could not ſubmit their conſciences to the arbitrary dictates of the public reſolutioners: they could not agree to violate their almoſt newly ſworn covenant, by approving of the admiſſion of theſe wicked malignants into public places of power and truſt;—in defence of which many of them faced the awful gibbet, baniſhment, impriſonment, and other excruciating hardſhips;—whereas ſeveral hundreds of the reſolutioners, on the very firſt blaſt of temptation, involved themſelves in fearful apoſtacy and perjury; ſome of them became violent perſecutors of theſe their faithful brethren, and not a few of them abſolute monſters of iniquity.—The dreadful effects of which have almoſt ruined both church and ſtate in theſe lands; and perhaps this ſame malignant faction will utterly do it at laſt, if the Lord in mercy prevent not. For the above, ſee Bailie's letters, Vol. II. page 350,——448.

The Life of Mr. DAVID DICKSON.

MR. DICKSON was born about the year 1583. He the only ſon of Mr. John Dick or Dickſon merchant in Glaſgow, whoſe father was an old feuar and poſſeſſor of ſome lands in the barony of Fintry, and pariſh of St.

St. Ninian's, called the kirk of the muir. His parents were religious, of a conſiderable ſubſtance, and were many years married before they had Mr. David, who was their only child; and as he was a Samuel aſked of the Lord, ſo he was early devoted to him and the miniſtry; yet afterwards the vow was forgot, till providence by a rod, and ſore ſickneſs on their ſon, brought their ſins to remembrance, and then he was ſent to reſume his ſtudies at the univerſity of Glaſgow.

Soon after he had received the degree of maſter of arts, he was admitted profeſſor of philoſophy in that college, where he was very uſeful in training up the youth in ſolid learning; and with the learned principal Boyd of Trochridge, the worthy Mr. Blair, and other pious members of that ſociety, his pains were ſingularly bleſſed in reviving decayed ſerious piety among the youth, in that declining and corrupted time, a little after the impoſition of prelacy upon the church. Here by a recommendation of the general aſſembly not long after our reformation from popery, the regents were only to continue eight years in their profeſſion; after which, ſuch as were found qualified were licenſed, and upon a call after trial were admitted to the holy miniſtry; by which conſtitution the church came to be filled with miniſters well ſeen in all the branches of uſeful learning. Accordingly Mr. Dickſon was in 1618, ordained miniſter to the town of Irvine, where he laboured for about twenty-three years.

That ſame year the corrupt aſſembly at Perth agreed to the five articles impoſed upon the church by the king and the prelates. Mr. Dickſon at firſt had no great ſcruple againſt epiſcopacy, as he had not ſtudied thoſe queſtions much, till the articles were impoſed by this meeting, and then he cloſely examined them; and the more he looked into them, the more averſion he found to them; and when ſome time after, by a ſore ſickneſs, he was brought within views of death and eternity, he gave open teſtimony of the ſinfulneſs of them.

But when this came to take air, Mr. James Law, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, ſummoned him to appear before the high-commiſſion court Jan. 29, 1622. Mr. Dickſon, at his entrance to the miniſtry at Irvine, preached upon 2 Cor. v. 11. The firſt part, *knowing the terrors of the Lord, we perſuade men;* and when he perceived, at this juncture, a ſeparation (at leaſt for a time); the Sabbath before his compearance, he choſe the next words of that text, *but we are made manifeſt unto God:* extraordinary power and ſingular

gular movings of the affections accompanied that parting ſermon.

Mr. Dickſon appeared before the commiſſion, where after the ſummons being read, and ſome other reaſoning among the biſhops, he gave in his declinature, upon which ſome of the biſhops whiſpering in his ear (as if they had favoured him upon the good report they had heard of him and his miniſtry), ſaid to him, Take it up, take it up.—— He anſwered calmly, I laid it not down for that end, to take it up again. Spotſwood, arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, aſked if he would ſubſcribe it. He profeſſed himſelf ready. The clerk, at the biſhop's deſire, began to read it, but had ſcarce read three lines, till the biſhop burſt forth in railing ſpeeches, full of gall and bitterneſs, and turning to Mr. David, he ſaid, "Theſe men will ſpeak of humility "and meekneſs, and talk of the Spirit of God, &c. but ye "are led by the ſpirit of the devil; there is more pride in "you, I dare ſay, than in all the biſhops of Scotland. I "hanged a jeſuit in Glaſgow for the like fault." Mr. David anſwered, "I am not a rebel; I ſtand here as the king's "ſubject, &c. grant me the benefit of the law, and of a "ſubject, and I crave no more." But the biſhop ſeemed to take no notice of theſe words. Aberdeen aſked him, Whether he would obey the king or not? He anſwered, "I will obey the king in all things in the Lord." I told you that, ſaid Glaſgow, I knew he would ſeek to his limitation. Aberdeen aſked again, May not the king give his authority that we have, to as many ſutors and taylors in Edinburgh, to ſit and ſee whether ye be doing your duty or not? Mr. David ſaid, My declinature anſwers to that. Then St. Andrews fell again to railing, The devil, ſaid he, will deviſe, he has ſcripture enough; and then called him knave, ſwinger, a young lad, and ſaid, He might have been teaching bairns in the ſchool, thou knoweſt what Ariſtotle ſaith, ſaid he, but thou haſt no theology, becauſe he perceived that Mr. Dickſon gave him no titles, but once called him Sir, he gnaſhed his teeth, and ſaid Sir, you might have called me lord; when I was in Glaſgow long ſince, ye called me ſo, but I cannot tell how, ye are become a puritan now. All this time he ſtood ſilent, and once lifted up his eyes to heaven, which St. Andrews called a proud look. So after ſome more reaſoning, betwixt him and the biſhops. St. Andrews pronounced the ſentence in theſe words, "We deprive you of your miniſtry at Irvine, "and ordain you to enter in Turref in the north in twen-"ty days." "The will of the Lord be done, ſaid Mr. Da-

" vid, though ye caſt me off, the Lord will take me up. " Send me whither ye will, I hope my Maſter will go with " me, and as he has been with me heretofore, he will be " with me ſtill, as with his own weak ſervant.

Mr. Dickſon continued preaching till the twenty days were expired, and then began his journey. But the earl of Eglinton prevailed with the biſhop of Glaſgow, that he might come to Eglinton, and preach there. But the people, from all quarters, reſorting to his ſermons in Eglinton's hall and court-yard, he enjoyed that liberty but two months; for the biſhop ſent him another charge, and he went to the place of his confinement.

While in Turref, he was daily employed to preach, by Mr. Thomas Mitchel miniſter there. But he found far greater difficulty both in ſtudying and preaching there, than formerly. Some time after, his friends prevailed with the biſhop of Glaſgow to repone him, upon condition he would take back his declinature, and for that purpoſe, wrote to Mr. Dickſon to come to Glaſgow. He came as deſired, and though many wiſe and gracious perſons urged him to yield, yet he could not be perſuaded; yea, at laſt it was granted to him, That if he, or any friend he pleaſed, would go to the biſhop's caſtle, and either lift the paper, or ſuffer his friend to take it off the hall-table, without ſeeing the biſhop at all, he might return to Irvine ——But he found that to be but a juggling in ſuch a weighty matter, in point of public teſtimony, and reſolved to meddle no farther in this matter, but to return to his confinement. Accordingly he began his journey, and was ſcarce a mile out of town, till his ſoul was filled with ſuch joy and approbation from God, that he ſeldom had the like.

But ſome time after, by the continual interceſſion of the earl of Eglinton and the town of Irvine with the biſhop, the earl got a licence to ſend for him, and a promiſe, that he ſhould ſtay till the king challenged him. Thus he returned, without any condition on his part, to his flock, about the end of July 1623.

While at Irvine, Mr. Dickſon's miniſtry was ſingularly countenanced of God, and multitudes were convinced and converted, and few who lived in his day, were more inſtrumental in this work than he, ſo that people, under exerciſe and ſoul-concern, came from every quarter about Irvine, and attended his ſermons; and the moſt eminent chriſtians, from all corners of the church, came and joined with him at the communion; which were then times of refreſhing, from the preſence of the Lord. Yea, not a

few

few came from diſtant places, and ſettled at Irvine, that they might be under the drop of his miniſtry, yet he himſelf obſerved, that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings of Ayr in Mr. Welch's time; where indeed the goſpel had wonderful ſucceſs in conviction, converſion and confirmation. Here he commonly had his week-days ſermon upon Monday, which was the market-day then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings, many perſons under ſoul-diſtreſs uſed to reſort to his houſe after ſermon, when uſually he ſpent an hour or two in anſwering their caſes, and directing and comforting thoſe who were caſt down.—In all which he had an extraordinary talent; indeed he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to ſpeak a word in ſeaſon to the weary ſoul. In a large hall, which was in his own houſe, there would ſometimes have been ſcores of ſerious Chriſtians waiting for him after he came from church. Theſe, with the people round the town, who came into the market, made the church as throng (if not thronger) on the Mondays, as on the Lord's day. By theſe week-day ſermons, the famous Stuarton ſickneſs (as it was called) was begun about the year 1630, and ſpread from houſe to houſe for many miles in the valley, where Stuarton water runs. Satan indeed endeavoured to bring a reproach upon ſuch ſerious perſons, as were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running ſome, ſeemingly under ſerious concern, to exceſs, both in time of ſermon, and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr. Dickſon, and other miniſters who dealt with them, to act ſo prudent a part, that Satan's deſign was much diſappointed, and ſolid ſerious practical religion flouriſhed mightily in the weſt of Scotland about this time, under the hardſhips of prelacy.

About the years 1630 and 1631, ſome of our Scots miniſters, Meſſrs. Livingſton, Blair and others, were ſettled among the Scots in the north of Ireland, where they were remarkably owned of the Lord in their miniſtry and communions about the ſix-mile water, for reviving religion and the power and practice of it. But the Iriſh biſhops, at the inſtigation of the Scots biſhops, got them removed for a ſeaſon. After they were ſilenced, and had come over to Scotland, about the year 1637, Mr. Dickſon employed Meſſrs. Blair, Livingſton and Cunningham at his communion, for which he was called before the high commiſſion; but, the prelates power being on the decline, he ſoon got rid of that trouble.

Several other inſtances might be given concerning Mr. Dickſon, both as to his uſefulneſs in anſwering perplexing caſes of conſcience, and to ſtudents who had their eye to the miniſtry. While he was at Irvine, his prudent directions, cautions and encouragements given them were extremly uſeful and beneficial, as alſo ſome examples might be given of his uſefulneſs to his very enemies; but there is little room here to inſiſt on theſe things.

It was Mr. Dickſon who brought over the preſbytery of Irvine to ſupplicate the council in 1637, for a ſuſpenſion of the ſervice-book. At this time four ſupplications, from different quarters, met at the council-houſe-door, to their mutual ſurprize and encouragement; which were the ſmall beginnings of that happy turn of affairs, that next year enſued: In which great revolution Mr. Dickſon had no ſmall ſhare. He was ſent to Aberdeen, with Meſſrs Henderſon and Cant, by the covenanters, to perſuade that town and country to join in renewing the covenant; this brought him to bear a great part in the debates with the learned doctors Forbes, Barrow, Sibbald, *&c.* at Aberdeen; which, being in print, needs no further notice at preſent.

And when the king was prevailed with to allow a free general aſſembly at Glaſgow, Nov. 1638, Mr. Dickſon and Mr. Bailey, from the preſbytery, made no ſmall figure there in all the important matters before that grave aſſembly. Here Mr. Dickſon ſignalized himſelf in a moſt ſeaſonable and prudent ſpeech he had, when his majeſty's commiſſioner threatened to leave the aſſembly; as alſo in the 11th ſeſſion Dec. 5th, he had another moſt learned diſcourſe againſt Arminianiſm*.

By this time the Lord's eminent countenancing of Mr. Dickſon's miniſtry at Irvine, not only ſpread abroad, but his eminent prudence, learning, and holy zeal came to be univerſally known, eſpecially to miniſters, from the part he bore in the aſſembly of Glaſgow, ſo that he was almoſt unanimouſly choſen moderator to the next general aſſembly at Edinburgh in Aug. 1639, in the 10th ſeſſion whereof the city of Glaſgow preſented a call to him; but partly becauſe of his own averſion, and the vigorous appearance of the earl of Eglinton, and his loving people, and moſtly for the remarkable uſefulneſs of his miniſtry in that corner, the general aſſembly continued him ſtill at Irvine.

Not

* See the firſt diſcourſe in Stevenſon's hiſtory page 562.; and the laſt in the aſſembly-journal.

Not long after this about 1641, he was tranſported to be profeſſor in the univerſity of Glaſgow, where he did great ſervice to the church, by training up young men for the holy miniſtry; and yet notwithſtanding of his laborious work, he preached on the forenoon of every ſabbath, in the high church there; where for ſome time he had the learned Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie for his colleague.

Anno 1643, the church laid a very great work upon him, together with Mr. Calderwood and Mr. Henderſon to form a draught of a directory for a public worſhip, as appears by an act of the general aſſembly. When the peſtilence was raging at Glaſgow in 1647, the maſters and ſtudents, upon Mr. Dickſon's motion, removed to Irvine. There it was that the learned Mr. Durham paſſed his trials, and was earneſtly recommended by the profeſſor to the preſbytery and magiſtrates of Glaſgow. A very ſtrict friendſhip ſubſiſted between thoſe two great lights of the church, and, among other effects of their religious converſation, we have the ſum of ſaving knowledge, which hath been ſo often printed with our confeſſion of faith and catechiſms. This, after ſeveral converſations upon the ſubject, and manner of handling it, ſo that it might be uſeful to vulgar capacities, was, by Meſſrs. Dickſon and Durham, dictated to a reverend miniſter about the year 1650, and though never judicially approven by this church, yet it deſerves to be much more read and practiſed than what it at preſent is.

About this time he was tranſported from the profeſſion of divinity at Glaſgow, to the ſame work at Edinburgh. At which time he publiſhed his *prelectiones in confeſſionem fidei* (now publiſhed in Engliſh), which he dictated in latin to his ſcholars. There he continued his laborious care of ſtudents in divinity, the growing hopes of a church; and either at Glaſgow or at Edinburgh, the moſt part of the preſbyterian miniſters, at leaſt in the weſt, ſouth and eaſt parts of Scotland, from 1640, were under his inſpection; and from the fore-mentioned book, we may perceive his care to educate them in the form of ſound words, and to ground them in the excellent ſtandards of doctrine agreed to by the once famous church of Scotland; and happy had their ſucceſſors been, had they preſerved and handed down to poſterity the ſcriptural doctrines pure and entire, as they were delivered by our firſt reformers, to Mr. Dickſon and his contemporaries, and from him and them handed down without corruption to their ſucceſſors.

All this time, *viz.* in 1650 and 1651, Mr. Dickſon had a great ſhare in the printed pamphlets upon the unhappy debates

debates betwixt the reſolutioners and the proteſtors, he was in his opinions for the public reſolutioners: and moſt of the papers on that ſide were wrote by him, Mr. Bailey and Mr. Douglas; as thoſe on the other ſide were wrote by Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie, and a few others.

Mr. Dickſon continued at Edinburgh, diſcharging his truſt with great diligence and faithfulneſs, until the melancholy turn by the reſtoration of prelacy upon the return of Charles II.; when, for refuſing the oath of ſupremacy, he was with many other worthies, turned out; ſo that his heart was broken with this heavy change on the beautiful face of that once famed reformed church.

He had married Margaret Robertſon daughter to Archibald Robertſon of Stone-hall, a younger brother of the houſe of Ernock, in the ſhire of Lanerk; by her he had three ſons, John, clerk to the exchequer in Scotland; Alexander, profeſſor of Hebrew in the college of Edinburgh; and Archibald, who lived with his family afterward in the pariſh of Irvine.

On December 1662, he fell extremely ſick, at which time worthy Mr. Livingſton, now ſuffering for the ſame cauſe, though he had then but forty-eight hours liberty to ſtay in Edinburgh, came to ſee him on his death-bed. They had been intimately acquainted near forty years, and now rejoiced as fellow-confeſſors together. When Mr. Livingſton aſked the profeſſor, What were his thoughts of the preſent affairs, and how it was with himſelf? His anſwer was, "That he was ſure Jeſus Chriſt would not put up with "the indignities done againſt his work and people:" and as for himſelf, ſaid he, "I have taken all my good deeds and "all my bad deeds, and have caſt them together in a heap "before the Lord, and have fled from both to Jeſus Chriſt, "and in him I have ſweet peace *."

Having been very low and weak for ſome days, he called all his family together, and ſpoke in particular to each of them, and having gone through them all, he pronounced the words of the apoſtolical bleſſing, 1 Cor. xiii. 13, 14. with much gravity and ſolemnity, and then put up his hand, and cloſed his own eyes; and, without any ſtruggle or apparent pain, immediately expired in his ſon's arms, and with Jacob of old, was gathered to his people in a good old age, being now upwards of ſeventy-two years.

He was a man ſingularly endowed with an edifying gift of preaching; and his painful labours had been, in an eminent

* See Mr. Livingſton's memorable characteriſtics, pags 81.

minent manner, bleſſed with ſucceſs. His ſermons were always full of ſolid and ſubſtantial matter, very ſcriptural, and in a very familiar ſtyle; not low, but extremely ſtrong and affecting, being ſomewhat a-kin to the ſtyle of godly Mr. Rutherford; and it is ſaid, That ſcarce any miniſter of that time came ſo near Mr. Dickſon's ſtyle or method of preaching, as the reverend Mr. William Guthrie, miniſter at Finwick, who equalled, if not exceeded him.

His works are, a commentary on the epiſtle to the Hebrews in 8vo; on Matthew's goſpel in 4to; on the pſalms of David in 8vo; on the epiſtles, Latin and Engliſh, in 4to; and his *prelectiones in confeſſionem fidei*, or truth's victory over error, *&c.* in folio; his *therapeutica ſacra*, or caſes of conſcience reſolved, in Latin 4to, in Engliſh 8vo; a treatiſe of the promiſes 12mo printed at Dublin in 1630. And beſide theſe he wrote a great part of the anſwers to the demands, and duplies to the replies of the doctors of Aberdeen in 4to; and ſome of the pamphlets in defence of the public reſolutioners, as has been already obſerved; and ſome ſhort poems on pious and ſerious ſubjects, ſuch as, the Chriſtian ſacrifice, true Chriſtian love, to be ſung with the common tunes of the Pſalms. There are alſo ſeveral other pieces of his, moſtly in manuſcript, ſuch as his *tyrones concionaturi*, ſuppoſed to be dictated to his ſcholars at Glaſgow; *ſummarium libri Jeſaiæ:* his letters on the reſolutioners; his firſt paper on the public reſolutions; his replies to Mr. Gilleſpie and Mr. James Guthrie; his *non*-ſeparation from the well-affected in the army; as alſo ſome ſermons at Irvine upon 1 Tim. i. 5. and his precepts for a daily direction of a Chriſtian, *&c.* by way of catechiſm, for his congregation at Irvine; with a compend of his ſermons upon Jeremiah and the Lamentations, and the firſt nine chapters to the Romans.

The Life of Sir ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, *Lord* WARRISTON.

THE firſt of his public appearances in the favours of that glorious work of reformation (commonly called the ſecond reformation period) ſeems to have been about the beginning of 1638. When it came firſt to be known that Traquair was going up to the king, the deputies (afterwards

terward called the covenanters) were desirous that he would carry up an information, which the lord Balmerino and Mr. Johnston (the only advocates as yet trusted by the petitioners) had drawn up, and that he would present the same, with their supplication, to his majesty. But both these were rejected, and orders given by him to Traquair, to publish a proclamation at Edinburgh and Stirling, against the requisitions of the covenanters. Sixteen of the nobles, with many barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers, did, after hearing said proclamation, cause Mr. Johnston read a protest against the same. And the same year, when the marquis of Hamilton caused publish another declaration, in name of the king, the covenanters, upon hearing it, gave in another protestation in the same place by Mr. Johnston; whereupon the earl of Cassils, in name of the nobility, Gibson of Durie, in name of the barons, Fletcher provost of Dundee, in name of the burgesses, Mr. Kerr minister at Preston, in name of the church, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, in name of all others, who adhered to the covenant, took instruments in the hands of three notaries, and, in all humility, offered a copy of the same to the herald at the cross of Edinburgh *.

Upon the 9th of September, a declaration of the same nature being published, the noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, &c. gave another protest, and Mr. Johnston header and advocate for the church, in name of all who adhered to the confession of faith, and covenant lately renewed within the kingdom, took instruments in the hands of three notaries there present, and offered a copy thereof to the herald at the cross of Edinburgh.

In the same year, when the famous general assembly sat down at Glasgow, in the month of November, Mr. Henderson, being chosen moderator, it was moved, That Mr. Johnston, who had hitherto served the tables at Edinburgh without reward, and yet with great diligence, skill and integrity, deserved the office of clerk above all others. After much reasoning, concerning him and some others (put on a leet for election), the rolls being called, on a vote for a clerk, it carried unanimously for Mr. Johnston, who then gave his oath for fidelity, diligence, and a conscientious use of the registers; and was admitted to all the rights, profits and privileges, which any in that office had formerly enjoyed

* See further of these declarations and protests in Stevenson's history of church and state, page 361.

enjoyed; and inſtruments taken both of his admittance and acceptance.

Mr Johnſton being thus inſtalled, the moderator deſired, that all who had any acts or books of former aſſemblies, would put them into his hands; whereupon Mr. Sandihills, (formerly clerk) exhibited two books, containing ſome acts from 1592, to that of Aberdeen in 1618; *&c.* and being interrogate concerning the reſt, he ſolemnly averred, that he had received no more from the archbiſhop, and to his knowledge, he had no other belonging to the church.—Then a farther motion was made by the aſſembly for recovering the reſt, wanting, that if any had them, they ſhould give them up; whereupon Mr. Johnſton gave an evidence how deſerving he was of the truſt repoſed in him, by producing on the table five books (being now ſeven in all), which were ſufficient to make up a regiſter of the church, from the beginning of the reformation; which was very acceptable to the whole aſſembly.

In the 24th ſeſſion of this aſſembly, a commiſſion was given to Mr. Johnſton to be their procurator, and Mr. Dalglieſh to be their agent; and in their laſt ſeſſion of December 20, an act paſſed, allowing him the inſtruction of all treaties and papers that concerned the church, prohibiting all printers from publiſhing any thing of that kind, not licenſed by him.

But the king and the Canterburian faction, being highly diſpleaſed with the proceedings of this aſſembly, advanced with an army toward the borders, which made the covenanters, ſeeing the danger they were expoſed unto, raiſe another army, with which, under the command of general Leſlie, they marched towards the king's army, now encamped on the ſouth ſide of Tweed, about three miles above Berwick. Upon their approach, the Engliſh began to faint, whereupon the king and the Engliſh nobility deſired a treaty, which was eaſily granted by the Scots, who appointed the earls of Rothes, Dunfermline and Loudon, the ſherriff of Teviotdale, Mr. Henderſon and Mr. Archibald Johnſton advocate for the church, as their commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh commiſſioners, to whom his majeſty granted a ſafe conduct upon the 9th of June, 1639. The Scots, having made known their demands, condeſcended upon ſeveral particulars, which were anſwered by the other ſide On the 17th and the day following, the articles of pacification were ſubſcribed to by both parties, in ſight of both armies at Birks near Berwick.

But this treaty was but ſhort lived, and as ill kept; for the very next year, the king took arms again againſt the Scots, who immediately armed themſelves a ſecond time, and went for England, where they defeated a party of the Engliſh at New-burn, and puſhed their way as far as Durham. The king, finding himſelf in this ſtrait, the Engliſh ſupplicating him behind, and the Scots with a potent army before him, reſolved on a ſecond treaty, which was ſet on foot at Rippon, and concluded at London; and thither Mr. Henderſon and Mr. Johnſton were ſent again, as the commiſſioners for the church; in which affairs they behaved with great prudence and candor. When the Scots parliament ſat down this year, they, by an act, appointed a fee of 100 merks to Mr. Johnſton, as advocate for the church, and 500 merks as clerk to the general aſſembly; ſo ſenſible were they of his many ſervices done to this church and nation.

Next year, 1641, the king, having fallen out with his Engliſh parliament, came to Scotland, where he attended the Scots parliament. In this parliament ſeveral offices of ſtate were filled up with perſons fit for ſuch employments. The earl of Argyle being put at the head of the treaſury, and the earl of Loudon made chancellor; among others, Mr. Archibald Johnſton ſtood fair for the regiſter office; and the generality of the well-affected thought it the juſt reward of his labours; but the king, Lennox and Argyle, *&c.* being for Gibſon of Durie, he carried the prize. Yet Mr. Johnſton's diſappointment was ſupplied by the king's conferring the order of knight-hood upon him, and granting him a commiſſion to be one of the lords of ſeſſion, with an annual penſion of 200 ponnds; and Orbiſton was made juſtice clerk*.

During this and the next year Mr. (now Sir) Archibald Johnſton had ſeveral great employments committed to his truſt. He was one of thoſe nominated to conſerve the articles of peace betwixt the two kingdoms until the meeting of parliament, *&c.* And then he was appointed one of theſe commiſſioners, who were ſent up to London to negotiate with the Engliſh parliament, for ſending over ſome relief from Scotland to Ireland (it being then on the back of the Iriſh rebellion). While at London, they waited on his majeſty at Windſor, and offered their mediation betwixt him and his two houſes of parliament; but for this he

* See a more full account of theſe affairs in the hiſtory of church and ſtate, vol. III. page 1009.

he gave them little thanks, although he found his miſtake afterwards.

When the general aſſembly ſat down at Edinburgh, *anno* 1643, they, upon a motion from Sir Archibald Johnſton their clerk, emitted a declaration for joining with the Engliſh parliament for variety of reaſons, of which theſe were the ſum and ſubſtance. "(1.) They apprehend the "war is for religion. (2.) The proteſtant faith is in "danger. (3.) Gratitude for the aſſiſtance in the time of "the former reformation required a ſuitable return. (4.) "Becauſe the churches of Scotland and England being em-"barked in one bottom, if the one be ruined, the other "cannot ſubſiſt. (5.) The proſpect of an uniformity be-"tween the two kingdoms in diſcipline and worſhip, will "ſtrengthen the proteſtant intereſt at home and abroad. "(6.) The preſent parliament had been friendly to the "Scots, and might be ſo again. (7.) Though the king "had ſo lately eſtabliſhed religion amongſt them, according "to their deſire, yet they could not confide in his royal "declaration, having ſo often found his actions and promi-"ſes contradictory the one to the other, *&c.*" Theſe the eſtates took in good part, and ſuggeſted other reaſons of their own, as they ſaw proper.

Toward the latter end of this aſſembly, upon the arrival of the commiſſioners from the parliament and aſſembly at Weſtminſter, the Scots aſſembly, by an act of ſeſſion 14, commiſſioned Meſſrs. Henderſon, Douglas, Rutherford, Bailey and Gilleſpie miniſters, John earl of Caſſils, John lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnſton of Warriſton, ruling elders, or any three of them, whereof two ſhould be miniſters, "to repair to the kingdom of England, and "there to deliver the declaration ſent to the parliament of "England, and the letter ſent to the aſſembly of divines, "now ſitting in that kingdom, and to propound, conſult, "treat and conclude with that aſſembly, or any commiſ-"ſioner deputed, or any committee or commiſſioner de-"puted by the houſe of parliament, in all matters which "may further the union of this iſland, in one form of "church-government, one confeſſion of faith, one cate-"chiſm, one directory for the worſhip of God, according "to the inſtructions they have received from the aſſembly, "or ſhall receive from time to time hereafter, from the "commiſſioners of the aſſembly deputed for that effect."— This commiſſion was again renewed by ſeveral acts of the ſubſequent aſſemblies, till the year 1648.—And it appears, that lord Warriſton did not only uſe all diligence as a mem-

ber of the Weſtminſter aſſembly, for bringing about the uniformity of religion in worſhip, diſcipline and government, but alſo, for ſome time, he ſat as a member of the Engliſh parliament, for concerting ſuch methods as might bring about a firm and laſting peace betwixt the two kingdoms afterward; which is, and was reckoned a moſt noble piece of ſervice both to church and ſtate in thoſe days; yet we ſhall find it accounted high treaſon in this worthy man afterward.

Lord Warriſton had, for his upright and faithful dealing, in the many important matters committed to his charge, received many marks of favour and dignity, both from church and ſtate; and to crown all the reſt, the Scots parliament in 1646, made an act, appointing his commiſſion to be lord advocate, with the conduct of the committee of London and Newcaſtle, and the general officers of the army: all which evidence, what a noble hand he had in carrying on that bleſſed work of reformation.

He had now been clerk to the general aſſembly ſince the year 1638, and when that unhappy difference fell out *anno* 1650, when the act of claſſes was repeated, whereby malignants were again taken into places of power and truſt; which occaſioned the riſe of thoſe called proteſtors and reſolutioners *anno* 1650, lord Warriſton was one of thoſe who had a principal hand in managing affairs among thoſe faithful anti-reſolutioners; for he wrote a moſt ſolid letter to that meeting at St. Andrews, July 18, 1657, concerning which, the proteſtors, in their reaſons, proving the ſaid meeting to be no lawful, full or free general aſſembly, ſay, "Sir Archibald Johnſton, clerk to the aſſembly a "man undeniably faithful, ſingularly acquainted with the "acts and proceedings of this kirk, and with the matters "preſently in controverſy, and who hath been uſeful a-"bove many in all the tracts of the work of reformation, "from the beginning, in all the ſteps thereof, both at home "and abroad; having written his mind to the meeting (not "being able to come himſelf) about the things that are to "be agitated in the aſſembly, and held out much clear "light from the ſcriptures, and from the acts of former "aſſemblies, in theſe particulars. Albeit the letter was "delivered publicly to the moderator, in the face of the "aſſembly, and urged to be read by him who preſented it, "that then the moderator did break it up, and cauſed it "to be read; and that many members did thereafter, up-

"on

" on ſeveral occaſions, and at ſeveral diets, preſs the read-
" ing of it, but it could never be obtained, *&c.* *"

And further, thoſe papers bearing the name of repreſentations, propoſitions, proteſtations, *&c.* were by the ſaid lord Warriſton, Meſſrs. Cant, Rutherford, Livingſton, *&c.* preſented to the reverend miniſters and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24, 1652, when the marquis of Argyle at London procured an equal hearing to the proteſtors; and Mr. Simpſon, one of theſe three miniſters depoſed by the aſſembly 1651, being ſent up by the proteſtors for that purpoſe; in the beginning of 1657, Meſſrs. James Guthrie and Patrick Gilleſpie, the other three who had been depoſed by that aſſembly, together with lord Warriſton, were ſent up to aſſiſt Mr. Simpſon †.

Lord Warriſton had now, for the ſpace of five years or more, wreſtled and acted with all his power, for the king's intereſt, and, being a man of great reſolution, he both ſpoke and wrote as openly againſt Scotsmen ſubmitting to take offices under the uſurper; but being ſent up to London in the foreſaid year 1657, with ſome of the Scots nobility, upon ſome important affairs, and Cromwel being fully ſenſible how much it would be for his intereſt to gain ſuch a man as Warriſton was, over to his ſide, he prevailed upon him to re-enter to the office of clerk-regiſter; which was much lamented by this worthy man afterwards, as well as his ſitting and preſiding in ſome meeting at London after Oliver's death.

A late hiſtorian has obſerved, That, at that meeting at E-Edinburgh, which ſent him up to London upon buſineſs, he reaſoned againſt it, and to the utmoſt of his power oppoſed his being ſent up, acquainting them with what was his weak ſide, that, through the eaſineſs of his temper, he might not be able to reſiſt his importunity, craving that he might not be ſent among ſnares; and yet after all he was peremptorily named ‡.

To account ſome way for his conduct in this:——His family was numerous; and very conſiderable ſums were owing him, which he had advanced for the public ſervice, and a good many bygone years ſalaries; he was, through importunity, thus prevailed upon to ſide with the uſurper, there being no other door open then for his relief. And yet after this his compliance, it was obſerved, he was generally

* See the ſaid reaſons, *&c* page 50.
† Blair's memoirs, page 121.
‡ Wodrow's hiſtory, Vol. I. page 164.

rally more ſad and melancholy than what he had formerly been, and it is ſaid that his outward affairs did not proſper ſo well afterward.

The king being reſtored again to his dominions *anno* 1660, and the noble marquis of Argyle impriſoned July 14, orders came down to ſeize Sir James Stuart provoſt of Edinburgh, Sir Archibald Johnſton of Warriſton, and Sir John Chieſly of Carſwel. The firſt and laſt were tried, but lord Warriſton eſcaped for a time, and therefore was ſummoned, by ſound of trumpet, to ſurrender himſelf, and a proclamation iſſued out for ſeizing him, promiſing an hundred pounds Scots to any who ſhould do it, and diſcharging all from concealing or harbouring him under pain of treaſon. A moſt arbitrary ſtep indeed! For here is not only a reward offered for apprehending this worthy gentleman, but declaring it treaſon for any to harbour him, and that without any cauſe aſſigned.

Upon the 10th of October following, he was, by order of the council, declared fugitive; and next year Feb. 1ſt, the indictment againſt lord Warriſton, William Dundas, and John Hume, was read in the houſe, none of them being preſent. Warriſton was forfeited, and his forfeiture publicly proclaimed, by the heralds, at the croſs of Edinburgh. The principal articles of his indictment were, his pleading againſt Newton Gordon, when he had the king's expreſs orders to plead for him; His aſſiſting to the act of the weſt kirk, *&c.*; His drawing out, contriving or conſenting to the paper called the weſtern remonſtrance, and the book called the cauſes of the Lord's wrath; his ſitting in parliament as a peer in England, contrary to his oath, *&c.*; His accepting the office of clerk-regiſter from the uſurper;——and being preſident of the committee of ſafety, when Richard was laid aſide, *&c.* But neither of all theſe were the proper cauſes of this good man's ſufferings, but a perſonal prejudice or pique was at the bottom of all theſe bitter proceedings; for the godly freedom he took in reproving vice, was what could never be forgotten nor forgiven. The laſt-cited hiſtorian hints, that the earl of Briſtol was interceeding for him, and ſays, "I have an account of this holy freedom in lord Warriſton, uſed from "a reverend miniſter, who was his chaplain at that time, "and took freedom to adviſe my lord not to adventure on "it; yet this excellent perſon, having the glory of God "and the honour of religion more in his eyes than his own "ſafety, went on in his deſigned reproof, and would not "for a compliment, quit the peace he expected in his own con-

" conſcience, be the event what it would, by diſburthening " himſelf; he got a great many fair words, and all was pre- " tended to be taken well from my lord regiſter; but, as " he was told by his well-wiſhers, it was never forgot*." For, in compliance with Cromwel, he was not alone in the matter; the greater part of the nation being involved therein as well as he: And ſeveral of thoſe who had been named truſtees to the uſurper, were all diſcharged from court, except Warriſton, who was before come to Scotland, and ordered to appear before the parliament at the ſitting down thereof.

This good man, after the ſentence of forfeiture and death paſſed againſt him by the firſt parliament, being obliged to go abroad, to eſcape the fury of his enemies, even there did their crafty malice reach him; for while at Hamburg, being viſited with ſore ſickneſs, it is certain that Dr. Bates, one of king Charles's phyſicians, intending to kill him (contrary to his faith and office), preſcribed poiſon to him inſtead of phyſic, and then cauſed draw from him ſixty ounces of blood, whereby (though the Lord wonderfully preſerved his life) he was brought near the gates of death, and ſo far loſt his memory, that he could not remember what he had ſaid or done a quarter of an hour before, and continued ſo until the day of his martyrdom.

And yet all this did not ſatisfy his cruel and blood-thirſty enemies, while he was yet in life they ſought him carefully; and at laſt, he having gone unadviſedly to France, one Alexander Murray, being diſpatched in queſt of him, apprehended him at Roan, while he was engaged in ſecret prayer, a duty wherein he much delighted. In Jan. 1663, he was brought over priſoner, and committed to the tower of London, where he continued till the beginning of June, when he was ſent down to Edinburgh to be executed.

His carriage during his paſſage was truly chriſtian. He landed at Leith on the 8th, and was committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; and from thence he was brought before the parliament on the 8th of July. His nephew, Bp. Burnet, ſays, He was ſo diſordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to any government to proceed againſt him†.

When at the bar of the houſe, he diſcovered ſuch weakneſs of memory and judgment, that almoſt every perſon lamented him, except Sharp and the other biſhops, who ſcan-

* Wodrow's hiſtory, Vol. I. page 175.
† See his hiſtory, page 203.

ſcandalouſly and baſely triumphed over, and publicly derided him; although it is well known, ſays a very noted author, that lord Warriſton was once in caſe, not only to "have been a member, but a preſident of any judicatory "in Europe, and to have ſpoke for the cauſe and intereſt "of Chriſt before kings, to the ſtopping of the mouths of "gainſayers*."

Here it ſeemed, that many of the members of parliament inclined to ſpare his life; but when the queſtion was put, Whether the time of his execution ſhould be juſt now fixed, or delayed, Lauderdale interpoſed, upon calling the rolls, and delivered a moſt dreadful ſpeech for his preſent execution. And ſentence was pronounced, That he be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh, on the 22d of July, and his head placed on the Nether-bow, beſide that of Mr. Guthrie. He received his ſentence with ſuch meekneſs as filled all with admiration; for then he deſired, That the beſt bleſſings might be on church and ſtate, and on his majeſty (whatever might befal himſelf), and that God would give him true and faithful counſellors†.

During the whole time of his impriſonment, he was in a moſt ſpiritual and tender frame, to the conviction of his very enemies; and the nearer that his death approached, the compoſure of his mind became the more conſpicuous. He reſted agreeably the night before his execution, and in the morning was full of conſolation, ſweetly expreſſing his aſſurance of being clothed with a long white robe, and of getting a new ſong of the Lamb's praiſe in his mouth. Before noon he dined with cheerfulneſs, "hoping to ſup "in heaven, and to drink the next cup freſh and new in "his Father's kingdom."

After he had ſpent ſome time in ſecret prayer, about two o'clock he was taken from priſon, attended by ſeveral of his friends in mourning, though he himſelf was full of holy cheerfulneſs and courage, and in a perfect ſerenity of mind. When come to the ſcaffold, he ſaid frequently to the people, "Your prayers, your prayers." When he was on the ſcaffold he ſaid, "I intreat you, quiet your-"ſelves a little, till this dying man deliver his laſt ſpeech "among you;" and deſired they would not be offended at his making uſe of the paper to help his memory, ſo much impaired by long ſickneſs and the malice of phſicians.

* Preface to the apologetical relation.

† Crookſhank's hiſtory, Vol. I. page 448.

ans. Then he read his ſpeech firſt on the one ſide of the ſcaffold, and then on the other. In which ſpeech, after a a ſhort preamble, ſhewing that that which he intended to have ſpoken at his death, was not now in his power, being taken from him, yet hoped the Lord would preſerve it to be his teſtimony; being now for ſome time in a moſt melancholy circumſtance, through long and ſore ſickneſs, drawing of blood, &c. He, in the firſt place, confeſſeth his ſins, pleads for forgiveneſs, bewails his compliance with the uſurper, although, ſaid he, he was not alone in that offence, but had the body of the nation going before him, and the example of all ranks to inſnare him, &c. Then declares his adherence to the covenanted work of reformation, earneſtly deſiring the prayers of all the Lord's praying people, &c. and vindicates himſelf from having any acceſſion to the late king's death, and to the making of the change of government; taking the great God of heaven to witneſs between him and his accuſers. And at laſt concluded with theſe words, "I do here now ſubmit, and "commit my ſoul and body, wife and children, and chil-"drens children, from generation to generation for ever, "with all others his friends and followers, all his doing "and ſuffering witneſſes, ſympathizing ones in preſent and "ſubſequent generations, unto the Lord's choice mercies, "graces, favours, ſervices, employment, enjoyments and "inheritments on earth and in heaven, in time and all e-"ternity; all which ſuits, with all others which he hath "at any time, by his Spirit, moved and aſſiſted me to put "up, according to his will, I leave before and upon the "Father's merciful bowels, the Son's mediating merits, "and the Holy Spirit's compaſſionate groans, both now "and for ever more Amen*."

After the reading of his ſpeech, he prayed with great fervency and liberty, and, being in a rapture, he began thus, "Abba, Father! Accept this thy poor ſinful ſer-"vant, coming unto thee, through the merits of Jeſus "Chriſt, &c." Then taking leave of his friends, he prayed again with great fervency, being now near the end of that ſweet work, he had ſo much, through the courſe of his time, been employed in. No miniſters were allowed to be with him, but it was, by thoſe preſent, obſerved that God ſufficiently made up that want. He was helped up the ladder by ſome of his friends in deep mourning; and, as he aſcended, he ſaid, "Your prayers, your prayers.—

* The reader will find this ſpeech in Naphtali, and in the appendix to Wodrow's hiſtory.

"Your prayers I deſire in the name of the Lord."—Such was the eſteem he had for that duty.

When got to the top of the ladder, he cried out with a loud voice, "I beſeech you all who are the people of God, "not to ſcare at ſuffering for the intereſt of Chriſt, or "ſtumble at any thing of this kind, falling out in theſe "days; but be encouraged to ſuffer for him, for I aſſure "you in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charg-"es." While the rope was putting about his neck, he repeated theſe words again, adding, The Lord hath graciouſly comforted me. When the executioner deſired his forgiveneſs he ſaid, The Lord forgive thee, poor man,—and withal gave him ſome money, bidding him do his office if he was ready; and crying out, O pray, pray! Praiſe, praiſe, praiſe,—he was turned over, and died almoſt without any ſtruggle, with his hands lifted up unto heaven, whither his ſoul aſcended, to enjoy the beatific preſence of his Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

He was ſoon cut down, and his head ſtruck off, and ſet up beſide that of his dear friend Mr. Guthrie; and his body carried to Grey-friars church-yard. But his head ſoon after, by the intereſt and interceſſion of lieutenant-general Drummond (who was married to one of his daughters), was taken down and interred with his body.

Thus ſtood and thus fell the eminently pious and truly learned lord Warriſton, whoſe talents as a ſpeaker in the ſenate, as well as on the bench, are too well known to be here inſiſted upon; and for prayer, he was one among a thouſand, and oftimes met with very remarkable returns; and though he was for ſome time borne down with weakneſs and diſtreſs, yet he never came in the leaſt, to doubt of his eternal happineſs, and uſed to ſay, "I dare never queſ-"tion my ſalvation, I have ſo often ſeen God's face in the "houſe of prayer." And, as the laſt cited hiſtorian obſerves, "Although his memory and talents were for ſome "time impaired, yet like the ſun at his ſetting, after he "had been a while under a cloud, ſhone moſt brightly and "ſurprizingly, and ſo in ſome meaſure the more ſweetly; for "that morning he was under a wonderful effuſion of the "Spirit, as great perhaps as many have had ſince the pri-"mitive times."

He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations, and in which is a valuable treaſure both of chriſtian experience, and matters of fact little known at preſent, which might be of great uſe and light to the hiſtory of that period, and wherein he records his ſure hopes

hopes (after much wreſtling in which he was mightily helped) that the church of Scotland would be manifeſtedly viſited and freed from the evils ſhe fell under after the reſtoration. And his numerous family, whom he ſo often left upon the Lord's providence, were, for the moſt part, as well provided for as could have been expected, though he had continued with them in his own outward proſperity. *He that overcometh, ſhall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life: but I will confeſs his name before my Father and his angels.*

The Life of Mr. JAMES WOOD.

HE was, ſome time after the year 1651, made provoſt or principal of the old college of St. Andrews, and one of the miniſters there, and being one who in judgment fell in with the reſolution party, it occaſioned ſome difference betwixt him and Mr. Rutherford at that time profeſſor of divinity in the new college there, and yet he had ever a great and high eſteem for Mr. Wood, as appears from a meſſage he ſent him when on his death-bed, wherein he ſaid, "Tell Mr. James Wood from me, I heartily forgive "him all the wrongs he hath done, and deſire him from "me to declare himſelf the man he is ſtill for the govern-"ment of the church of Scotland." And truly he was not deceived in him; for Mr. Wood was true and faithful to the preſbyterian government; nothing could prevail upon him to comply in the leaſt degree with abjured prelacy. So far was he from that, that the apoſtacy and treachery of others (*viz.* Mr. Sharp), whom he had too much truſted, broke his upright ſpirit, particularly the aggravated defection and perfidy of him whom he termed Judas, Demas and Gehazi all in one, after he had found what part he had acted to the church of Scotland under truſt*.

Mr.

* About the time of Middleton's parliament 1661, or 1662, Mr. Wood in company of Mr. Vetch, went into one Glen's ſhop in Edinburgh to ſee Sharp, whom he had not ſeen ſince he turned biſhop.—Sharp diſcovering his head to receive the commiſſioner they had a full view of his face to whom Mr. Wood looked very ſeriouſly, and then with much affection uttered theſe words, "O thou Ju-"das, apoſtate, traitor, that has betrayed the famous preſbyterian "church of Scotland to its utter ruin as far as thou canſt, if I knew "any thing of the mind of God, thou ſhalt not die the ordinary and "common death of men." And though this was ſpoken eighteen years before it was exactly accompliſhed, *anno* 1679. See Vetch's large life biography, prior edition, page 471.

Mr. Wood continued in the exerciſe of the foreſaid offices, until 1663, when, by the inſtigation of biſhop Sharp, he got a charge to appear before the council on the twenty-third of July, to anſwer to ſeveral things laid to his charge; and though Mr. Sharp was indebted to Mr. Wood for any reputation he had, and was under as great obligations to him as one man could be to another, for they had been more than ordinarily familiar, yet now the primate could not bear his continuing any longer there, and he cauſed cite him before the council.

When he compeared he was interrogate,——How he came to be provoſt of the college of St. Andrews?—When he began to anſwer, he was interrupted, in a very huffing manner, and commanded to give in his anſwer in a word, for the arch-biſhop and others preſent could not endure his telling ſome truths he was entering upon. He told them, He was called by the faculty of that college, at the recommendation of the uſurpers, as ſome here, added he (meaning biſhop Sharp), very well know. Whereupon he was removed, and a little after called in again, and his ſentence intimate unto him; which was, "That the lords of "council, for the preſent, do declare the ſaid place to be "vacant, and ordain and command him to confine himſelf within the city of Edinburgh, and not to depart "from thence until farther orders."—When his ſentence was intimate to him, he told them, He was ſorry they had condemned a perſon without hearing him, whom they could not charge with the breach of any law. In September following, biſhop Sharp got the charge and privileges of that office; which ſhews that he had ſome reaſon for puſhing Mr. Wood from that place.

Upon the 30th of the ſame month, Mr. Wood preſented a petition to the council, ſhewing——That his father was extremely ſick, that he had ſeveral neceſſary affairs at St. Andrews, and deſired liberty to go there for that effect. Which petition being read, with a teſtificate of his father's infirmity, the council granted licence to the petitioner to go to St. Andrews, to viſit his father, and perform his other neceſſary affairs; always returning when he ſhould be called by the council.

Thus he continued, till toward the beginning of the year 1664, when he took ſickneſs, whereof he died; and tho' he ſuffered not in his body, as ſeveral of his brethren did, yet the arch-biſhop, it appears, was reſolved to ruin his name and reputation after his death, if not ſooner, in order to which the primate ſaw good, once or twice, to give

give him a viſit, when on his death-bed in St. Andrews. He was now extremely low in his body, and ſpoke very little to Mr. Sharp, and nothing at all about the changes made in the ſtate of public affairs; however the conſequence of theſe viſits was,——The primate ſpread a rumour, That Mr. Wood, being now under the views of death and eternity, profeſſed himſelf very indifferent as to church-government, and declared himſelf as much for epiſcopacy as for preſbytery; and in all companies Sharp talked, that Mr. Wood had declared to himſelf, Preſbyterian government to be indifferent and alterable at the pleaſure of the magiſtrate, and other falſehoods; yea, he had the impudence (ſays the hiſtorian *) to write up an account of this to court, even before Mr. Wood's death.—Which reports coming to the ears of this good man, they added grief unto his former ſorrow, and he could have no reſt till he vindicated himſelf from ſuch a falſe calumny, by a ſolemn teſtimony, which he dictated himſelf, and ſubſcribed upon the 2d of March before two witneſſes and a public notary; which teſtimony, being burnt by order of the high commiſſion in April following, deſerves a place here.

"I JAMES WOOD, being very ſhortly, by appearance, "to render up my ſpirit to the Lord, find myſelf obliged "to leave a word behind me, for my vindication be"fore the world.———It hath been ſaid of me, That I "have, in word at leaſt, departed from my wonted zeal "for the preſbyterian government, expreſſing myſelf con"cerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, "and that no man ſhould trouble himſelf therefore in mat"ter of practice —Surely any Chriſtian that knows me in "this kirk, will judge that this is a wrong done to me.— "It is true, that I being under ſickneſs, have ſaid ſome"times, in conference about my ſoul's ſtate, that I was ta"ken up about greater buſineſs, than any thing of that "kind; and what wonder I ſaid ſo, being under ſuch wreſt"ling anent my intereſt in Jeſus Chriſt, which is a matter "of far greater concernment than any external ordinance. "But for my eſtimation of preſbyterian government, the "Lord knoweth, that ſince the day he convinced my "heart, which was by a ſtrong hand, that it is the ordi"nance of God, appointed by Jeſus Chriſt, for governing "and ordering his viſible church, I never had the leaſt "change

† Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. page 208.

"change of thought concerning the neceſſity of it, nor of "the neceſſity of the uſe of it.—And I declare before God "and the world, that I ſtill account ſo of it, and that, "however there may be ſome more precious ordinances, "that is ſo precious, that a true Chriſtian is obliged to lay "down his life for the profeſſion thereof, if the Lord ſhall "ſee meet to put him to the trial; and for myſelf, if I were "to live, I would account it my glory to ſeal this word of "my teſtimony with my blood. Of this declaration I take "God, angels and men to be my witneſs, and have ſubſcrib-"ed theſe preſents at St. Andrews on the 2d of March 1664, "about ſeven hours in the afternoon, before theſe wit-"neſſes, *&c.*"

Mr. William Tullidaff,
Mr. John Carſtairs, JAMES WOOD.
John Pitcairn, *writer.*

After this he uttered many heavenly expreſſions, to ſeveral perſons who came to ſee him, all ſetting forth the ſweet experience of his ſoul, until, upon the 5th of March, he made a happy and glorious exit, exchanging this preſent life for a crown of righteouſneſs.

Mr. Wood was among the brighteſt lights of that period. He had been colleague to Mr. Sharp, and, after the reſtoration, he lamented much, that he had been deceived by that unhappy man. He refuted the independents and aſſerted preſbyterial government, as is evident from that work of his, wrote in oppoſition to Nicolas Lockier's little ſtone hewed out of the mountain, and his other books that are in print. It is alſo ſaid, that before his death, he lamented his taking his part with the public reſolutioners very much.

'I have been informed (ſays Wodrow) that he left ſome very valuable manuſcripts behind him, particularly a complete refutation of the Arminian ſcheme of doctrine, ready for the preſs, which doubtleſs if publiſhed would be of no ſmall uſe in this age, when Arminianiſm hath ſo far got the aſcendant.'

The

The Life of Mr. WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

MR. WILLIAM GUTHRIE was born at Pitfrothy *anno* 1620. He was eldeſt ſon of the laird of Pitfrothy in the ſhire of Angus; and by the mother's ſide, deſcended from the ancient houſe of eaſter Ogle, of which ſhe was a daughter. God bleſſed his parents with a numerous offspring, for he had three ſiſters german and four brothers, who all, except one, dedicated themſelves to the ſervice of the goſpel of God and his ſon; namely, Mr. Robert, who was licenſed to preach, but was never ordained to the charge of any pariſh, his tender conſtitution and numerous infirmities rendered him unfit, and ſoon brought him to the end of his days; Mr. Alexander was a miniſter in the preſbytery of Brichen, about the year 1645, where he continued a pious and uſeful labourer in the work of the goſpel, till the introduction of prelacy, which unhappy change affected him in the tendereſt manner, and was thought to have ſhortened his days; for he died *anno* 1661. And Mr. John, the youngeſt, was miniſter at Tarbolton in the ſhire of Ayr, in which place he continued till the reſtoration *anno* 1662, when the council met at Glaſgow, (commonly called the drunken meeting) on the firſt of October. By this infamous act of Glaſgow, above a third part of the miniſters in Scotland were thruſt from their charges, amounting to near 400. Mr. John Guthrie had his ſhare of the hardſhips that many faithful miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt at that time were brought under. The next year, being 1663, the council, at the inſtigation of the biſhop of Glaſgow, ſummoned him and other nine to appear before them on the 23d of July, under the pain of rebellion; but he and other ſix did not appear. *Anno* 1666, he joined with that party, who, on the 26th of November, renewed the covenants at Lanerk; after a ſermon preached by him, he tendered the covenants, which were read; to every article of which, with their hands lifted up to heaven, they engaged † with great ſolemnity and devotion. After their defeat at Pentland, he, no doubt, had his ſhare of the violence and cruelty that then reigned, till *anno* 1668, he was removed to a better world.

Mr.

* See Wodrow's and Crookſhank's hiſtories.

Mr. William ſoon gave proofs of his capacity and genius, by very conſiderable progreſs made in the Latin and Greek languages. Then he was ſent to the univerſity of St. Andrews, where he ſtudied philoſophy under the memorable Mr. James Guthrie his couſin, who was afterwards miniſter at Stirling, "and who (ſays Mr. Trail) I ſaw die in, "and for the Lord, at Edinburgh, June 1, 1661."

As the maſter and ſcholar were near relations, Mr. Guthrie was his peculiar care, and lodged, when at the college, in the ſame chamber with him, and therefore had the principles of learning infuſed into him with more accuracy than his claſs-fellows.

Having taken the degree of maſter of arts, he applied himſelf, for ſome years, to the ſtudy of divinity, under the direction of Mr. Samuel Rutherford. Mr. Trail ſays, "Then and there it pleaſed the Lord, who ſeparated him "from his mother's womb, to call him, by his grace, by "the miniſtry of excellent Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and "this young gentleman became one of the firſt fruits of his "miniſtry at St. Andrews. His converſion was begun with "great terror of God in his ſoul, and completed with that "joy and peace in believing that accompanied him through "his life. After this bleſſed change wrought upon him, "he reſolved to obey the call of God to ſerve him in the "miniſtry of his goſpel, which was given him by the Lord's "calling him effectually to grace and glory. He did for "this end ſo diſpoſe of his outward eſtate, (to which he "was born heir) as not to be intangled with the affairs of "this life." He gave his eſtate to the only brother of the five who was not engaged in the ſacred office, that thereby he might be perfectly diſintangled from the affairs of this life, and entirely employed in theſe of the eternal world.

Soon after he was licenſed to preach, he left St. Andrews, with high eſteem and approbation from the profeſſors of that univerſity, which they gave proof of, by their ample recommendations. After this he became tutor to lord Mauchlin, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Loudon; in which ſituation he continued for ſome time, till he entered upon a parochial charge.

The pariſh of Kilmarnock, in the ſhire of Ayr, being large, and many of the people, belonging to the ſaid pariſh, being no leſs than ſix or ſeven miles diſtant from their own kirk; for which and other reaſons, the heritors and others procured a disjunction, and called the new pariſh Fen wick or new Kilmarnock.

Mr.

Mr. Guthrie was employed to preach at Galſton, on a preparation-day before the celebration of the Lord's ſupper; and ſeveral members of the new-erected pariſh, were preſent at that occaſion, who, being greatly edified by his ſermons, conceived ſuch a value for him, that they immediately reſolved to make choice of him for their miniſter; and in conſequence thereof gave him a very harmonious call, which he complied with. It is ſaid, that he, along with the people, made choice of the place of ground for building the church upon, and preached within the walls of the houſe before it was completed; which bears the date of being built *anno* 1643; and he was ordained unto the ſacred office Nov. 7, 1644.

He had many difficulties at firſt to ſtruggle with; and many circumſtances of his miniſtry were extremely diſcouraging: and yet, through the divine bleſſing, the goſpel preached by him had ſurprizing ſucceſs; and became, in an eminent manner, the wiſdom and power of God to the ſalvation of many periſhing ſouls.

After Mr. Guthrie came to Fenwick, many of the people were ſo rude and barbarous, that they never attended upon divine worſhip; and knew not ſo much as the face of their paſtor: To ſuch, every thing that reſpected religion was diſagreeable, Many refuſed to be viſited, or catechiſed by him; they would not even admit him into their houſes: To ſuch he ſometimes went in the evening, diſguiſed in the character of a traveller, and ſought lodging; which he could not even obtain without much intreaty: but having obtained it, he would engage in ſome general amuſing converſation at firſt, and then aſk them, How they liked their miniſter? When they told him, They did not go to church, he engaged them to go and take a trial; others he hired with money to go.—When the time of family-worſhip came, he deſired to know if they made any, and if not, what reaſons they had for ſo doing.

There was one perſon, in particular, whom he would have to perform family-worſhip, who told him, That he could not pray; and he aſked, What was the reaſon? He told him, That he never uſed to pray any, and ſo could not:—He would not take that for anſwer, but would have the man to make a trial in that duty before him; to which the man replied, "O Lord! thou knoweſt that this man "would have me to pray; but, thou knoweſt, that I can-"not pray."—After which Mr. Guthrie bid him ſtop, and ſaid, He had done enough; and prayed himſelf, to their great ſurprize. When prayer was ended, the wife ſaid to her

huſband, That ſurely this was a miniſter (for they did not know him): After this, he engaged them to come to the kirk on ſabbath, and ſee what they thought of their miniſter. When they came there, they diſcovered, to their conſternation, that it had been their miniſter himſelf who had allured them thither.—And this condeſcending manner of gaining them, procured a conſtant attendance on public ordinances; as was at length accompanied by the fruits of righteouſneſs, which are through Jeſus Chriſt unto the praiſe of God.

There was alſo another perſon in his pariſh, who had a cuſtom of going a-fowling on the Sabbath-day, and neglecting the church; in which practice he had continued for a conſiderable time. Mr. Guthrie aſked him, What reaſon he had for ſo doing? He told him, That the ſabbath-day was the moſt fortunate day in all the week for that exerciſe.—Mr. Guthrie aſked, What he could make by that day's exerciſe? He replied, That he would make half a-crown of money that day.—Mr. Guthrie told him, If he would go to church on ſabbath he would give him as much; and, by that means, got his promiſe. After ſermon was over, Mr. Guthrie aſked, If he would come back the next ſabbath-day, and he would give him the ſame?—which he did; and from that time afterwards, never failed to keep the church, and alſo freed Mr. Guthrie of his promiſe.—He afterwards became a member of his ſeſſion.

He would frequently uſe innocent recreations, ſuch as fiſhing, fowling, and playing on the ice, which contributed much to preſerve a vigorous ſtate of health.—And, while in frequent converſation with the neighbouring gentry, as theſe occaſions gave him opportunity, he would bear in upon them reproofs and inſtructions with an inoffenſive familiarity; as Mr. Dunlop has obſerved of him, "But as he "was animated by a flaming zeal for the glory of his bleſ-"ſed Maſter, and a tender compaſſion to the ſouls of men, "and as it was the principal thing that made him deſire life "and health, that he might employ them in propagating "the kingdom of God, and in turning tranſgreſſors from "their ways; ſo the very hours of recreation were dedi-"cated to this purpoſe; which was ſo indeared to him, "that he knew how to make his diverſions ſubſervient to "the nobler ends of his miniſtry. He made them the oc-"caſion of familiarizing his people to him, and introduc-"ing himſelf to their affections, and in the diſguiſe of a "ſportſman he gained ſome to a religious life, whom he "could

"could have little influence upon in a miniſters gown, of "which there happened ſeveral memorable examples.

His perſon was ſtately and well-ſet; his features comely and handſome; he had a ſtrong clear voice, joined to a good ear, which gave him a great pleaſure in muſic, and he failed not to employ that talent for the nobleſt uſe, the praiſing of his Maker and Saviour, in which part of divine worſhip his ſoul and body acted with united and unwearied vigour.

He was happily married to one Agneſs Campbel, daughter to David Campbel of Sheldon in the ſhire of Ayr, a remote branch of the family of Loudon. Auguſt 1645, his family affairs were both eaſy and comfortable. His wife was a gentlewoman endued with all the qualities that could render her a bleſſing to her huſband, joined to handſome and comely features, good ſenſe and good breeding ſweetened by a modeſt cheerfulneſs of temper, and, what was moſt comfortable to Mr. Guthrie, ſhe was ſincerely pious, ſo that they lived a little more than twenty years in the moſt complete friendſhip, and with a conſtant mutual ſatisfaction founded on the nobleſt principles; one faith, one hope, one baptiſm, and a ſovereign love to Jeſus Chriſt, which zealouſly inſpired them both. By her he had ſix children; two of whom only out-lived himſelf; both of them daughters, who endeavoured to follow the example of their excellent parents; one of them was married to Miller of Glenlee, a gentleman in the ſhire of Ayr, and the other to Mr. Peter Warner *anno* 1681.; after the revolution, Mr. Warner was ſettled at Irvine. He had two children, William of Ardrie in Ayr-ſhire, and Margaret Warner, married to Mr. Wodrow miniſter at Eaſtwood, who wrote the hiſtory of the ſufferings of the church of Scotland betwixt the years 1660 and 1688, incluſive.—But to return.

When Mr. Guthrie was but young and new married, he was appointed by the general aſſembly to attend the army. When he was preparing for his departure, a violent fit of the gravel (unto which he was often ſubject) reduced him to the greateſt extremity of pain and danger; which made his religious ſpouſe underſtand and improve the divine chaſtiſement; ſhe then ſaw how eaſily God could put an end to his life, which ſhe was too apprehenſive about, and brought herſelf to a reſolution never to oppoſe her inclination to his entering upon any employment, whereby he might honour his Maſter, though never ſo much hazard ſhould attend it.

While he was with the army, upon the defeat of a party he was then with, he was preſerved in a very extraordinary manner; which made him ever after retain a greater ſenſe of the divine goodneſs; and after his return to his pariſh, was animated to a more vigorous diligence in the work of the miniſtry, and propagating the kingdom of the Son of God, both among his people and all round about him; his public preaching, eſpecially at the adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper, and his private converſation conſpiring together for theſe noble purpoſes.

After this, Mr. Guthrie had occaſion again to be with the army, when the Engliſh ſectaries prevailed under Oliver Cromwel. After the defeat at Dunbar Sept. 3d, 1650, when the army was at Stirling, that godly man Mr. Rutherford writes a letter to him; wherein, by way of caution, near the end, he ſays, "But let me obteſt all the ſe-"rious ſeekers of his face, his ſecret ſealed ones, by the "ſtrongeſt conſolations of the Spirit, by the gentleneſs of "Jeſus Chriſt, that Plant of renown, by your laſt accounts, "and by your appearing before God, when the white "throne ſhall be up, be not deceived with theſe fair words: "though my ſpirit be aſtoniſhed at the cunning diſtinc-"tions, which are found out in the matters of the cove-"nant, that help may be had againſt this man; yet my "heart trembleth to entertain the leaſt thought of joining "with theſe deceivers*." Accordingly he joined the remonſtrators, and was choſen moderator at that ſynod at Edinburgh after the public reſolutioners went out and left them.

The author of his memoirs ſaith, "His pleaſant and "facetious converſation procured him an univerſal reſpect "from the Engliſh officers, and made them fond of his "company; while at the ſame time his courage and con-"ſtancy did not fail him in the cauſe of his great Maſter, and "was often uſeful to curb the extravagancies of the ſecta-"ries, and maintain order and regularity." One inſtance of which happened, at the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, at Glaſgow, celebrated by Mr. Andrew Gray.——Several of the Engliſh officers had formed a deſign to put in execution the diſorderly principle of a promiſcuous admiſſion to the Lord's table, by coming to it themſelves without acquainting the miniſter, or being in a due manner found worthy of that privilege.——It being Mr. Guthrie's turn to ſerve

* Rutherford's letters, part III. let. 66.

ſerve at that table, he ſpoke to them, when they were leaving their pews in order to make the attempt, with ſuch gravity, reſolution and zeal, that they were quite confounded, and ſat down without making any further diſturbance.

About this time that ſet of heretics, called quakers, endeavoured to ſow their tares in Fenwick pariſh, when Mr. Guthrie was ſome weeks abſent, about his own private affairs in Angus.—But he returned before this infection had ſunk deep; recovered ſome who were in hazard of being tainted by its fatal influence; and confounded the reſt, that they deſpaired of any further attack upon his flock.—This wild ſet had made many proſelytes to their demented deluſions in Kilbryde, Glaſgow, and other neighbouring pariſhes; yea, they proſpered ſo well in Glasford pariſh, that there is yet a church-yard in that place, where they buried their own dead, with their heads to the eaſt, contrary to the practice of all other chriſtians.

After this, he had ſeveral calls for tranſportation to other pariſhes, of more importance than ever Fenwick was; which places were, Renfrew, Linlithgow, Stirling, Glaſgow, and Edinburgh. But the air and recreation of a country life were uſeful to him, in maintaining a healthful conſtitution; and, above all, the love his flock had to him cauſed him put on an invincible obſtinacy, againſt all deſigns of ſeparation from them; a relation, when it is animated with this principle of the ſpiritual life, and founded on ſo noble a bottom, enters deepeſt into the ſoul; and a miniſter can ſcarce miſs to have peculiar tenderneſs and warmth of divine affections to thoſe whoſe father he is after the Spirit; and hath been honoured of God, in bringing them to the kingdom of his Son, and begetting them through the goſpel; whoſe heavenly birth is now the higheſt pleaſure and brighteſt triumph of his life, and will be one day his crown of glory and rejoicing. And doubtleſs, when Mr. Guthrie preferred Fenwick, a poor obſcure pariſh, to the moſt conſiderable charges in the nation, it was a proof of his mortification to the world, and that he was moved by views ſuperior to temporal intereſts.

About the year 1656, or 1657, ſome unknown perſon ſomehow got a copy of a few imperfect notes of ſome ſermons that Mr. Guthrie had preached from the 55th chapter of the prophecy of the prophet Iſaiah, with relation to perſonal covenanting; and, without the leaſt intimation of the deſign made to him, printed them in a little pamphlet of 61 pages 12*mo*, under this title, A clear, attractive, warming beam of light, from Chriſt, the Sun of light,

light, leading unto himſelf, *&c.*——printed at Aberdeen, 1657.——

This book was indeed anonymous; but Mr. Guthrie was reputed the author by the whole country, and was therefore obliged to take notice of it. He was equally diſpleaſed at the vanity of the title, and the defect of the work itſelf, which conſiſted of ſome broken notes of his ſermons, confuſedly huddled together, by an injudicious hand.——He ſaw that the only method to remedy this, was to review his own ſermons; from which he ſoon compoſed that admirable treatiſe, The Chriſtian's great intereſt; the only genuine work of Mr. Guthrie, which hath been bleſſed by God with wonderful ſucceſs, in our own country; being publiſhed very ſeaſonably a little before the introduction of prelacy in Scotland at the reſtoration.

The author of his memoirs ſaith, "He had a ſtory from "a reverend miniſter of the church, who had the ſenti- "ments of Dr. Owen from his own mouth, who ſaid,—— "You have truly men of great ſpirits in Scotland; there "is, for a gentleman, Mr. Bailey of Jerviſwood, a perſon "of the greateſt abilities I almoſt ever met with; and, for "a divine, (ſaid he, taking out of his pocket a little gilt "copy of Mr. Guthrie's treatiſe) that author I take to have "been one of the greateſt divines that ever wrote. It is my "*vade mecum*, and I carry it and the Sedan new teſta- "ment ſtill about with me. I have wrote ſeveral folios, "but there is more divinity in it than in them all.——It "was tranſlated into low dutch by the reverend and pious "Mr. Kealman, and was highly eſteemed in Holland, ſo "that Mrs. Guthrie and one of her daughters met with un- "common civility and kindneſs, when their relation to its "author was known. It was alſo tranſlated into french, "and high dutch; and we are informed, that it was alſo "tranſlated into one of the eaſtern languages, at the charge "of that noble pattern of religion, learning and charity, "the honourable Robert Boyle."

At the ſynod of Glaſgow held April 1661, after long reaſoning about proper meaſures for the ſecurity of religion, the matter was referred to a committee; Mr. Guthrie preſcribed the draught of an addreſs to the parliament, wherein a faithful teſtimony was given to the purity of our reformation, in worſhip, doctrine, diſcipline and government, in terms equally remarkable for their prudence and courage. Every body approved of it; and it was tranſmitted to the ſynod. But ſome, on the reſolution ſide, judged it not convenient, and gave an opportunity to

thoſe,

thoſe, who deſigned to comply with prelacy, to procure a delay; and, at that time, got it cruſhed: Yet it affords a proof of the zealous honeſty and firmneſs of Mr. Guthrie.

About this time, being the laſt time that he was with his couſin Mr. James Guthrie, he happened to be very melancholy, which made Mr. James ſay, "A penny for your "thought, couſin."——Mr. William anſwered, "There is "a poor man at the door, give him the penny;" which being done, he proceeded and ſaid, "I'll tell you, couſin, "what I am, not only thinking upon, but I am ſure of, if "I be not under a deluſion.——The malignants will be "your death, and this gravel will be mine; but you will "have the advantage of me, for you will die honourably "before many witneſſes, with a rope about your neck; and "I will die whining upon a pickle ſtraw, and will endure "more pain before I riſe from your table, than all the pain "you will have in your death."

He took a reſolution to wait on his worthy friend Mr. James, at his death (his execution being on Saturday June 1.) notwithſtanding the apparent hazard, at that time, in ſo doing; but his ſeſſion prevailed on him (although with much difficulty) by their earneſt intreaties, to lay aſide his deſign at that time.

Through the interpoſition of the earl of Eglinton, and the chancellor Glencairn, whom he had obliged before the reſtoration, when he was impriſoned for his loyalty, now contributed what he could for his preſervation; by which means (of the chancellor) he, above many, had near four years further reſpite with his people at Fenwick. In which time, his church, although a large country one, was overlaid and crowded every Sabbath-day, and very many, without doors, from diſtant pariſhes, ſuch as Glaſgow, Paiſley, Hamilton, Lanerk, Kilbryde, Glasford, Strathaven, Newmills, Egelſham, and many other places, who hungred for the pure goſpel preached, and got a meal by the word of his miniſtry. It was their uſual practice to come to Fenwick on Saturday, and to ſpend the greateſt part of the night in prayer to God, and converſation about the great concerns of their ſouls, to attend the public worſhip on the Sabbath, to dedicate the remainder of that holy day in religious exerciſes, and then to go home on Monday the length of ten, twelve or twenty miles without grudging in the leaſt at the long way, want of ſleep or other refreſhments; neither did they find themſelves the leſs prepared

for

for any other buſineſs through the week*.——Theſe years were the moſt particular under the divine influences of the Holy Spirit, accompanying the miniſtry and ordinances diſpenſed by Mr. Guthrie in all his life, and will ſtill be had in remembrance; a remarkable bleſſing accompanied ordinances to people who came with ſuch a diſpoſition of ſoul, great numbers were converted unto the truth, and many built up in their moſt holy faith.——In a word, He was honoured to be a man in the Lord's hand of turning many to a religious life; and who, after his being taken from them, could never, without exultation of ſoul and emotion of revived affection, think upon their ſpiritual father, and the power of that victorious grace, which, in thoſe days, triumphed ſo gloriouſly; and for many years afterwards, were conſidered, above many other pariſhes in the kingdom, as a civilized and religious people; he having with a becoming boldneſs, fortified them in a zealous adherence to the purity of our reformation; warned them of the defection that was then made by the introduction of prelacy; and inſtructed them in the duty of ſuch a difficult time, ſo that they never made any compliance with the prelatical ſchemes afterwards.

The extraordinary reputation and uſefulneſs of his miniſtry were admired and followed by all the country around him, which provoked the jealous and angry prelates againſt him, and was one of the cauſes of his being at laſt attacked by them. Then the earl of Glencairn made a viſit to the arch-biſhop of Glaſgow at his own houſe, and at parting aſked as a favour in particular from him, That Mr. Guthrie might be overlooked, as knowing him to be an excellent man.——The biſhop not only refuſed him, but did, with a diſdainful haughty air, tell him, That ſhall not be done; it cannot be, he is a ringleader and keeper up of ſchiſm in my dioceſs,——and then left the chancellor very abruptly. Row, Allan, and ſome other preſbyterian gentlemen, who were waiting on him, obſerving the chancellor diſcompoſed when the biſhop left him, preſumed to aſk him what the matter was; to which the earl anſwered, "we have ſet up theſe men, and they will tread us under "their feet." In conſequence of this reſolution of biſhop Burnet, Mr. Guthrie was, by a commiſſion from him, ſuſpended;

* After the reſt of his brethren were caſt out, people ſo flocked to his ſacramental occaſions, that the church was ſo thronged, that each communicant (it is ſaid), had to ſhew their tokens to the keepers of the door before they got entrance, to prevent diſorder and confuſion.

pended; and the biſhop dealt with ſeveral of his creatures, the curates, to intimate the ſentence againſt him, and many refuſed, for (ſaith Wodrow), "There was an awe upon their ſpirits, which ſcared them from meddling with this great man." Be as it will, at laſt he prevailed with the curate of Calder, and promiſed him five pounds ſterling of reward. Mr. Guthrie, being warned of this deſign of the biſhop againſt him, adviſed with his friends to make no reſiſtance at his depoſition from the church and manſe, ſince his enemy wanted only this as a handle to perſecute him criminally for his former zeal and faithfulneſs.

Accordingly, on Wedneſday July 20, he, with his congregation, kept the day with faſting and prayer. He preached to them from Hoſ. xiii. 9. *O Iſrael! thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf*, &c. From that ſcripture, with great plainneſs and affection, he laid before them their own ſins, and the ſins of the land and age they lived in; and indeed the place was a *Bochim*——At the cloſe of this day's work, he gave them intimation of ſermon on the next Lord's day, very early; and accordingly his people, and many others, met him at the church of Fenwick, betwixt four and five in the morning, when he preached to them from the cloſe of his laſt text, *But in me is thine help*.——And as he uſed on ordinary Sabbaths, he alſo now had two ſermons, and a ſhort interval betwixt them, and diſmiſſed the people before nine in the morning. Upon this melancholy occaſion he directed them unto the great Fountain of help, when the goſpel and miniſters were taken from them; and took his leave of them, commending them to God, who was able to build them up, and help them in time of need.

Upon the day appointed, the curate came to Fenwick, with a party of twelve ſoldiers, on the ſabbath-day; and, by commiſſion from the arch-biſhop, diſcharged Mr. Guthrie to preach any more in Fenwick, declared the church vacant, and ſuſpended him from the exerciſe of his miniſtry.

The curate left the party without, and came into the manſe; and declared, That the biſhop and committee, after much lenity ſhewed to him for a long time, were conſtrained to paſs the ſentence of ſuſpenſion againſt him, for not keeping of preſbyteries and ſynods with the reſt of his brethren, and his unpeaceableneſs in the church; of which ſentence he was appointed to make public intimation unto him, for which purpoſe he read his commiſſion under the hand of the arch-biſhop of Glaſgow.

Mr. Guthrie anſwered, "I judge it not convenient to ſay "much in anſwer to what you have ſpoken; only, where- "as you alledge there hath been much lenity uſed toward "me—be it known to you, that I take the Lord for party "in that, and thank him firſt——yea, I look upon it as a "door which God opened to me, for the preaching of this "goſpel, which you nor any man elſe was able to ſhut, till "it was given you of God; and as to that ſentence, paſſed "againſt me, I declare before theſe gentlemen (meaning "the officers of the party) that I lay no weight upon it, as "it comes from you, or thoſe that ſent you—though that "I do reſpect the civil authority, who, by their law, laid "the ground for this ſentence paſſed againſt me.——I de- "clare I would not ſurceaſe from the exerciſe of my mi- "niſtry for all that ſentence.——And as to the crimes I am "charged with,—I did keep preſbyteries and ſynods with "the reſt of my brethren; but I do not judge thoſe who "do now ſit in theſe to be my brethren, who have made "defection from the truth and cauſe of God; nor do I "judge thoſe to be free and lawful courts of Chriſt, that "are now ſitting; and as to my peaceableneſs—I know I "am bidden follow peace with all men, but I know alſo "I am bidden follow it with holineſs; and ſince I could "not obtain peace without prejudice to holineſs, I thought "myſelf obliged to let it go.——And as for your commiſ- "ſion, Sir, to intimate this ſentence,—I here declare, I "think myſelf called by the Lord to the work of the mi- "niſtry, and did forſake the neareſt relation in the world, "and gave up myſelf to the ſervice of the goſpel in this "place, having received an unanimous call from this pa- "riſh, and was licenced and ordained by the preſbytery; "and I bleſs the Lord, he hath given me ſome ſucceſs and "ſeals of my miniſtry, upon the ſouls and conſciences of "not a few, who are gone to heaven, and of ſome who "are yet in the way to it.——And now, Sir, if you will "take it upon you to interrupt my work among this peo- "ple, I ſhall wiſh the Lord may forgive you the guilt of "it; I cannot but leave all the bad conſequences that may "fall out upon it betwixt God and your own conſciences; "and here I do further declare, before theſe gentlemen, "that I am ſuſpended from my miniſtry for adhering to "the covenants and word of God, from which you and o- "thers have apoſtatized."

Here the curate interrupting him, ſaid, The Lord had a work before that covenant had a being, and that he judged them apoſtates that adhered to that covenant, and he wiſh-

ed

ed that the Lord would not only forgive him (meaning Mr. Guthrie) but if it were lawful to pray for the dead (at which expreſſion the ſoldiers laughed) that the Lord might forgive the ſin of this church theſe hundred years by-paſt. It is true, anſwered Mr. Guthrie, the Lord had a work before that covenant had a being, but it is as true, that it hath been more glorious ſince that covenant; and it is a ſmall thing for us to be judged of you, in adhering to this covenant, who have ſo deeply corrupted your ways; and ſeem to reflect on the whole work of reformation from popery theſe hundred years by-gone, by intimating that the church had need of pardon for the ſame.——As for you, gentlemen (added he, to the ſoldiers), I wiſh the Lord may pardon your countenancing this man in his buſineſs. One of them ſcoffingly replied, I wiſh we never do a greater fault. Well, ſaid Mr. Guthrie, a little ſin may damn a man's ſoul.

After all this and more had paſſed, Mr. Guthrie called for a glaſs of ale, and, craving a bleſſing himſelf, drank to the commander of the ſoldiers. After they were by him civilly entertained, they left the houſe. At parting with the curate, Mr. Guthrie ſignified ſo much to him, that he apprehended ſome evident mark of the Lord's diſpleaſure was abiding him, for what he was a-doing; and ſeriouſly warned him to prepare for ſome ſtroke coming upon him, and that very ſoon.

When the curate left the manſe, he went to the church with the ſoldiers his guard (now his hearers) and preached to them not a quarter of an hour, and intimated to them from the pulpit the biſhop's ſentence againſt Mr. Guthrie. Nobody came to hear him but his party, and a few children, who created him ſome diſturbance, till they were chaſed away by the ſoldiers*. Indeed his people were ready to have ſacrificed their all, and reſiſted even unto blood, in his defence and the goſpel, had they been permitted by him.

As for the curate, (ſays Mr. Wodrow) I am well aſſured he never preached any more after he left Fenwick; he reached Glaſgow, but it is not certain if he reached Calder (though but four miles from Glaſgow): However, in a few days he died, in great torment of an iliac paſſion, and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby, and none belonging to him were left.——His reward of five pounds was dear bought; it was the price of blood, the

* Wodrow's hiſtory, Vol. I. page 111.

blood of ſouls: Neither he, nor his had any ſatisfaction in it. Such a dangerous thing it is to meddle with Chriſt's ſervants.

After this Mr. Guthrie continued in Fenwick until the year 1665. The brother, to whom his paternal eſtate was made over, dying in ſummer, Mr. Guthrie's preſence at home was the more neceſſary, for ordering of his private affairs; which made him and his wife make a journey to Angus about the ſame time. He had not been long in that country until he was ſeized with a complication of diſtempers; the gravel, with which he had been formerly troubled; the gout; a violent heart-burning; and an ulcer in his kidneys: All which attacked him with great fury. And being thus tormented with violent pain, his friends were ſometimes obliged to hold down his head and up his feet; and yet he would ſay, The Lord hath been kind to him, for all the ills he had done; and at the ſame time ſaid, "Though I ſhould die mad, yet I know I ſhall "die in the Lord.—Bleſſed are the dead that die in the "Lord at all times, but more eſpecially when a flood of "errors, ſnares and judgments are beginning, or coming "on a nation, church or people"

In the midſt of all his heavy affliction he ſtill adored the meaſures of divine providence, though at the ſame time he longed for his diſſolution, and expreſſed the ſatisfaction and joy with which he would make the grave his dwelling-place, when God ſhould think fit to give him reſt there.——His compaſſionate Maſter did at laſt indulge the pious breathing of his ſoul; for, after eight or ten days illneſs, he was gathered to his fathers, in the houſe of his brother in-law, Mr. Lewis Skinnier of Brechin, upon Wedneſday forenoon, October 10th, 1665, (in the 45th year of his age), and was buried in the church of Brechin, under Pitfrothy's deſk.

During his ſickneſs he was viſited by the biſhop of Brechin, and ſeveral epiſcopal miniſters and relations, who all had a high value for him, notwithſtanding he expreſt his ſorrow (with great freedom) for their compliance with the corrupted eſtabliſhment in eccleſiaſtical affairs. He died in the full aſſurance of faith as to his own intereſt in God's covenant, and under the pleaſing hopes that God would return in glory to the church of Scotland.

Mr. John Livingſton, in his memorable characteriſtics, ſays, "Mr. William Guthrie, miniſter at Fenwick, was a "man of a moſt ready wit, fruitful invention, and appo-"ſite compariſons, qualified both to awaken and pacify "con-

" conſcience, ſtraight and zealous for the cauſe of Chriſt, " and a great light in the weſt of Scotland."—And elſe-where ſays, " Mr. Guthrie, in his doctrine, was as full and " free as any man in Scotland had ever been; which, to-" gether with the excellency of his preaching gift, did ſo " recommend him to the affection of his people, that they " turned the corn-field of his glebe into a little town, every " one building a houſe for his family on it that they might " live under the drop of his miniſtry."

Mr. Crawford, in a MSS. never publiſhed, ſays, " Mr. " Guthrie was a burning and a ſhining light, kept in after " many others, by the favour of the old earl of Eglinton, " the chancellor's father-in-law.—He converted and con-" firmed many thouſands of ſouls, and was eſteemed the " greateſt preacher in Scotland."

And indeed, he was accounted as ſingular a perſon for confirming thoſe that were under ſoul-exerciſe, as almoſt any in his age, or any age we have heard of.——Many have made reflections on him, becauſe he left off his miniſtry, on account of the biſhop's ſuſpenſion; his reaſons may be taken from what hath been already related. It is true indeed, the authority of the Stuarts was too much the idol of jealouſy to many of our worthy Scots reformers; for we may well think (as a late author ſays, tho' no great enemy unto theſe civil powers) that it was a wonder the nation did not riſe up as one man, to cut off thoſe who had razed the whole of the preſbyterian conſtitution; but the Lord, for holy and wiſe ends, ſaw meet to do otherwiſe, and cut off thoſe in power by another arm, after they had all been brought to the furnace together; altho' they might well have all the while ſeen as Mr. Guthrie has obſerved, " That the civil power laid the foundation for " the other."

So far as can be learned, Mr. Guthrie never preached in Fenwick again, after the intimation of the biſhop's ſentence to him; and it is well known, that he, with many of his people in Fenwick, upon a time, went to Stuarton, to hear a young preſbyterian miniſter preach, and when coming home, they ſaid to him, that they were not pleaſed with that man's preaching (he being of a ſlow delivery);—he ſaid, They were all miſtaken in the man, he had a great ſermon; and, if they pleaſed, at a convenient place, he ſhould let them hear a good part thereof.——And ſitting all down on the ground in a good ſummer night, about ſun-ſetting; when, he having rehearſed the ſermon, they thought

thought it a wonderful great one, becauſe of his good delivery, and their amazing love to him: After which they aroſe, and ſet forward.

All allow that Mr. Guthrie was a man of ſtrong natural parts (notwithſtanding his being a hard ſtudent at firſt); his voice was, among the beſt ſort, loud, and yet managed with a charming cadence and elevation; his oratory was ſingular, and by it he was wholly maſter of the paſſions of his hearers. He was an eminent chirurgion at the jointing of a broken ſoul, and at the ſtating of a doubtful conſcience; ſo that afflicted perſons in ſpirit came far and near, and received much ſatisfaction and comfort by him. Thoſe who were very rude, when he came firſt to the pariſh, at his departure were very ſorrowful, and, at the curate's intimation of the biſhop's commiſſion, would have made reſiſtance, if he would have permitted them, not fearing the hazards or hardſhips they might have endured on that account afterwards.

Beſides his valuable treatiſe already mentioned, there are alſo a few very faithful ſermons, bearing his name, ſaid to be preached at Fenwick from Matth. xiv. 44. *&c.* Hoſ. xiii. 9, *&c.* But becauſe they are ſomewhat rude in expreſſion, differing from the ſtile of his treatiſe, ſome have thought them ſpurious, or, at leaſt, not as they were at firſt delivered by him. And as for that treatiſe on ruling elders, which is now affixed to the laſt edition of his treatiſe (called his works), it was wrote by his couſin, Mr. James Guthrie of Stirling. There are alſo ſome other diſcourſes of his yet in manuſcript, out of which I had the occaſion to tranſcribe ſeventeen ſermons publiſhed in the year 1779. There are yet a great variety of ſermons and notes of ſermons bearing his name yet in manuſcript, ſome of which ſeems to be wrote with his own hand.

The Life of Mr. ROBERT BLAIR.

MR. BLAIR was born at Irvine *anno* 1593. His father was John Blair of Windyedge, a younger brother of the ancient and honourable family of Blair of that ilk; his mother was Beatrix Muir of the ancient family of Rewallan. His father died when he was young, leaving his mother with ſix children (of whom Robert was the young-

youngeſt). She continued near fifty years a widow, and lived till ſhe was an hundred years old.

Mr. Robert entered into the college of Glaſgow, about the year 1608, where he ſtudied hard and made great progreſs; but leſt he ſhould have been puffed up with his proficiency (as he himſelf obſerves) the Lord was pleaſed to viſit him with a tertian fever, for full four months, to the great detriment of his ſtudies.

Nothing remarkable occurred till the 20th year of his age, when he gave himſelf ſometimes to the exerciſe of archery and the like recreations; but leſt his ſtudies ſhould have been hindered, he reſolved to be buſy at them every other night, and for that purpoſe could find no place ſo proper as a room whereinto none were permitted to go, by reaſon of an apparition that was ſaid to frequent it, yea, wherein it is alſo ſaid, that he himſelf had ſeen the devil, in the likeneſs of one of his fellow-ſtudents*, whom he took to be really his companion, but when he, with a candle in his hand, chaſed him to the corner of the room, offering to pull him out, he found nothing; after which he was never more troubled, ſtudying the one night without fear, and the other he ſlept very ſweetly, believing in him, who was ſtill his great Preſerver and Protector for ever.

Having now finiſhed his courſe of philoſophy under the diſcipline of his own brother, Mr. William Blair (who was afterwards miniſter at Dumbarton). He engaged for ſome time to be an aſſiſtant to an aged ſchool-maſter at Glaſgow, who had above 300 ſcholars under his inſtruction, the half of whom were committed to the charge of Mr. Blair. At this time he was called, by the miniſtry of the famous Mr. Boyd of Trochrigg (then principal of the college of Glaſgow), in whoſe hand, the Lord, as he himſelf obſerves†, did put the key of his heart, ſo that whenever he heard him in public or private he profited much, being as it were ſent to him from God to ſpeak the words of eternal life.

Two years after he was admitted in the room of his brother Mr. William, to be regent in the college of Glaſgow, though not without the oppoſition of arch-biſhop Law, who had promiſed that place to another.——But neither the principal nor regents giving place to his motion, Mr. Blair was admitted. After his admiſſion, his elder colleagues, perceiving what great ſkill and inſight he had in humanity, urged him to read the claſſical authors; whereupon

* In the form of a crooked boy who laughed in his face, &c. Fulfilling of the ſcriptures, Vol. I. page 357.

† His own memoirs, page 11, and 13.

upon he began and read Plautus, but the Lord, being diſpleaſed with that deſign, diverted him from this, by meeting with Auguſtine's confeſſion, wherein he inveighs ſharply againſt the education of youth in heathen writings.—— Whereupon he betook himſelf to the reading of the holy ſcriptures and the ancient fathers, eſpecially Auguſtine, who had another reliſh; and though he perceived that our reformed divines were more ſound than ſeveral of the ancient, yet in his ſpare hours he reſolved to peruſe the ancient monuments, wherein he made a conſiderable progreſs.

In ſummer 1616, he entered on trials for the miniſtry, and it was laid upon him to preach in the college-kirk the firſt Sabbath after his licence; and ſome years after, being told by ſome of the hearers (who were better acquainted with religion, than he was then) that in his ſermon the Lord did ſpeak to their hearts, which not only ſurprized him, but alſo ſtirred him to follow after the Lord.

Upon an evening, the ſame year, having been engaged with ſome irreligious company, when he returned to his chamber to his wonted devotion, he was threatened to be deſerted of God, had a reſtleſs night, and to-morrow reſolved on a day of faſting, humiliation and prayer, and towards the end of that day he found acceſs to God with ſweet peace, through Jeſus Chriſt, and turned to beware of ſuch company; but running into another extreme of rudeneſs and incivility to profane perſons, he found it was very hard for ſhort-ſighted ſinners to hold the right and the ſtraight way.

While he was regent in the college, upon a report that ſome ſinful oath was to be impoſed upon the maſters, he enquired at Mr. Gavin Forſyth, one of his fellow-regents, What he would do in this? He anſwered, By my faith I muſt live.——Mr. Blair ſaid, "Sir, I will not ſwear by my "faith, as you do, but, truly, I intend to live by my faith. "You may chooſe your own way, but I will adventure on "the Lord."——And ſo this man did continue (to whom the matter of an oath was a ſmall thing) after he was gone, but it is to be noticed, that Mr. Forſyth was many years in ſuch poverty as forced him to ſupplicate the general aſſembly for ſome relief, when Mr. Blair (who was choſen moderator) upon his appearing in ſuch a deſperate caſe, could not ſhun obſerving that former paſſage of his, and upon his addreſs to him in private, with great tenderneſs, put him in mind, that he had been truly carried through by his faith, at which he formerly had ſcoffed.

Some

Some time after he was a regent in the college, he was under deep exerciſes of ſoul, wherein he attained unto much comfort.—Amongſt other things, that great oracle, *the juſt ſhall live by faith*, ſounded loudly in his ears, which put him on a new ſearch of the ſcriptures, in which he went on till Mr. Culverwal's treatiſe of faith came out; which being the ſame with what is ſince publiſhed by the Weſtminſter aſſembly, he was thereby much ſatisfied and comforted.

"By this ſtudy of the nature of faith, and eſpecially of "the text before mentioned, (ſays he) I learned, *1ſt*, That "nominal Chriſtians or common profeſſors were much de- "luded in their way of believing; and that not only do "Papiſts err who place faith in an implicit aſſent to the "truth which they know not, and that it is better defined "by ignorance than knowledge, (a way of believing very "ſuitable to Antichriſt's ſlaves, who are led by the noſe "they know not whither); but alſo ſecure Proteſtants, "who, abuſing the deſcription of old given of faith, ſay "that it implies an aſſured knowledge in the perſon who "believes of the love of God in Chriſt to him in particular: "this aſſurance is no doubt attainable, and many believers "do comfortably enjoy the ſame, as our divines prove un- "anſwerably againſt the Popiſh doctors who maintain the "neceſſity of perpetual doubting, and miſcall comfortable "aſſurance the Proteſtant's preſumption. But notwith- "ſtanding that comfortable aſſurance doth ordinarily ac- "company a high degree of faith, yet that aſſurance is not "to be found in all the degrees of ſaving faith: ſo that by "not adverting to that diſtinction many gracious ſouls and "ſound believers, who have received Jeſus Chriſt and reſt- "ed upon him, as he is offered to them in the word, have "been much puzzled, as if they were not believers at all: "on the other hand, many ſecure and impenitent ſinners, "who have not yet believed the Lord's holineſs, nor ab- "horrence of ſin, nor their own ruined ſtate and conditi- "tion, do from ſelf-love imagine, without any warrant of "the word, that they are beloved of God, and that the "foreſaid deſcription of faith agrees well to them.

"*2dly*, I perceived, that many that make a right uſe of "faith, in order to attain to the knowledge of their juſ- "tification, make no direct uſe of it in order to ſanctificati- "on, and that the living of *the juſt by faith*, reacheth fur- "ther than I formerly conceived, and that the heart is pu- "rified by faith. If any ſay, Why did I not know, that pre- "cious faith, being a grace, is not only a part of our ho-

" lineſs, but does promote other parts of holineſs; I an-
" ſwer, that I did indeed know this, and made uſe of faith
" as a motive to ſtir me up to holineſs, according to the a-
" poſtle's exhortation, *Having therefore theſe promiſes, let us*
" *cleanſe ourſelves from all filthineſs of the fleſh and ſpirit,*
" *perfecting holineſs in the fear of the Lord.* But I had not
" before learned to make uſe of faith as a mean and inſtru-
" ment to draw holineſs out of Chriſt, though, it may be,
" I had both heard and ſpoken that by way of a tranſient
" notion; but then I learned to purpoſe that they who re-
" ceive forgiveneſs of ſin, are ſanctified through faith in
" Chriſt, as our glorious Saviour taught the apoſtle, Acts
" xxiv. 18.—Then I ſaw, that it was no wonder that my
" not making uſe of faith for ſanctification, as has been
" ſaid, occaſioned an obſtruction in the progreſs of holineſs.
" and I perceived that making uſe of Chriſt for ſanctifica-
" tion without direct employing of faith to extract the ſame
" out of him, was like one ſeeking water out of a deep well
" without a long cord to let down the bucket, and draw it
" up again.—Then was I like one that came to the ſtore-
" houſe, but got my proviſion reached unto me, as it were,
" through a window: I had come to the houſe of mercy,
" but had not found the right door; but by this diſcovery,
" I found a patent door, at which to go in, to receive pro-
" viſion and furniture from Chriſt Jeſus. Thus the bleſſed
" Lord trained me up, ſtep by ſtep, ſuffering many diffi-
" culties to ariſe, that more light from himſelf might flow
" in.

" I hoped then to make better progreſs with leſs ſtumb-
" ling; but ſhortly after I met with another difficulty; and
" wondering what diſcovery would next clear the way, I
" found that the ſpirit of holineſs whoſe immediate and
" proper work was to ſanctify, had been ſlighted, and there-
" by grieved: for though the Holy Spirit had been teach-
" ing, and I had been ſpeaking of him and to him frequent-
" ly, and had been ſeeking the outpouring thereof, and
" urging others to ſeek the ſame; yet that diſcovery ap-
" peared unto me a new practical leſſon: and ſo I laboured
" more to cheriſh and not quench the Holy Spirit, praying
" to be led unto all truth, according to the ſcripture, by
" that bleſſed guide; and that by that heavenly Comforter,
" I might be encouraged in all troubles, and ſealed up
" thereby in ſtrong aſſurance of my intereſt in God.

" About that time, the Lord ſet me to work to ſtir up
" the ſtudents under my diſcipline, earneſtly to ſtudy piety,
" and to be diligent in ſecret ſeeking of the Lord; and my

" endeavours

" endeavours this way were graciouſly bleſſed to ſeverals of " them."

Dr. John Cameron, being brought from France, and ſettled principal of the college in Mr. Boyd's place, and being wholly ſet on to promote the cauſe of epiſcopacy, urged Mr. Blair to conform to Perth articles, but he utterly refuſed.——And, it being a thing uſual in theſe days, for the regents to meet to diſpute ſome theſis, for their better improvement, Mr. Blair had the advantage of his opponent (who was a French ſtudent), who maintained that election did proceed upon foreſeen faith; but the doctor ſtated himſelf in the oppoſition to Mr. Blair, in a way which tended to Arminianiſm; and Mr. Blair being urged to a ſecond diſpute by the doctor himſelf, did ſo drive him to the mire of Arminianiſm, as did redound much to the doctor's ignominy afterward, and although he and Mr. Blair were afterward reconciled, yet he, being ſo nettled in that diſpute, improved all occaſions againſt him; and, for that purpoſe, when Mr. Blair was on a viſit to ſome of his godly friends and acquaintances, he cauſed one Garner ſearch his prelections on Ariſtotle's ethics and politics, and finding ſome things capable of wreſting, he brought them to the doctor, who preſented them to the arch-biſhop of Glaſgow; which coming to Mr. Blair's ears, he was ſo far from betraying his innocence, being aſſured the Lord would clear his integrity, that he prepared a written apology, and deſired a public hearing before the miniſters and magiſtrates of the city; which being granted, he managed the points ſo properly, that all preſent profeſſed their entire ſatisfaction with him; yea, one of the miniſters of the city (who had been influenced againſt him formerly) ſaid in the face of that meeting, Would to God, king James had been preſent, and heard what anſwers that man hath given. Such a powerful antagoniſt rendered his life ſo uneaſy, that he reſolved to leave the college and go abroad; which reſolution no ſooner took air than the doctor and the archbiſhop (knowing his abilities) wrote letters to cauſe him ſtay; but he, finding that little truſt was to be put in their fair promiſes, and being weary of teaching philoſophy, demitted his charge, took his leave of the doctor, wiſhing him well (although he was the cauſe of his going away) and left the college, to the great grief of his fellow-regents and ſtudents, and the people of Glaſgow.

Though he had ſeveral charges in Scotland preſented him, and an invitation to go to France, yet, the next day after his leaving Glaſgow, he had an invitation to go and

be miniſter of Bangor in the county of Down in Ireland, which call he, for ſome time, rejected, until he was ſeveral times rebuked of the Lord, which made him bound in ſpirit to ſet his face towards a voyage to that country; and although he met with a contsary wind, and turned ſea-ſick, yet he had ſuch recourſe to God, that upon the very firſt ſight of that land, he was made to exult for joy; and whilſt he came near Bangor, he had a ſtrong impreſſion borne in upon him, that the dean thereof was ſick; which impreſſion he found to be true when he came thither, for Mr. Gibſon, the incumbent, being ſick, invited him to preach there (which he did for three ſabbaths, to the good liking of the people of that pariſh); and, though he was formerly but a very naughty man, yet he told Mr. Blair, he was to ſucceed him in that place, and exhorted him, in the name of Chriſt, not to leave that good way wherein he had begun to walk, profeſſing a great deal of ſorrow that he had been a dean; he condemned epiſcopacy more ſtrongly than ever Mr. Blair durſt, and drawing his head toward his boſom, with both his arms he bleſſed him; which conduct being ſo unlike himſelf, and ſpeaking in a ſtrain ſo different from his uſual, made a gentlewoman ſtanding by ſay, An angel is ſpeaking out of the dean's bed to Mr. Blair; thinking it could not be ſuch a man. Within a few days he died, and Mr. Blair was ſettled miniſter there, whoſe ordination was on this manner—He went to biſhop Knox, and told him his opinions, and withal ſaid, That his ſole ordination did contradict his principles.—But the biſhop, being informed before-hand of his great parts and piety, anſwered him both wittily and ſubmiſſively, ſaying, "Whatever you account of epiſcopacy, yet, I know, you account preſbytery to have a divine warrant.—Will ye not receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a preſbyter;" for on no lower terms could he be anſwerable to law. This Mr. Blair could not refuſe; he was accordingly ordained about the year 1623.

Being thus ſettled, his charge was very great, having above 1200 perſons come to age, beſides children, who ſtood greatly in need of inſtruction; and in this caſe, he preached twice a week, beſides the Lord's day; on all which occaſions, he found little difficulty either as to matter or method.

He became the chief inſtrument of that great work which appeared ſhortly thereafter at Six-mile water, and other parts

parts in the counties of Down and Antrim, and that not only by his own miniſtry, wherein he was both diligent and faithful, but alſo in the great pains he took to ſtir up others unto the like duty.

While he was at Bangor, there was one Conſtable, in that pariſh, who went to Scotland with horſes to ſell, and at a fair ſold them all to one, who pretended he had not that money at preſent, but gave him a bond till Martinmaſs. —The poor man, ſuſpecting nothing, returned home; and one night, about that time, going homeward near Bangor, his merchant (who was ſuppoſed to be the devil) meets him; "Now, ſays he, you know my bargain, how I bought "you at ſuch a place, and now am come, as I promiſed, "to pay the price." Bought me! ſaid the poor man trembling, you bought but my horſes. Nay, ſaid the devil, I will let you know I bought yourſelf; and farther ſaid, He muſt either kill ſomebody, and the more excellent the perſon, the better it would be for him; and particularly charged him to kill Mr. Blair, elſe he would not free him. The man was ſo overcome with terror, thro' the violence of the temptation, that he determined the thing and went to Mr. Blair's houſe, with a dagger in his right hand, under his cloke, and though much confounded, was moving to get it out, but, on Mr. Blair's ſpeaking to him, he fell a-trembling, and on inquiry declared the whole fact, and withal ſaid, He had laboured to draw out the dagger but it would not come from the ſcabbard, though he knew not what hindered it; for when he eſſayed to draw it forth again, it came out with eaſe. Mr. Blair bleſſed the Lord, and exhorted him to chooſe him for his refuge; after which he departed *.

But two weeks afterwards (being confined to his bed) he ſent for Mr. Blair, and told him, That the night before as he was returning home, the devil appeared to him, and challenged him for opening to Mr. Blair what had paſſed betwixt them, claiming him as his, and putting the cap off his head and the band from his neck, ſaid, That on hallow-evening he ſhould have him ſoul and body, in ſpite of the miniſter and all others; and begged Mr. Blair, for Chriſt's ſake, to be with him againſt that time. Mr. Blair inſtructed him, prayed with him, and promiſed to be with him againſt the appointed time; but, before that time, he had much heſitation in his own mind, whether to keep that appointment or not: Yet, at laſt, he took one of hi elders

* Fulfilling of the ſcriptures, Vol. I. page 375.

elders with him, and went according to promiſe, and ſpent the whole night in prayer, explaining the doctrine of Chriſt's temptation, and praiſing with ſhort intermiſſions, *&c.*— And in the morning they took courage, defying Satan and all his devices: the man ſeemed very penitent, and died in a little after.

It was during the firſt year of his miniſtry, that he reſolved not to go through a whole book or chapter, but to make choice of ſome paſſages which held forth important heads of religion, and to cloſe the courſe with one ſermon of heaven's glory, and another of hell's torments; but when he came to meditate on theſe ſubjects, he was held a whole day in great perplexity, and could fix upon neither method nor matter till night, when, after ſorrowing for his diſorder, the Lord, in great pity, brought both matter and method unto his mind, which remained with him until he got the ſame delivered.

About this time he met with a moſt notable deliverance; for, ſtaying in a high houſe at the end of the town until the manſe was built, being late at his ſtudies, the candle was done, and calling for another, as the landlady brought it from a room under which he lay, to her aſtoniſhment, a joiſt under his bed had taken fire, which, had he been in bed as uſual, the conſequence, in all probability, had been dreadful to the whole town, as well as to him, the wind being ſtrong from that quarter; but, by the timeous alarm given, the danger was prevented; which made him give thanks to God for this great deliverance.

When he firſt celebrated the Lord's ſupper, his heart was much lifted up in ſpeaking of the new covenant, which made him, under the view of a ſecond adminiſtration of that ordinance, reſolve to go back unto that inexhauſtible fountain of conſolation; and coming over to Scotland about that time †, he received no ſmall aſſiſtance from Mr. Dickſon, who was then reſtored unto his flock at Irvine, and was ſtudying and preaching on the ſame ſubject.

But it was not many years that he could have liberty in the exerciſe of his office, for in harveſt 1631, he and Mr. Livingſton, were, by Ecklim biſhop of Down, ſuſpended from their office, but, upon recourſe to Dr. Uſher, who ſent a letter to the biſhop, their ſentence was relaxed, and they went on in their miniſtry, until May 1632, that they were,

† It ſeems to have been about this time, that Mr. Blair married his firſt wife Beatrix Hamilton, a very gracious woman, of the houſe of Barduie.

were, by the ſaid biſhop, depoſed from the office of the holy miniſtry.

After this, no redreſs could be had; whereupon Mr. Blair reſolved on a journey to court to repreſent their petitions and grievances to the king; but, after his arrival at London, he could have no acceſs for ſome time to his majeſty, and ſo laboured under many difficulties with little hopes of redreſs, until one day, having gone to Greenwich park, where, being wearied with waiting on the court, and while at prayer, the Lord aſſured him that he would hunt the violent man to deſtroy him. And while thus in earneſt with the Lord for a favourite return, he adventured to propone a ſign, that if the Lord would make the reeds, growing hard by, which were ſo moved with the wind, as he was toſſed in mind, to ceaſe from ſhaking, he would take it as an aſſurance of the diſpatch of his buſineſs; unto which the Lord condeſcended; for in a little time it became ſo calm, that not one of them moved; and in a ſhort time he got a diſpatch to his mind, wherein the king did not only ſign his petition, but with his own hand wrote on the margin (directed to the depute) Indulge theſe men, for they are Scotchmen.

It was while in England, that he had from Ezekiel xxiv. 16. a ſtrange diſcovery of his wife's death, and the very bed whereon ſhe was lying, and particular acquaintances attending her; and although ſhe was in good health at his return home, yet, in a little, all this exactly came to paſs.

And yet, after his return, the king's letter being ſlighted by the depute, who was newly returned from England, he was forced to have recourſe to arch-biſhop Uſher; which drew tears from his eyes, that he could not help them, and yet, by the interpoſition of lord Caſtle-Stuart with the king, they got ſix months liberty; but upon the back of this in Nov. 1634, he was again conveened before the biſhop, and the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt him, by Ecklin biſhop of Down.——After the ſentence was pronounced, Mr. Blair roſe up and publicly cited the biſhop to appear before the tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt, to anſwer for that wicked deed; whereupon he did appeal from the juſtice of God to his mercy; but Mr. Blair replied, Your appeal is like to be rejected, becauſe you act againſt the light of your own conſcience. In a few months after he fell ſick, and the phyſician inquiring of his ſickneſs, after ſome time's ſilence, he, with great difficulty, ſaid, It is my conſcience, man—To which the doctor replied

plied, I have no cure for that;—and in a little after he died.

After his ejection, he preached often in his own houſe, and in others houſes, until the beginning of the year 1635. that he began to think of marriage again with Catherine Montgomery, daughter to Hugh Montgomery, formerly of Buſbie in Ayr-ſhire (then in Ireland) for which he came over to Scotland with his own and his wife's friends.—— And upon his return to Ireland, they were married in the month of May following.

But matters ſtill continuing the ſame, he engaged with the reſt of the ejected miniſters in their reſolution in building a ſhip, called the Eagle-wings, of about 115 tons, on purpoſe to go to New-England. But about three or four hundred leagues from Ireland, meeting with a terrible hurricane, they were forced back unto the ſame harbour from whence they looſed, the Lord having work for them elſewhere, it was fit their purpoſes ſhould be defeated. And having continued ſome four months after this in Ireland, until, upon information that he and Mr. Livingſton were to be apprehended, they immediately went out of the way, and immediately took ſhipping, and landed in Scotland *anno* 1631.

All that ſummer after his arrival, he was as much employed in public and private exerciſes as ever before, moſtly at Irvine and the country around, and partly at Edinburgh. But things being then in a confuſion, becauſe the ſervice-book was then urged upon the miniſters, his old inclination to go to France revived, and upon an invitation to be chaplain of col. Hepburn's regiment in the French ſervice (newly inliſted in Scotland), with them he imbarked at Leith; but ſome of theſe recruits, who were moſtly highlanders, being deſperately wicked, upon his reproofs, threatning to ſtab him, he reſolved to quit that voyage, and calling to the ſhip-maſter to ſet him on ſhore, without imparting his deſign, a boat was immediately ordered for his ſervice; at which time he met with another deliverance, for his foot ſliding, he was in danger of going to the bottom, but the Lord ordered, that he got hold of a rope, by which he hung till he was relieved.

Mr. Blair's return gave great ſatisfaction to his friends at Edinburgh, and, the reformation being then in the aſcendant, in the ſpring of 1638, he got a call to be colleague to Mr. Annan at Ayr; and upon May 2, at a meeting of preſbytery, having preached from 2 Cor. iv. 5. he was, at the

the ſpecial deſire of all the people there, admitted a miniſter.

He ſtayed not long here, for, having, before the general aſſembly held at Glaſgow 1638, fully vindicated himſelf, both anent his affair with Dr. Cameron, while regent in the univerſity, and his ſettlement in Ireland, he was, for his great parts and known abilities, by them ordered to be tranſported to St. Andrews; but the aſſembly's motives to this did prove his determent for ſome time, and the burgh of Ayr, where the Lord had begun to bleſs his labours, had the favour for another year. But the aſſembly held at Edinburgh 1639. being offended for his diſobeying, ordered him peremptorily to tranſport himſelf thither.

Anno 1640, when the king had, by the advice of the clergy, cauſed burn the articles of the former treaty with the Scots, and again prepared to chaſtiſe them with a royal army, the Scots, reſolving not always to play after-game, raiſed an army, invaded England, routed about 4000 Engliſh at Newburn, had Newcaſtle ſurrendered to them, and within two days, were maſters of Durham; which produced a new treaty, more favourable to them than the former; and with this army was Mr. Blair, who went with lord Lindſay's regiment; and, when that treaty was on foot, the committee of eſtates and the army ſent him up to aſſiſt the commiſſioners with his beſt advice.

Again after the rebellion in Ireland 1641, thoſe who ſurvived the ſtorm, ſupplicated the general aſſembly 1642, for a ſupply of miniſters, when ſeverals went over, and among the firſt Mr. Blair. During his ſtay there, he generally preached once every day, and twice on Sabbath, and frequently in the field, the auditors being ſo large, and in ſome of theſe he adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper.

After his return, the condition of the church and ſtate was various during the years 1643, and 1644; and particularly in Aug. 1643, the committee of the general aſſembly, whereof Mr. Blair was one, with John earl of Rutland, and other Scots commiſſioners from the parliament of England, and Meſſrs. Stephen Marſhal and Philip Nye, miniſters, agreed to a ſolemn league and covenant betwixt the two kingdoms of Scotland and England; and in the end of the ſame year, when the Scots aſſiſted the Engliſh parliament, Mr. Blair was, by the commiſſion of the general aſſembly, appointed miniſter to the earl of Crawford's regiment; with whom he ſtayed until the king was routed

at Marſton-muir July 1644, when he returned to his charge at St. Andrews.

The parliament and commiſſion of the kirk ſat at Perth in July 1645. The parliament was opened with a ſermon by Mr. Blair; and, after he had, upon the forenoon of the 27th, a day of ſolemn humiliation preached again to the parliament, he rode out to the army, then encamped at Torgondermy, and preached to Crawford's and Maitland's regiments, to the firſt of whom he had been chaplain:—He told the brigade, That he was informed that many of them were turned diſſolute and profane, and aſſured them, that though the Lord had covered their heads in the day of battle (few of them being killed at Marſton-muir), they ſhould not be able to ſtand before a leſs formidable foe, unleſs they repented. Though this freedom was taken in good part from one who wiſhed them well, yet was too little laid to heart; and the moſt part of Crauford's regiment were cut off at Kilſyth in three weeks afterwards.

After the defeat at Kilſyth, ſeverals were for treating with Montroſe, but Mr. Blair oppoſed it, ſo that nothing was concluded until the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people; for the committee of eſtates recalled general Leſlie, with 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons, from England, to oppoſe whom Montroſe marched ſouthward; but was ſhamefully defeated at Philiphaugh Sept. 13, many of his forces being killed and taken priſoners, and he hardly eſcaped. On the 26, the parliament and commiſſion of the general aſſembly ſat down at St. Andrews (the plague being then in Edinburgh); here Mr. Blair preached before the parliament, and alſo prayed before the ſeveral ſeſſions thereof; and when ſeveral priſoners, taken at Philiphaugh, were tried, three of them, *viz.* Sir Robert Spotſwood, Nathaniel Gordon, and Mr. Andrew Guthrie, were to be executed on the 17th of January thereafter, Mr. Blair viſited them often, and was at much pains with them: He prevailed ſo far with Gordon, that he deſired to be relaxed from the ſentence of excommunication which he was under; and accordingly Mr. Blair did the ſame: The other two, who were biſhops ſons, died impenitent.—*Mali corvi malum ovum.*

Anno 1646, the general aſſembly, ſitting at Edinburgh, ordered Mr. Blair (who was then moderator), with Mr. Cant and Mr. Robert Douglas, to repair to the king at Newcaſtle, to concur with worthy Mr. Alexander Henderſon and others, who were labouring to convince him of great

great bloodſhed in theſe kingdoms, and reconcile him to preſbyterian church-government and the covenants. When theſe three miniſters got a hearing, the room was immediately filled with ſeveral ſorts of people to ſee their reception; Mr. Andrew Cant, being eldeſt, began briſkly to inſinuate, with his wonted zeal and plainneſs, that the king favoured popery; Mr. Blair interrupted him, and modeſtly hinted, That it was not a fit time nor place for that.—The king, looking on him earneſtly, ſaid, "That honeſt "man ſpeaks wiſely and diſcreetly; therefore I appoint "you three to attend me to-morrow at ten o'clock in my "bed-chamber." They attended, according to appointment, but got little ſatisfaction; only Mr. Blair aſked his majeſty, If there were not abominations in popery, *&c.?* The king, lifting his hat, ſaid, "I take God to witneſs "that there are abominations in popery, which I ſo much "abhor, that ere I conſent to them, I would rather loſe "my life and crown." Yet after all this, Mr. Blair and Mr. Henderſon (for theſe two he favoured moſt) having moſt earneſtly deſired him to ſatisfy the juſt deſires of his ſubjects, he obſtinately refuſed, though they beſought it on their knees with tears. Renewed commiſſions for this end, were ſent from Scotland, but to no good purpoſe, and Mr. Blair returned home to St. Andrews.

Mr. Henderſon died at Edinburgh, Aug. 19, which the king no ſooner heard, than he ſent for Mr. Blair to ſupply his place, as chaplain in Scotland; which Mr. Blair, thro' fear of being inſnared, was at firſt averſe unto, but having conſulted with Mr. David Dickſon, and reflecting that Mr. Henderſon had held his integrity faſt unto the end, he applied himſelf to that employment with great diligence, every day praying before dinner and ſupper in the preſence chamber; on the Lord's day lecturing once and preaching twice; beſides preaching ſome week days in St. Nicholas's church; as alſo converſing much with the king, deſiring him to condeſcend to the juſt deſires of his parliament, and at other times debating concerning prelacy, liturgies and ceremonies.

One day after prayer, the king aſked him, If it was warrantable in prayer to determine a controverſy?—Mr. Blair, taking the hint, ſaid, He thought he had determined no controverſy in that prayer. Yes, ſaid the king, you have determined the pope to be antichriſt, which is a controverſy among orthodox divines. To this Mr. Blair replied, To me this is no controverſy, and I am ſorry it ſhould be accounted ſo by your majeſty, ſure it was none to your father.

This silenced the king, for he was a great defender of his father's opinions; and his testimony, Mr. Blair knew well, was of more authority with him than the testimony of any divine. After a few months stay, Mr. Blair was permitted to visit his flock and family.

After the sitting of the Scots parliament, Mr. Blair made another visit to the king at Newcastle, where he urged him with all the arguments he was master of, to subscribe the covenants, and abolish Episcopacy in England, and he was confident all his honest Scotsmen would espouse his quarrel against his enemies in England, &c. To which the king answered, That he was bound by his great oath to defend Episcopacy, &c. in that church, and ere he wronged his conscience by violating his coronation-oath, he would lose his crown. Mr. Blair asked the form of that oath; he said, It was to maintain it to the utmost of his power.—Then, said Mr. Blair, you have not only defended it to the utmost of your power, but so long and so far, that now you have no power, &c. But by nothing could he prevail upon the king, and left him with a sorrowful heart, and returned to St. Andrews.

Again in the year 1648, when Cromwel came to Edinburgh, the commission of the kirk sent Mr. Blair and Messrs. David Dickson and James Guthrie to deal with him, for an uniformity in England. When they came, he entertained them with smooth speeches and solemn appeals to God as to the sincerity of his intentions. Mr. Blair being best acquaint with him, spoke for all the rest; and, among other things, begged an answer to these three questions: (1.) What was his opinion of monarchical government? He answered, He was for monarchical government, &c. (2.) What was his opinion anent toleration? He answered confidently, That he was altogether against toleration. (3.) What was his opinion concerning the government of the church? O now, said Cromwel, Mr. Blair, you article me too severely; you must pardon me, that I give you not a present answer to this, &c. This he shifted, because he had before, in conversation with Mr. Blair, confessed he was for independency. When they came out, Mr. Dickson said, I am glad to hear this man speak no worse; whereunto Mr. Blair replied, If you knew him as well as I, you would not believe one word he says, for he is an egregious dissembler and a great liar.

When the differences fell out betwixt the protestors and resolutioners, Mr. Blair was at London, and afterward for the most part remained neuter in that affair; for which

he

he was ſubjected to ſome hardſhips; yet he never omitted any proper place or occaſion for the uniting and cementing theſe differences, none now in Scotland being more earneſt in this than he and the learned and pious Mr. James Durham miniſter at Glaſgow. Theſe two, meeting at St. Andrews, had the influence to draw a meeting of the two ſides to Edinburgh, where harmony was like to prevail; but the Lord's anger, being ſtill drawn out for the prevailing ſins of that time, all promiſing beginnings were blaſted, and all hopes of agreement did vaniſh.

Thus affairs continued until the year 1660, that the kingdom, being quite ſick of diſtractions, reſtored again Charles II.; the woeful conſequences are otherwiſe too well known; And, on this laſt occaſion, Mr. Blair again began to beſtir himſelf to procure union betwixt the two foreſaid parties, and for that end obtained a meeting; but his endeavours were fruſtrated, and no reconciliation could be made, till both ſides were caſt into the furnace of a ſore and long perſecution.

For in Sept. 1661, Mr. Sharp came to St. Andrews, and the preſbytery, having had aſſurance of his deceitful carriage at court, and of the probability of his being made arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, ſent Mr. Blair, and another, to him, to diſcharge their duty, which they did ſo faithfully, that Sharp was never at eaſe till Mr. Blair was rooted out.

Mr. Blair taking occaſion, in a ſermon from 1 Pet. iii. 13, *&c.* to enlarge on ſuffering for righteouſneſs ſake, giving his teſtimony to the covenants and work of reformation, againſt the ſinful and corrupt courſes of the times, he was called over before the council Nov. 5. when the advocate and ſome noblemen were appointed to converſe with Mr. Blair, where they poſed him on the following points: (1.) Whether he had aſſerted preſbyterial government to be *jure divino?* (2.) Whether he had aſſerted, that ſuffering for it was ſuffering for righteouſneſs-ſake? And, (3.) Whether in his prayers againſt Popery, he had joined Prelacy with it? Having anſwered all in the affirmative, profeſſing his ſorrow that they doubted his opinions in theſe points, he was firſt confined to his chamber in Edinburgh; and afterward, upon ſupplication, and the atteſtation of phyſicians on account of his health, he was permitted to retire to Invereſk about the 12th of January, 1662.

Mr. Blair continued here till Oct. following, enjoying much of God's preſence amidſt his outward trouble; but, being

being again commanded before the council, by the way, he took a ſore fit of the gravel, and was for that time excuſed; and afterward, through the chancellor's favour, got liberty to go where he pleaſed, except St. Andrews, Edinburgh and the weſt country;—he went to Kirkaldy.

While at Kirkaldy, he lectured and prayed often to ſome Chriſtian friends in his own family; and for his recreation taught his younger ſon the Greek language and logic. But the arch-biſhop, envying the repoſe Mr. Blair and ſome others had in theſe circumſtances, procured an act, that no outed miniſter ſhould reſide within 20 miles of an arch-biſhop's ſee; and Mr. Blair removed from Kirkaldy to meikle Couſton, in the pariſh of Aberdour, an obſcure place, in Feb. 1666, where he continued till his death, which was ſhortly after.

For, upon the 10th of Aug. Mr. Blair, being now worn out with old age, and his ſpirits ſunk with ſorrow and grief for the deſolations of the Lord's ſanctuary in Scotland, took his laſt ſickneſs, and entertained moſt ſerious thoughts of his near approaching end, ever extolling his glorious and good Maſter whom he had ſerved. His ſickneſs increaſing, he was viſited by many Chriſtian friends and acquaintances, whom he ſtrengthened by his many gracious and edifying words.

At one time, when they told him of ſome ſevere acts of council newly made upon arch-biſhop Sharp's inſtigation, he prayed that the Lord would open his eyes, and give him repentance, *&c.* And to Mrs. Rutherford, at another time, he ſaid, I would not exchange conditions with that man (though he was now on his bed of languiſhing, and the other poſſeſt of great riches and revenues) though all betwixt them were red gold, and given him to the bargain. When ſome miniſters aſked him, If he had any hopes of deliverance to the people of God, he ſaid, He would not take upon him to determine the times and ſeaſons the Lord keeps in his own hand, but that it was to him a token for good, that the Lord was caſting the prelates out of the affections of all ranks and degrees of people, and even ſome who were moſt active in ſetting them up, were now beginning to lothe them for their pride, fallehood and covetouſneſs.

To his wife and children he ſpake gravely and Chriſtianly, and after he had ſolemnly bleſſed them, he ſeverally admoniſhed them as he judged expedient. His ſon David ſaid, The beſt and worſt of men have their thoughts and after-thoughts; now, Sir, God having given you time for

after-

after-thoughts on your way, we would hear what they are now.—He anſwered, I have again and again thought upon my former ways, and communed with mine heart; and as for my public actings and carriage, in reference to the Lord's work, if I were to begin again, I would juſt do as I have done. He often repeated the 16th and 23d pſalm, and once the 71ſt pſalm, which he uſed to call his own pſalm. About two days before his death, his ſpeech began to fail, and he could not be well heard or underſtood; however ſome things were not loſt; for, ſpeaking of ſome eminent ſaints then alive, he prayed earneſtly that the Lord would bleſs them; and, as an evidence of his love to them, he deſired Mr. George Hutcheſon (then preſent) to carry his Chriſtian remembrance to them. When Mr. Hutcheſon went from his bed-ſide, he ſaid to his wife and others who waited on him, That he rejoiced in ſuffering as a perſecuted miniſter. Is it not perſecution, added he, to thruſt me from the work of the miniſtry, which was my delight, and hinder me from doing good to my people and flock, which was my joy and crown of rejoicing, and to chaſe me from place to place, till I am waſted with heavineſs and ſorrow for the injuries done to the Lord's prerogative, intereſt and cauſe. What he afterwards ſaid was either forgot or not underſtood, till at length, about four o'clock in the morning, he was gathered to his fathers, by a bleſſed and happy death (the certain reſult of a holy life).

His body lies near the kirk-wall, in the burial-place at Aberdour, and upon the church-wall above his grave, was erected a little monument, with this inſcription,

Hic reconditæ jacent mortui
Exuviæ D. Roberti Blair, S. S.
Evangelii apud Andreapolin
Prædicatoris fideliſſimi. Obiit
Auguſti 27, 1666. *Ætatis ſuæ* 73.

Mr. Blair was a man of a fine conſtitution, both of body and mind, of a majeſtic but amiable countenance and carriage, thoroughly learned, and of a moſt public ſpirit for God. He was of unremitting diligence and labour, in all the private as well as public duties of his ſtation. He did highly endear himſelf to the affection of his own people, and to the whole country wherein he lived, and their attachment to him was not a little ſtrengthened by his conduct in the judicatories of the church; which indeed conſtituted the diſtinguiſhing part of his character.

When

When the general aſſembly reſolved upon a new explication of the holy bible, and among others of the godly and learned in the miniſtry, Mr. Blair had the book of Proverbs and Eccleſiaſtes aſſigned to him for his part, but he neglected that taſk, till he was rendered uſeleſs for other purpoſes, and then ſet about and finiſhed his commentary on the Proverbs in 1666. He compoſed alſo ſome ſmall poetical pieces, as a poem in commendation of Jeſus Chriſt, for the confutation of Popiſh errors; with ſome ſhort epigrams on different ſubjects.

The Life of Mr. HUGH M'KAIL.

MR. M'KAIL was born about the year 1640, and was educated at the univerſity of Edinburgh, under the inſpection of his uncle Mr. Hugh M'Kail (in whoſe family he reſided). In the winter 1661, he offered himſelf to trials for the miniſtry, before the preſbytery of Edinburgh, (being then about 20 years old) and being by them licenſed, he preached ſeveral times with great applauſe. He preached his laſt public ſermon from Cant. i. 7. in the great church of Edinburgh, upon the Sabbath immediately preceding the 8th of Sept. 1662, the day fixed, by the then parliament, for the removal of the miniſters of Edinburgh.

In this ſermon, taking occaſion to ſpeak of the great and many perſecutions to which the church of God has been and is obnoxious, amplifying the point from the perſons and powers that have been inſtrumental therein, he ſaid, That the church and people of God had been perſecuted both by a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the ſtate, and a Judas in the church, *&c.*; which caſe, to the conviction of his adverſaries, ſeemed ſo ſimilar to the ſtate and condition of the then rulers of church and ſtate, that though he made no particular application, yet was he reputed guilty; whereupon, a few days after, a party of horſe was ſent to the place of his reſidence near Edinburgh, to apprehend him; but, upon little more than a moment's advertiſement, he eſcaped out of bed into another chamber, where he was preſerved from the ſearch. After this, he was obliged to return home to his father's houſe, and, having lurked there a-while, he ſpent other four years before his death in ſeveral other places.

While

While he lived at his father's houſe, troubles aroſe in the weſt; and the news thereof having alarmed him, with the reſt of that country, upon the 18th of November, for ſuch motives and conſiderations as he himſelf afterwards more fully declares, he joined himſelf to thoſe who roſe in theſe parts, for the aſſiſting of that poor afflicted party.—Being of a tender conſtitution, by the toil, fatigue, and continual marching in tempeſtuous weather, he was ſo diſabled and weakened, that he could no longer endure; and upon the 27th of the ſaid month, he was obliged to leave them near Cramond water; and, in his way to Libberton pariſh, paſſing through Braid's craigs, he was taken without any reſiſtance, (having only a ſmall ordinary ſword) by ſome of the countrymen who were ſent out to view the fields *.—And here it is obſervable, that his former eſcape was no more miraculous than his preſent taking was fatal; for the leaſt caution might have prevented him this inconveniency; but God who gave him the full experience of his turning all things to the good of them that love him, did thus, by his ſimplicity, prepare the way for his own glory, and his ſervant's joy and victory.

He was brought to Edinburgh, firſt to the town-council houſe, and there ſearched for letters; but none being found, he was committed priſoner to the tolbooth. Upon wedneſday the 28, he was, by order of the ſecret council, brought before the earl of Dumfries, lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Prieſt-field, and others, in order to his examination; where, being interrogate, concerning his joining the weſt-land forces, he, conceiving himſelf not obliged by any law or reaſon, to be his own accuſer, did decline the queſtion. After ſome reaſoning, he was deſired to ſubſcribe his name, but refuſed; which, when reported to the council, gave great offence, and brought him under ſome ſuſpicion of a diſſembler. On the 29, he was again called before them, where, for allaying the council's prejudice, he gave in a declaration under his own hand, teſtifying that he had been with the weſt-land forces, &c. Though it was certainly known, that he had both formed and ſubſcribed this acknowledgment the night before, yet they ſtill perſiſted in their jealouſy, ſuſpecting him to have been privy to all the deſigns of that party, and dealt with him, with the greater importunity, to declare an account of the whole buſineſs; and upon Dec. 3, the boots (a moſt terrible inſtrument of torture) were laid on the council-

* See the life of Mr. William Veitch.

houſe table before him, and he was certified, that if the would not confeſs, he ſhould be tortured to-morrow; accordingly he was called before them, and being urged to confeſs, he ſolemnly declared, that he knew no more than what he had already confeſſed; whereupon they ordered the executioner to put his leg to the boot, and to proceed to the torture, to the number of ten or eleven ſtrokes, with conſiderable intervals; yet all did not move him to expreſs any impatience or bitterneſs.

This torture was the cauſe of his not being indicted with the firſt ten, who were arraigned and ſentenced on Wedneſday Dec. 5. to be hanged on the Friday following. Many thought, that his ſmall acceſſion to the riſing, and what he had ſuffered by torture, ſhould have procured him ſome favour, but it was otherwiſe determined; nor was his former ſermon forgot, and the words *Achab on the throne*. On Monday the 10, he and other ſeven received their indictment of treaſon, and were ſummoned to appear before the juſtices on Wedneſday Dec. 12.; but his torture and cloſe impriſonment (for ſo it was ordered) had caſt him into a fever, whereby he was utterly unable to make his appearance; therefore, upon Tueſday the 11, he gave in to the lords of the council a ſupplication, declaring his weak and ſickly condition, craving that they may ſurceaſe any legal procedure againſt him, in ſuch a weak and extreme condition, and that they would diſcharge him of the foreſaid appearance. Hereupon the council ordered two phyſicians and two chirurgeons to viſit him, and to return their atteſtations, upon ſoul and conſcience, betwixt and to-morrow at ten o'clock, to the juſtices.

Upon Dec. 8, his brother went from Edinburgh to Glaſgow, with a letter from the lady-marquis of Douglas, and another from the ducheſs of Hamilton to the lord commiſſioner in his favour, but both proved ineffectual; his couſin Mr. Matthew M'Kail carried another letter from the lady-marquis of Douglas, to the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, for the ſame purpoſe, but with no better ſucceſs.

On Dec. 18, he, being indifferently recovered, was with other three brought before the juſtices, where the general indictment was read, founded both on old and late acts of parliament, made againſt riſing in arms, entering into leagues and covenants, and renewing the ſolemn league and covenant without and againſt the king's authority, *&c.* Mr. Hugh was particularly charged with joining the rebels at Ayr, Ochiltry, Lanerk and other places, on horſeback, *&c.*: whereupon, being permitted to anſwer, he ſpoke in his

his own defence, both concerning the charge laid againſt him, and likewiſe of the ties and obligations that were upon this land to God; commending the inſtitution, dignity, and bleſſing of preſbyterial government; he ſaid, The laſt words of the national covenant had always a great weight upon his ſpirit. Here he was interrupted by the king's advocate, who bade him forbear that diſcourſe, and anſwer the queſtion for the crime of rebellion.—Unto which he anſwered, The thing that moved him to declare as he had done, was that weighty and important ſaying of our Lord Jeſus, *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him ſhall the Son of man alſo confeſs before the angels of God*, &c. After this confeſſion, and the depoſitions of thoſe examined anent him were read, with his replies to the ſame, the aſſize was incloſed; after which they gave their verdict *una voce*, and by the mouth of Sir William Murray their chancellor, reported him guilty, &c. The verdict being reported, doom was pronounced, declaring and adjudging him, and the reſt, to be taken, on Saturday Dec. 20. to the market-croſs of Edinburgh, there to be hanged on a gibbet till dead, and his goods and lands to be eſcheated and forfeited for his Highneſs uſe. At the hearing of this ſentence, he cheerfully ſaid, *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* He was then carried back to the tolbooth through the guards, the people making lamentation for him by the way. After he came to his chamber, he immediately addreſſed himſelf to God in prayer, with great enlargement of heart, in behalf of himſelf, and thoſe who were condemned with him. Afterwards, to a friend he ſaid, "O how good news! to be within four days "journey to enjoy the ſight of Jeſus Chriſt;" and proteſted, "he was not ſo cumbered how to die, as he had ſome-"times been to preach a ſermon." To ſome women lamenting for him, he ſaid, "That his condition, though "he was but young, and in the budding of his hopes and "labours in the miniſtry, was not to be mourned; for "one drop of my blood, through the grace of God, may "make more hearts contrite, than many years ſermons "might have done."

This afternoon he ſupplicated the council for liberty to his father to come to him; which being granted, his father came next night, to whom he diſcourſed a little concerning obedience to parents from the fifth commandment, and then, after prayer, his father ſaid to him, "Hugh, I cal-"led thee a goodly olive tree, of fair fruit, and now a "ſtorm hath deſtroyed the tree and his fruit."——He anſwered,

ſwered, That his too good thought of him afflicted him. His father ſaid, "He was perſuaded God was viſiting not his "own ſins, but his parents ſins, ſo that he might ſay, Our "fathers have ſinned, and we have borne their iniquity."— He further ſaid, "I have ſinned, thou poor ſheep, what haſt "thou done." Mr. Hugh anſwered, with many groans, "That, through coming ſhort of the fifth commandment, "he had come ſhort of the promiſe, That his days ſhould "be prolonged in the land of the living, and that God's "controverſy with him was for over-valuing his children, "eſpecially himſelf."

Upon the 20 of December, through the importunity of friends, more than his own inclination, he gave in a petition to the council, craving their clemency after having declared his own innocence; but it proved altogether ineffectual. During his abode in priſon, the Lord was very graciouſly preſent with him, both to ſuſtain him againſt the fears of death, and by expelling the overcloudings of terror, that ſome times the beſt of men, through the frailty of fleſh and blood, are ſubject unto. He was alſo wonderfully aſſiſted in prayer and praiſe, to the admiration of all the hearers, eſpecially on Thurſday's night, when, being ſet at ſupper wich his fellow-priſoners, his father and one or two more, he requeſted his fellow-priſoners, ſaying merrily, eat to the full, and cheriſh your bodies, that we may be a fat Chriſtmaſs-pye to the prelates. After ſupper in thankſgiving, he broke forth into ſeveral expreſſions, both concerning himſelf and the church of God, and at laſt uſed that exclamation in the laſt of Daniel, *What, Lord, ſhall be the end of theſe wonders!*

The laſt night of his life he propounded and anſwered ſeveral queſtions for the ſtrengthening of his fellow-priſoners: How ſhould he go from the tolbooth thro' a multitude of gazing people, and guards of ſoldiers to a ſcaffold and gibbet, and overcome the impreſſions of all this? He anſwered, By conceiving a deeper impreſſion of a multitude of angels, who are on-lookers; according to that, *We are a gazing-ſtock to the world, angels and men*, for the angels, rejoicing at our good confeſſion, are preſent to convoy and carry our ſouls, as the ſoul of Lazarus, to Abraham's boſom, not to receive them, for that is Jeſus Chriſt's work alone, who will welcome them to heaven himſelf, with the ſongs of angels and bleſſed ſpirits; but the angels are miniſtring ſpirits, always ready to ſerve and ſtrengthen all dying believers, *&c.* What is the way for us to conceive of heaven, who are haſtening to it, ſeeing the

the word faith, *Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard*, &c.? To this he anſwered, That the ſcripture helps us two ways to conceive of heaven; (1.) By way of ſimilitude, as in Rev. xxi, where heaven is held forth by the repreſentation of a glorious city, there diſcourſed, &c. (2.) By holding forth the love of the ſaints to Jeſus Chriſt, and teaching us to love him in ſincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of heaven, Rev. v. 12. and no other thing than the ſoul breathing forth love to Jeſus Chriſt, can rightly apprehend the joys of heaven.

The laſt words he ſpoke at ſupper were in the commendation of love above knowledge, "O but notions of knowledge without love are of ſmall worth, evaniſhing in no-"thing, and very dangerous." After ſupper, his father having given thanks, he read the 16th pſalm, and then ſaid, "If there were any thing in the world ſadly and un-"willingly to be left, it were the reading of the ſcriptures. "I ſaid, I ſhall not ſee the Lord in the land of the living; "but this needs not make us ſad, for where we go, the "Lamb is the book of ſcripture and the light of that city, "and there is life, even the river of the water of life, and "living ſprings, &c." Supper being ended, he called for a pen, ſaying, It was to write his teſtament; wherein he ordered ſome few books he had, to be re-delivered to ſeveral perſons. He went to bed about eleven o'clock, and ſlept till five in the morning; then he aroſe, and called for his comrade John Wodrow, ſaying pleaſantly, "Up, John, "for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like "men going to be hanged this day, ſeeing we lie ſo long." Then he ſpake to him in the words of Iſaiah xlii. 24. and after ſome ſhort diſcourſe, John ſaid to him, You and I will be chambered ſhortly beſide Mr. Robertſon.—He anſwered, "John, I fear you bar me out, becauſe you was "more free before the council than I was; but I ſhall be "as free as any of you upon the ſcaffold. He ſaid, He "had got a clear ray of the majeſty of the Lord after his "awakening, but it was a little over-clouded thereafter." He prayed with great fervency, pleading his covenant-relation with him, and that they might be enabled that day to witneſs a good confeſſion before many witneſſes. Then his father coming to him, bade him farewel. His laſt word to him, after prayer, was, That his ſufferings would do more hurt to the prelates, and be more edifying to God's people, than if he were to continue in the miniſtry twenty years. Then he deſired his father to leave him, and go to his chamber, and pray earneſtly to the Lord to be with him

on

on the ſcaffold; for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be ſtrengthened to endure to the end.

About two o'clock afternoon he was brought to the ſcaffold (with other five who ſuffered with him), where, to the conviction of all that formerly knew him, he had a fairer and more ſtayed countenance than ever they had before obſerved. Being come to the foot of the ladder, he directed his ſpeech to the multitude northward, ſaying, "That as his years in the world had been but few, his words then ſhould not be many;" and then ſpoke to the people the ſpeech and teſtimony which he had before written and ſubſcribed *.

Having done ſpeaking, he ſung a part of the 31ſt pſalm, and then prayed with ſuch power and fervency, as cauſed many to weep bitterly. Then he gave his hat and cloke from him, and when he took hold of the ladder to go up, he ſaid, with an audible voice, "I care no more to go up "this ladder and over it, than if I were going home to my "father's houſe." Hearing a noiſe among the people, he called down to his fellow-ſufferers, ſaying, Friends and fellow-ſufferers, be not afraid; every ſtep of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven: and then, having ſeated himſelf thereon, he ſaid, "I do partly believe that the noble coun-"ſellors and rulers of this land would have uſed ſome mi-"tigation of this puniſhment, had they not been inſtigat-"ed by the prelates, ſo that our blood lies principally at "the prelates door; but this is my comfort now, that I "know that my Redeemer liveth, &c. And now I do "willingly lay down my life for the truth and cauſe of "God, the covenants and work of reformation, which "were once counted the glory of this nation; and it is for "endeavouring to defend this, and to extirpate that bitter "root of prelacy, that I embrace this rope," (the executioner then putting the rope about his neck). Then hearing the people weep, he ſaid, "Your work is not to weep, but "to pray, that we may be honourably borne through, and "bleſſed be the Lord that ſupports me now; as I have been "beholden to the prayers and kindneſs of many ſince my "impriſonment and ſentence, ſo I hope, ye will not be "wanting to me now in the laſt ſtep of my journey, that "I may witneſs a good confeſſion, and that ye may know "what the ground of my encouragement in this work is, "I ſhall read to you in the laſt chapter of the bible;" which having read, he ſaid, "Here you ſee the glory that is to be "revealed

* See his teſtimony in Naphtali and Samſon's riddle.

" revealed on me, a pure river of water of life, *&c.* and " here you ſee my acceſs to my glory and reward, *Let him* " *that is athirſt come*, &c. And here you ſee my welcome, " *the Spirit and the bride ſay, Come.* Then he ſaid, I have " one word more to ſay to my friends (looking down to the " ſcaffold), Where are ye? Ye need neither lament nor " be aſhamed of me in this condition, for I may make uſe " of that expreſſion of Chriſt, *I go to your Father and my* " *Father, to your God and my God*, to your King and my " King, to the bleſſed apoſtles and martyrs, and to the ci- " ty of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem, to an in- " numerable company of angels, to the general aſſembly of " the firſt-born, to God the judge of all, to the ſpirits of " juſt men made perfect, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the " new covenant; and I bid you all farewel, for God will " be more comfortable to you than I could be, and he " will be now more refreſhing to me than you can be:— " Farewel, farewel in the Lord." Then, the napkin being put on his face, he prayed a little, and put it up with his hand, and ſaid, he had a word more to ſay concerning what comfort he had in his death, " I hope you perceive " no alteration or diſcouragement in my countenance and " carriage, and as it may be your wonder, ſo I profeſs it " is a wonder to myſelf; and I will tell you the reaſon " of it; beſide the juſtice of my cauſe, this is my comfort, " what was ſaid of Lazarus when he died, *That the angels* " *did carry his ſoul to Abraham's boſom*, ſo that as there is a " great ſolemnity here, of a confluence of people, a ſcaf- " fold, a gallows, a people looking out at windows; ſo " there is a greater and more ſolemn preparation of angels " to carry my ſoul to Chriſt's boſom; again this is my " comfort, that it is to come to Chriſt's hand, and he will " preſent it blameleſs and faultleſs to the Father, and then " ſhall I be ever with the Lord. And now I leave off to " ſpeak any more to creatures, and begin my intercourſe " with God, which ſhall never be broken off:——Farewel " father and mother, friends and relations; farewel the " world and all delights; farewel meat and drink; farewel " ſun, moon and ſtars; welcome God and Father; wel- " come ſweet Jeſus Chriſt, the Mediator of the new cove- " nant; welcome bleſſed Spirit of grace, and God of all " conſolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; and " welcome death."

Then he deſired the executioner not to turn him over until he himſelf ſhould put over his ſhoulders, which, after praying a little in private he did, ſaying, " O Lord,

" into

"into thy hands I commit my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeem-"ed my ſoul, O Lord God of truth." And thus in the 26th year of his age he died, as he lived, in the Lord.

His death was ſo much lamented by the on-lookers and ſpectators, that there was ſcarce a dry cheek ſeen in all the ſtreets and windows about the croſs of Edinburgh, at the time of his execution. A late hiſtorian gives him this character, that "he was a youth of 26 years of age, univer-"ſally beloved, ſingularly pious, of very conſiderable learn-"ing; he had ſeen the world, and travelled * ſome years "abroad, and was a very comely and graceful perſon. I "am told, ſaith he, that he uſed to faſt one day every "week, and had frequently, before this, ſignified to his "friends his impreſſion of ſuch a death as he now under-"went. His ſhare in the riſing was known to be but "ſmall; and when he ſpoke of his comfort and joy in his "death, heavy were the groans of thoſe preſent."

* Mr. Crookſhanks. This was about the Nov. 1662. when the council commenced a proceſs againſt Sir James Stuart for entertaining him in that family. See his hiſtory, vol. II, page 134.

The Life of Mr. JOHN NEVAY.

MR. JOHN NEVAY was licenſed and ordained a miniſter (in the time of Scotland's pureſt reformation) and ſettled at New-mills in the pariſh of Loudon; and was, beſides his ſoundneſs in the faith, ſhining piety in converſation, and great diligence in attending all the parts of his miniſterial function, particularly church-judicatories, one who was alſo very zealous in contending againſt ſeveral ſteps of defection, which were contrary to the work of reformation carried on in that period. Thus,

When the earl of Callender and major-general Middleton were cruelly harraſſing the covenanters, and well affected people in the weſt of Scotland, becauſe they would not join in the duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement in war againſt England, (which was a manifeſt breach of the ſolemn league and covenant), Mr. Nevay was one of thoſe miniſters and other well-affected people, who were aſſembled at the celebration of our Lord's ſupper at Machlin-muir, in the month of June 1648, where oppoſition

(in

(in their own defence) was made to the ſaid Calender and Middleton's forces, who attacked them there upon the laſt day of that ſolemnity *.

Again, when that pretended aſſembly held at Edinburgh and St. Andrews *anno* 1651, did approve and ratify the public reſolutions, in bringing in the juſtly excluded malignants into places of public power and truſt, in judicatories and armies, he was one of thoſe called remonſtrators, who faithfully witneſſed and proteſted againſt that ſad courſe of covenant-breaking and land-defiling ſin.

And, as a concluſion to all, when that head of malignants, Charles II. was again reſtored as king over theſe lands, in conſequence of which the whole of our covenanted work of reformation (which for ſome time had flouriſhed) now began to be defaced and overturned; and therefore it behoved the chief promoters thereof to be, in the firſt place, attacked; and Mr. Nevay, being the earl of Loudon's chaplain and very much valued by him, muſt be included among the reſt; and was, upon the 18th of November 1662, by order of the council, cited, with ſome others, to repair to Edinburgh, and appear before the council on the 9th of Dec. next. He did not compear until the 23d, when he was examined, and upon refuſal of the oath of allegiance, he was baniſhed, and enacted himſelf in a bond as follows:

"I JOHN NEVAY, miniſter of the goſpel at Newmills, "bind and oblige myſelf to remove forth of the king's do- "minions, and not to return under pain of death; and "that I ſhall remove before the firſt of February; and "that I ſhall not remain within the dioceſe of Glaſgow "and Edinburgh in the mean time. Subſcribed at Edin- "burgh, Dec. 23.

JOHN NEVAY."

And taking leave of his old pariſhioners (no doubt with a ſorrowful heart), he prepared for his journey, and went over to Holland, among the reſt of our baniſhed miniſters, where, for ſome years, he preached to ſuch as would come and hear him; and yet all the while he retained the affec-

* Biſhop Guthrie ſays, That the chief managers here were Meſſ. William Ardir, William Guthrie, and John Nevay; and that the covenanters were of foot 2000 and horſe 500 ſtrong (but this is more than probable). See his memoirs, page 177. Baillie's letters adds Meſſrs. Mowet, Thomas Wylie, Gabriel Maxwel, and Alexander Blair, and ſays they were ſome 800 foot and 12 horſe ſtrong, Vol. II. page 295, 299.

tion of a moſt dear and loving paſtor to his old pariſhioners of Loudon, both by ſending them many ſermons and ſeveral affectionate letters, wherein he not only exhorted them to ſtedfaſtneſs in the midſt of manifold temptations, but alſo ſhewed a longing deſire to return to his own native land and pariſhioners again; as is evident from that excellent letter, wrote ſome time before his death, dated at Rotterdam Oct. 22. 1669, in which letter, among many other things, he has theſe expreſſions: "I can do no more "but pray for you; and if I could do that well, I had "done almoſt all that is required. I am not worthy of the "eſteem you have of me; I have not whereof to glory, "but much whereof I am aſhamed, and which may make "me go mourning to my grave; but if you ſtand faſt, I "live; you are all my crown and joy in this earth (next "to the joy of Jeruſalem and her king), and I hope to have "ſome of you my joy and crown in our Father's kingdom, "beſides thoſe that are gone before us, and entered into "the joy of the Lord. I have not been altogether ignorant of the changes and wars which have been amongſt "you, deep calling unto deep, nor how the Lord did ſit "on all your floods as king, and did give you many times "ſome more eaſe than others, and you wanted not your "ſhare in the moſt honourable teſtimony that ever was "given to the truth and kingdom of Chriſt in that land, "ſince the days of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, Mr. George "Wiſhart, and Mr. Walter Mill martyrs, *&c.*"

That Mr. John Nevay was no mean divine in his day, either in parts or learning, is fully evident, both from an act of the general aſſembly *anno* 1647, wherein he was one of theſe four miniſters who were appointed to reviſe and correct Rouſe's paraphraſe of David's pſalms in metre, lately ſent from England (of which he had the laſt thirty for his ſhare); and alſo that elegant and handſome paraphraſe of his upon the ſong of Solomon in Latin verſe, both of which ſhew him to have been of a profound judgment and rare abilities.

There are 52 ſermons (or rather notes of ſermons) of his publiſhed, upon the nature, properties, bleſſings, *&c.* of the covenant of grace, in 8vo; 39 ſermons on Chriſt's temptations in manuſcript, (being all ſent from Holland for the benefit of his old pariſhioners of Newmills), and might alſo have been publiſhed, if thoſe upon the covenant had met with that reception they deſerved.

The

The Life of Mr. JOHN LIVINGSTON.

MR. LIVINGSTON was born *anno* 1603. He was ſon to Mr. William Livingſton, miniſter firſt at Monybroch or Kilſyth, and afterwards tranſported to Lanerk, he was nearly related to the houſe of Calender. Having firſt taught his ſon to read and write, he put him to the Latin ſchool at Stirling, under Mr. Wallace a godly and learned man. He ſtayed here till ſummer 1617, when he returned home. In October following he was ſent to the college of Glaſgow, where he ſtayed four years, until he paſſed maſter of arts in 1621.

After this he ſtayed with his father until he began to preach, during which time he began to obſerve the Lord's great goodneſs that he was born of ſuch parents, who taught him the principles of religion ſo ſoon as he was capable to underſtand any thing.—He ſays, in his own hiſtorical account of his life, That he does not remember the time or means particularly whereby the Lord at firſt wrought upon his heart, only when he was but very young, he would ſometimes pray with ſome feeling, and read the word with ſome delight; but thereafter did often intermit ſuch exerciſes, and then would have ſome challenges, and begin and intermit again, *&c.* He ſays, He had no inclination to the miniſtry, till a year or more after he had paſſed his courſe in the college, upon which he bent his deſires to the knowledge and practice of medicine, and to go to France for that end: but when propoſed to his Father, he refuſed to comply. About this time his father, having purchaſed ſome land in the pariſh of Monybroch, took the rights in his ſon's name, propoſing that he ſhould marry and live there; but this he refuſed, thinking it would divert him from his ſtudies, and, in the midſt of theſe ſtraits, he reſolved to ſet apart a day by himſelf before God, for more ſpecial direction; which he did near Cleghorn wood, where, after much confuſion anent the ſtate of his ſoul, at laſt he thought it was made out to him, that he behoved to preach Jeſus Chriſt, which if he did not, he ſhould have no aſſurance of ſalvation: upon which, laying aſide all thoughts of other things, he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity. He continued a year and a half in his father's houſe, where he ſtudied and ſometimes preached; during which

time he wrote all his ſermons before he preached them, until one day, being to preach after the communion of Quodgen, and having in readineſs a ſermon which he had preached at another place one day before, but perceiving ſeverals there who had heard him preach that ſermon formerly, he reſolved to chooſe a new text, and wrote only ſome notes of the heads he was to deliver; yet, he ſays, he found, at that time, more aſſiſtance in enlarging upon theſe points, and more motion in his own heart than ever he had found before, which made him afterwards never write any more ſermons, excepting only ſome notes for the help of his memory.

About April 1626, he was ſent for by lord Kenmuir to Galloway, in reference to a call to the pariſh of Anwoth, but ſome hindrance coming in the way, this deſign was laid aſide. In the harveſt following, he hearkened to another call to Torphichen, but this proved alſo unſucceſsful.

After this he went to the earl of Wigton's, where he ſtayed ſome time; the moſt part of this ſummer he travelled from place to place, according as he got invitations to preach, and eſpecially at communions in Lanerk, Irvine, Newmills, Kinniel, *&c.* He was alſo ſometimes invited to preach at the Shots; in that place, he ſays, he uſed to find more liberty in preaching than elſewhere; yea, the only day in all his life wherein he found moſt of the preſence of God in preaching, he obſerves, was on a monday after a communion at the kirk of Shots, June 21, 1630. The night before he had been with ſome Chriſtians, who ſpent the night in prayer and conference; on the morning there came ſuch a miſgiving of ſpirit upon him, in conſidering his own unworthineſs and weakneſs, and the expectation of the people, that he was conſulting to have ſtolen away ſomewhere, and declined that day's work; but thinking he could not ſo diſtruſt God, he went to ſermon, where he got remarkable aſſiſtance in ſpeaking about one hour and a half from Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, 26. *Then will I ſprinkle clean water upon you, and ye ſhall be clean, from all your filthineſs*, &c. Here he was led out in ſuch a melting ſtrain, that, by the down-pouring of the Spirit from on high, a muſt diſcernible change was wrought upon about 500 of the hearers, who could either date their converſion or ſome remarkable confirmation from that day forward *.

Some

* See the fulfilling of the ſcriptures, part I. page 434. Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. page 143.

Some little of that ſtamp, he ſays, remained on him the Thurſday after, when he preached at Kilmarnock; but on the Monday following, preaching at Irvine, he was ſo deſerted, that what he had meditated upon, wrote, and kept fully in memory, he could not get pronounced; which ſo diſcouraged him, that he was reſolved not to preach for ſome time, at leaſt in Irvine, but Mr. Dickſon would not ſuffer him to go from thence, till he preached next ſabbath, which he did with ſome freedom.

This ſummer, being in Irvine, he got letters from viſcount Clanniboy to come to Ireland, in reference to a call to Killinchie; and, ſeeing no appearance of entering into the miniſtry in Scotland, he went thither, and got an unanimous call from that pariſh. Here he laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity among that people, who were both rude and profane before that, and they became the moſt experienced Chriſtians in that country. But he was not above a year here until the biſhop of Down ſuſpended him and Mr. Blair for non-conformity. They remained depoſed until May 1632. when, by the interceſſion of lord Caſtle-Stuart, a warrant was granted them from the king to be reſtored.

After this he was married to the eldeſt daughter of Bartholomew Fleming merchant in Edinburgh, who was then in Ireland. In Nov. 1635, he was again depoſed by the biſhop of Down, and a little after, by his orders, excommunicated by one Mr. Melvil miniſter of Down. This winter, finding no appearance of liberty either to miniſters or profeſſors from the bondage of the prelates, he, with others of the depoſed miniſters, took a reſolution to go to New-England; upon which they built a ſhip for that purpoſe, and when all things were ready, they, about the 9th of Sept. looſed from Lochfergus; but a violent ſtorm ariſing, they were driven near the bank of Newfoundland, and were all in danger of being drowned, and, after prayer and conſultation, they were obliged to return back to Lochfergus. After this he ſtayed in Ireland, until he heard that he and Mr. Blair were to be apprehended; and then they went out of the way, and came over to Scotland. When he came to Irvine, Mr. Dickſon cauſed him preach, for which he was called in queſtion afterwards. Leaving Irvine, he paſſed by Loudon and Lanerk to Edinburgh, where he continued ſome time.

About the beginning of March 1638, when the body of the land was about to renew the national covenant, he was ſent poſt to London with ſeveral copies of the covenant,

and

and letters to friends at court of both nations; when he came there, Mr. Borthwick delivered the letters for him; but he had been there but few days until he had word ſent him from the marquis of Hamilton, that he had overheard the king ſay, He was come, but he ſhould put a pair of fetters about his feet: whereupon, fearing he ſhould be taken in the poſt-way, he bought a horſe, and came home by St. Albans and the weſtern way, and was preſent at Lanerk and other places when the covenant was read and ſworn unto; and, excepting at the kirk of Shots already noticed, he, as himſelf ſays, never ſaw ſuch motions from the Spirit of God, all the people ſo generally and willingly concurring, yea, thouſands of perſons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling from their eyes; ſo that, through the whole land, the people (a few papiſts and others who adhered to the prelates excepted) univerſally entered into the covenant of God, for the reformation of religion againſt prelates and their ceremonies.

After this *anno* 1638, he got a call both from Stranrawer in Galloway, and Straiton in Carrick, but he referred the matter to Meſſrs. Blair, Dickſon, Cant, Henderſon, Rutherford and his father, who, having heard both parties, adviſed him to Stranrawer; and he was received there by the preſbytery upon the 5th of July 1638. Here he remained, in the faithful diſcharge of the miniſtry, until harveſt 1648, that he was, by the ſentence of the general aſſembly, tranſported to Ancrum in Teviotdale. When he came to Ancrum, he found the people very tractable, but very ignorant, and ſome of them very looſe in their carriage; and it was a long time before any competent number of them were brought to ſuch a condition, that he could adventure to celebrate the Lord's ſupper; but by his diligence, through the grace of God, ſome of them began to lay religion to heart.

Anno 1649, the parliament and church of Scotland had ſent ſome commiſſioners to treat with the king at the Hague, in order to his admiſſion; but they returned without ſatisfaction. Yet the parliament, in ſummer 1650, ſent other commiſſioners to proſecute the foreſaid treaty at Breda; and the commiſſion of the kirk choſe Mr. Livingſton and Mr. Wood, and after that added Mr. Hutcheſon to them, with the lords Caſſils and Brody as ruling elders, that in name of the church they ſhould preſent and proſecute their deſires. Mr. Livingſton was very unwilling to go, and that for ſeveral reaſons, the chief of which was, he ſtill ſuſpected the king to be not right at heart in reſpect

ſpect of the true preſbyterian religion, and notwithſtanding, he ſaw that many in the kingdom were ready to receive the king home upon any terms; but he was prevailed on by Meſſrs. Dickſon, James Guthrie, and Patrick Gilleſpie, to go. After much conference and reaſoning with the king at Breda, they were not like to come to any concluſion; here he obſerved, that the king ſtill continued the uſe of the ſervice-book and his chaplains, and was many a night balling and dancing till near day. This, with many other things, made him conclude there would be no bleſſing on that treaty; the treaty, to his unſpeakable grief, was at laſt concluded, and ſome time after the king ſet ſail for Scotland; but Mr. Livingſton refuſed to go aboard with them; ſo that when Brody and Mr. Hutcheſon ſaw that they could not prevail with him to come aboard, they deſired him before parting to come into the ſhip, to ſpeak of ſome matters in hand; which he did, and in the mean while, the boat that ſhould have waited his return, made ſtraight for ſhore without him. After this the king agreed with the commiſſioners to ſwear and ſubſcribe the covenant, and it was laid upon him to preach the next ſabbath, and tender the covenants national and ſolemn league, and take his oath thereon; but he, judging that ſuch a raſh and precipitate ſwearing of the covenants would not be for the honour of the cauſe they were embarked in, did all he could to deter the king and commiſſioners from doing it until he came to Scotland; but when nothing would diſſuade the king from his reſolution, it was done; for the king performed every thing that could have been required of him; upon which Mr. Livingſton obſerved, that it ſeems to have been the guilt not only of commiſſioners, but of the whole kingdom, yea of the church alſo, who knew the terms whereupon he was to be admitted to his government, and yet without any evidence of a real change upon his heart, and without forſaking former principles, counſels and company.

After they landed in Scotland, before he took his leave of the king at Dundee, he uſed ſome freedom with him. After ſpeaking ſomewhat to him anent his carriage, he adviſed him, that as he ſaw the Engliſh army approaching in a moſt victorious manner, he would divert the ſtroke by a declaration, or ſome ſuch way, wherein he needed not weaken his right to the crown of England, and not proſecute his title at preſent by fire and ſword, until the ſtorm blew over, and then perhaps they would be in a better caſe to be governed, *&c.* But he did not reliſh this motion well,

well, saying he would not wish to sell his father's blood; which made Mr. Livingston conclude, that either he was not called to meddle in state matters, or else he should have little success. Another instance of this he gives us, *anno* 1654, when he and Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Mr. Minzies were called up by the protector to London, where he proposed to him, that he would take off the heavy fines, that were laid on severals in Scotland, which they were unable to pay; he seemed to like the motion, but when he proposed the overture to the council, they went not into the purpose.

While at London, preaching before the protector, he mentioned the king in prayer, whereat some were greatly incensed; but Cromwel knowing Mr. Livingston's influence in Scotland, said, "Let him alone; he is a good "man; and what are we poor men in comparison of the "kings of England?"

The general assembly appointed some ministers, and him among the rest, to wait upon the army and the committee of estates that resided with them; but the fear and apprehension of what ensued, kept him back from going, and he went home until he got the sad news of the defeat at Dumbar. After which Cromwel wrote to him from Edinburgh to come and speak to him; but he excused himself. That winter the unhappy difference fell out anent the public resolutions; his light carried him to join the protestors against the resolutioners; and the assembly that followed thereafter, he was present at their first meeting in the west at Kilmarnock, and several other meetings of the protesting brethren afterwards; but not being satisfied with keeping these meetings so often, and continuing them so long, which he imagined made the breach wider, he declined them for some time.

After this, he spent the rest of his time in the exercise of the ministry, both at Ancrum and other places, until summer 1660, that news was brought him that the king was called home, and then he clearly foresaw that the overturning of the whole work of reformation would ensue, and a trial to all who would adhere to the same. But *anno* 1662, when the parliament and council had, by proclamation, ordered all ministers, who had come in since 1649, and had not kept the holy day of the 29th of May, either to acknowledge the prelates or remove, he then more clearly foresaw a storm approaching. At the last communion which he had at Ancrum, in the month of October, he says,

ſays, That after ſermon on Monday, it pleaſed the Lord to open his mouth, in a reaſonably large diſcourſe anent the grounds and encouragements to ſuffer for the preſent controverſy of the kingdom of Chriſt, in the appointing the government of his houſe; then he took his leave of that place, although he knew nothing of what was ſhortly to follow after.

After he had, with Elijah, eaten before a great journey, having communicated before he entered upon ſuffering, he heard in a little time, of the council's procedure againſt him and about twelve or ſixteen others who were to be brought before them; he went preſently to Edinburgh (before the ſummons could reach him) and lurked there ſome time, until he got certain information of the council's deſign, whether they were for their life, like as was done with Mr. Guthrie, or only for baniſhment, as was done with Mr. Mac Ward and Mr. Simpſon; but, finding that they intended only the laſt, he accordingly reſolved to appear with his brethren. He appeared Dec. 11, and was examined * before the council; the ſum of which came to this, That they required him to ſubſcribe or take the oath of allegiance, which he, upon ſeveral ſolid grounds and reaſons, refuſed; and ſentence was pronounced, that in forty-eight hours he ſhould depart Edinburgh, and go to the north ſide of Tay, and within two months depart out of all the king's dominions. Accordingly he went from Edinburgh to Leith, and thereafter, upon a petition in regard of his infirmity, he obtained liberty to ſtay there until he ſhould remove. He petitioned alſo for a few days to go home to ſee his wife and children, but was refuſed; as alſo for an extract of his ſentence, but could not obtain it. *Anno* 1663, he went aboard, accompanied by ſeveral friends to the ſhip; they ſet ſail, and in eight days came to Rotterdam, where he found the reſt of the baniſhed miniſters there before him. Here he got frequent occaſion of preaching to the Scots congregation at Rotterdam; and in Dec. following, his wife, with two of his children, came over to him, and the other five were left in Scotland.

Here, upon a retrograde view of his life, he (in the foreſaid hiſtorical account) obſerves, that the Lord had given him a body not very ſtrong, and yet not weak; for he could hardly remember himſelf wearied in reading and ſtudying, although he had continued ſome ſeven or eight

* See the proceſs and his anſwers at large in Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. page 144.

hours without riſing, and alſo that there was but two recreations that he was in danger to be taken with; the firſt was hunting on horſeback, but this he had very little occaſion of, yet he found it very inticing; the other was, ſinging in concerts of muſic, wherein he had ſome ſkill, and in which he took great delight. He ſays further, That he was always ſhort-ſighted, and could not diſcern any perſon or thing afar off, but hitherto he had found no occaſion for ſpectacles, and could read ſmall print as long and with as little light almoſt as any other. And, as to his inclination, he was generally ſoft and amorous, averſe to debates, rather given to lazineſs than raſhneſs, and too eaſy to be wrought upon. And, although he could not ſay what Luther affirmed of himſelf concerning covetouſneſs, yet he could ſay, that he had been leſs troubled with covetouſneſs and cares than many other evils, and rather inclined to ſolitarineſs than company, and was much troubled with wandering of mind and idle thoughts; and for outward things, he was never rich (and although when in Killinchie he had not above four pounds ſterling of ſtipends a-year) yet he was never in want.

He further obſerves, that he could not remember any particular time of converſion, or that he was much caſt down or lifted up; only one night, in the dean of Kilmarnock, having been, moſt of the day before, in company with ſome people of Stuarton, who were under rare and ſad exerciſe of mind; he lay down under ſome heavineſs, that he never had ſuch experience of; but, in the midſt of his ſleep, there came ſuch a terror of the wrath of God upon him, that if it had but increaſed a little higher, or continued but a few minutes longer, he had been in a moſt dreadful condition, but it was inſtantly removed, and he thought it was ſaid within his heart, See what a fool thou art to deſire the thing thou couldſt not endure.—In his preaching he was ſometimes much deſerted and caſt down, and again at other times tolerably aſſiſted. He himſelf declares, That he never preached a ſermon, excepting two, that he would be earneſt to ſee again in print; the firſt was at the kirk of Shots (as was already noticed), and the other at a communion Monday at Holywood in Ireland *; and both theſe times he had ſpent the night before in conference and prayer with ſome Chriſtians, without any more than ordinary preparation.——For otherwiſe, ſays he, his gift was rather ſuited to common people than to learned judicious

* Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. page 143.

judicious auditors. He had a tolerable inſight in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and ſomewhat of the Syriac languages; Arabic he did eſſay, but he ſoon dropped it.

He had as much of the French, Italian, Dutch and Spaniſh as enabled him to make uſe of their books and bibles. It was thrice laid upon him by the general aſſembly to write the hiſtory of the church of Scotland ſince the reformation 1638; but this, for certain reaſons, he had altogether omitted.

The greater part of his time in Holland he ſpent in reducing the original text unto a Latin tranſlation of the bible; and for that purpoſe compared Pagnin's with the original text, and with the later tranſlations, ſuch as Munſter, the Tigurine, Junius, Diodati, the Engliſh, but eſpecially the Dutch, which he thought was the moſt accurate tranſlation.

Whether by conſtant ſitting at theſe ſtudies, or for ſome other reaſons, the infirmities of old age creeping on, he could not determine, but ſince the year 1664, there was ſuch a continual pain contracted in his bladder, that he could not walk abroad, and a ſhaking of his hands, that he could ſcarcely write any; otherwiſe, he bleſſed the Lord that hitherto he had found no great defection either of body or mind.

Thus he continued at Rotterdam until Aug. 9th, 1672, when he died. Some of his laſt words were, "Carry my "commendation to Jeſus Chriſt, till I come there myſelf;" after a pauſe he added, "I die in the faith, that the truths "of God, which he hath helped the church of Scotland "to own, ſhall be owned by him as truths ſo long as ſun "and moon endure, and that independency, tho' there "be good men and well-meaning profeſſors of that way, "will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God "than many are aware of, for they evaniſh into vain opi-"nions. I have had my own faults at well as other men, "but he made me always abhor ſhews. I have, I know, "given offence to many, through my ſlackneſs and negli-"gence, but I forgive and deſire to be forgiven." After a pauſe, for he was not able to ſpeak much at a time, he ſaid, "I would not have people to forecaſt the worſt, but "there is a dark cloud above the reformed churches which "prognoſticates a ſtorm coming." His wife, fearing what ſhortly followed, defired him to take leave of his friends; "I dare not (replied he, with an affectionate tenderneſs), "but it is like our parting will only be for a ſhort time." And then he ſlept in the Lord.

Although it is uſual with the moſt of men when writing their own account (through modeſty) to conceal their own parts, qualifications and other abilities, yet here theſe things cannot be hid; for it is pretty evident, that ſince our reformation commenced in Scotland, there has been none whoſe labours in the goſpel have been more remarkably bleſſed with the down-pouring of the ſpirit in converſion-work, than great Mr. Livingſton's were; yea, it is a queſtion, if any one, ſince the primitive times, can produce ſo many convincing and confirming ſeals of their miniſtry; as witneſs the kirk of Shots, and Holywood in Ireland, at which two places, it is ſaid that about 1500 ſouls were either confirmed or converted and brought to Chriſt.

His works, beſides his letter from Leith 1663, to his pariſhioners at Ancrum, are, his memorable characteriſtics of divine providence, *&c.* and a manuſcript of his own life, of which this is an abbreviate. He alſo (while in his Patmos of Holland) wrote a new Latin tranſlation of the old Teſtament, which was reviſed and approven of by Voſſius, Eſſenius, Nethneus, Leuſden and other eminent lights of that time; before his death, it was put into the hands of the laſt to be printed.

The Life of Mr. JOHN SEMPLE.

MR. JOHN SEMPLE was, for his exemplary walk and ſingular piety, had in ſuch eſteem and veneration, that all ranks of people ſtood in awe of him, and particularly the clergy, he being a great check upon the lazy and corrupt part of them, who oftentimes were much afraid of him.——One time, coming from Carſphairn to Sanquhar, being twelve miles of a rough way, on a Monday morning, after the ſacrament, the miniſters, being ſtill in bed, got up in all haſte, to prevent his reproof; but he, perceiving them putting on their cloaths, ſaid, "What will become of the ſheep, when the ſhepherds "ſleep ſo long; in my way hither, I ſaw ſome ſhepherds "on the hills looking after their flocks."—Which, conſidering his age, and early journey ſo many miles, after he had preached the day before at home, had much influence on them, and made them ſomewhat aſhamed.

He

He was one who very carefully attended church-judicatories, from which he was ſeldom abſent, and that from a principle of conſcience; ſo that almoſt no impediment could hinder him in his purpoſes; for one time going to the preſbytery of Kirkudbright, twenty miles diſtant from Carſphairn, when about to ford the water of Dee, he was told by ſome that it was impaſſable, yet he perſiſted, ſaying, "I muſt go through, if the Lord will; I am going "about his work."——He entered in, and the ſtrength of the current carried him and his horſe beneath the ford; he fell from the horſe, and ſtood upright in the water, and taking off his hat, prayed a word; after which he and the horſe got ſafely out, to the admiration of all the ſpectators there preſent.

He was alſo a man much given to ſecret prayer, and ordinarily prayed in the kirk before ſacramental occaſions, and oftentimes ſet apart Friday in wreſtling with the Lord for his gracious preſence on communion ſabbaths; and was often favoured with merciful returns, to the great comfort of both miniſters and people; and would appoint a week day thereafter for thankſgiving to God.

As he was one faithful and laborious in his Maſter's ſervice, ſo he was alſo moſt courageous and bold, having no reſpect of perſons, but did ſharply reprove all ſorts of wickedneſs in the higheſt as well as in the loweſt, and yet he was ſo convincingly a man of God, that the moſt wicked (to whom he was a terror) had a kindneſs for him, and ſometimes ſpoke very favourably of him, as one who wiſhed their ſouls well; inſomuch as one time, ſome perſons of quality calling him a varlet, another perſon of quality (whom he had often reproved for his wickedneſs) being preſent, ſaid, he was ſure if he was a varlet he was one of God's varlets, *&c.* At another time, when a certain gentleman, from whoſe houſe he was going home, ſent one of the rudeſt of his ſervants, well furniſhed, with a horſe, broad ſword and loaded piſtols, to attack him in a deſert place in the night time; and the ſervant was ordered to do all that he could to fright him.—Accordingly he ſurprized him with holding a piſtol to his breaſt, bidding him render up his purſe under pain of being ſhot; but, Mr. Semple, with much preſence of mind (although he knew nothing of the pre-concert), anſwered, It ſeems you are a wicked man, who will either take my life or my purſe, if God gives you leave; as for my purſe, it will not do you much ſervice, though you had it; and for my life, I am willing to lay it down when and where God pleaſeth; how-

ever

ever if you will lay bye your weapons I will wreſtle a fall with you for my life, which if you be a man, you cannot refuſe, ſeeing I have no weapons to fight with you.——In ſhort, after many threats (though all in vain), the ſervant diſcovered the whole plot, and aſked him, If he was not at the firſt afraid?—Not in the leaſt, anſwered he, for although you had killed me, as I knew not but you might, I was ſure to get the ſooner to heaven; and then they parted.

Mr. Semple was a man who knew much of his Maſter's mind, as evidently appears by his diſcovering of ſeveral future events:—for on a time when news came, that Cromwel and thoſe with him were upon the trial of Charles I. ſome perſons aſked him, What he thought would become of the king? He went to his cloſet a little, and coming back he ſaid to them, The king is gone, he will neither do us good nor ill any more; which of a truth came to paſs. At another time, paſſing by the houſe of Kenmuir, as the maſons were making ſome additions thereunto, he ſaid, Lads, ye are buſy, enlarging and repairing the houſe, but it will be burnt like a crow's neſt in a miſty morning, which accordingly came to paſs, for it was burnt in a dark miſty morning by the Engliſh.

Upon a certain time, when a neighbouring miniſter was diſtributing tokens before the ſacrament, and when reaching a token to a certain woman, Mr. Semple (ſtanding by) ſaid, Hold your hand, ſhe hath gotten too many tokens already; ſhe is a witch;——which, though none ſuſpected her then, ſhe herſelf confeſſed to be true, and was deſervedly put to death for the ſame. At another time, a miniſter in the ſhire of Galloway, ſending one of his elders to Mr. Semple, with a letter, earneſtly deſiring his help at the ſacrament, which was to be in three weeks after; he read the letter, and went to his cloſet, and coming back, he ſaid to the elder, I am ſorry you have come ſo far on a needleſs errand; go home and tell your miniſter, he hath had all the communions that ever he will have; for he is guilty of fornication, and God will bring it to light ere that time:—This likewiſe came to paſs. He often ſaid to a perſon of quality (my lord Kenmuir) that he was a rough wicked man, for which God would ſhake him over hell before he died; and yet God would give him his ſoul for a prey: which had its accompliſhment at laſt, to the no ſmall comfort and ſatisfaction of all his near and dear relations.

When

When ſome Scots regiments, in the year 1648, in their march through Carſphairn for Preſton in England to the duke's engagement (as it was commonly called) and hearing that the ſacrament was to be diſpenſed there next Lord's day, ſome of the ſoldiers put up their horſes in the kirk, and went to the manſe, and deſtroyed the communion elements in a moſt profane manner, Mr. Semple being then from home. The next day he complained to the commanding officer, in ſuch a pathetical manner repreſenting the horrible vileneſs of ſuch an action, that the officer not only regretted the action, but alſo gave money for furniſhing them again:—he moreover told them, He was ſorry for the errand they were going upon, for it would not proſper, and the profanity of that army would ruin them. About or after this, he went up to a hill and prayed; and being interrogated by ſome acquaintances, What anſwer he got? He replied, That he had fought with neither ſmall nor great, but with the duke himſelf, whom he never left until he was beheaded:—which was too ſadly verified †.

His painful endeavours were bleſt with no ſmall ſucceſs, eſpecially at ſacramental occaſions, and this the devil envied very much; and particularly one time, among many, when he deſigned to adminiſter the Lord's ſupper, before which he aſſured the people of a great communion, by a gracious and remarkable down-pouring of the Spirit, but that the devil would be envious about this good work, and that he was afraid he would be permitted to raiſe a ſtorm or ſpeat of rain, deſigning to drown ſome of them; but, ſaid he, it ſhall not be in his power to drown any of you, no, not ſo much as a dog. Accordingly it came to paſs on Monday, when he was diſmiſſing the people, they ſaw a man all in black entering the water a little above them, at which they were amazed, as the water was very large. He loſt his feet (as they apprehended) and came down on his back, waving his hand; the people ran and got ropes, and threw them in to him; and there were ten or twelve men upon the ropes, yet they were in danger of being all drawn into the water and drowned.—Mr. Semple looking on, cried, Quit the rope, and let him go; I ſee who it is; it is the devil, he will burn but not drown, and by drowning of you would have God diſhonoured, becauſe he hath got ſome glory to his free grace in being King to many of your ſouls at this time, and the wicked world to reproach

† See Stevenſon's hiſtory, vol. III. page 283.

reproach the work of God, *&c.* All ſearch was made in that country to find if any man was loſt, but none was heard of, which made them conclude it to be the devil.

Mr. Semple, being one of the faithful proteſtors, in the year 1657, was apprehended with the famous Mr. James Guthrie at Edinburgh in Aug. 1660, and after ten months impriſonment in the caſtle, was brought before the bloody council, who threatened him ſeverely with death and baniſhment; but he anſwered with boldneſs, My God will not let you either kill or baniſh me, but I will go home and die in peace, and my duſt will lie among the bodies of my people; accordingly he was diſmiſſed, and went home, and entered his pulpit, ſaying, I parted with thee too eaſy but I ſhall hing by the wicks of thee now. It was ſome time after the reſtoration, that, while under his hidings, being one night in bed with another miniſter, the backſide of the bed falling down to the ground, the enemy came and carried away the other miniſter, but got not him:—which was a moſt remarkable deliverance.

Laſtly, He was ſo concerned for the ſalvation of his people, that when on his death-bed, he ſent for them, and preached to them with ſuch fervency, ſhewing them their miſerable ſtate by nature, and their need of a Saviour, expreſſing his ſorrow to leave many of them as graceleſs as he got them, with ſo much vehemency as made many of them weep bitterly,

He died at Carſphairn (about the year 1677, being upwards of ſeventy years of age) in much aſſurance of heaven, often longing to be there, rejoicing in the God of his ſalvation; and that under great impreſſions of dreadful judgments to come on theſe covenanted ſinning lands; and when ſcarce able to ſpeak, he cried three times over, A popiſh ſword for thee, O Scotland, England, and Ireland! *&c.*

The

The Life of Mr. JAMES MITCHEL.

MR. JAMES MITCHEL * was educated at the univerſity of Edinburgh, and was, with ſome other of his fellow-ſtudents, made maſter of arts *anno* 1656. Mr. Robert Leighton (afterwards biſhop Leighton), being then principal of that college, before the degree was conferred upon them, tendered to them the national and ſolemn league and covenant; which covenants, upon mature deliberation, he took, finding nothing in them but a ſhort compend of the moral law, binding to our duty towards God and towards man in their ſeveral ſtations, and taking the king's intereſt to be therein included, when others were taking the tender to Oliver Cromwel, he ſubſcribed the oath of allegiance to the king; but how he was repaid for this, after the reſtoration, the following account will more fully diſcover.

Mr. Mitchel, having received a licence to preach the goſpel, very ſoon after the reſtoration, was, with the reſt of his faithful brethren, reduced to many hardſhips and difficulties. I find (ſays a hiſtorian) Mr. Trail miniſter at Edinburgh *anno* 1661, recommending him to ſome miniſters in Galloway as a good youth, that had not much to ſubſiſt upon, and as fit for a ſchool, or teaching gentlemen's children †. There being no door of acceſs then to the miniſtry for him, or any ſuch, when prelacy was on ſuch an advance in Scotland.

But whether he employed himſelf in this manner, or if he preached on ſome occaſions, where he could have the beſt opportunity, we have no certain account; only we find he joined with that faithful handful who roſe in 1666. but was not at the engagement at Pentland ‡, being ſent in by captain Arnot to Edinburgh the day before, upon ſome neceſſary buſineſs, on ſuch an emergent occaſion.—

* it is generally told, that when his mother was ready to be delivered of him, his father, being in the next room, intreated the midwife, if poſſible, to ſtop the birth a few minutes, but ſhe anſwered She could not. Afterwards, being aſked the reaſon of it, he anſwered, He would not die an ordinary death.

† Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. page 292.

‡ Mr. Wodrow thinks he was at Pentland; but in his anſwers before the committee he ſays otherwiſe.

However, he was excepted from the indemnity in the ſeveral liſts for that purpoſe.

After Pentland affair, in the ſpace of ſix weeks, Mr. Mitchel went abroad, in the trading way, to Flanders, and was for ſome time upon the borders of Germany, after which he, in the ſpace of three quarters of a year, returned home (with ſome Dutchmen of Amſterdam), having a cargo of different ſorts of goods, which took ſome time up before he got them all ſold off.

Mr. Mitchel, being now excluded from all mercy or favour from the government, and having not yet laid down arms, and taking the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews to be the main inſtigator of all the oppreſſion and bloodſhed of his faithful brethren, took up a reſolution *anno* 1668, to diſpatch him, and for that purpoſe, upon the 11th of July, he waited the biſhop's coming down in the afternoon to his coach, at the head of black friar's wynd in Edinburgh, and with him was Honeyman biſhop of Orkney.——— When the arch-biſhop had entered, and taken his ſeat in the coach, Mr. Mitchel ſtepped ſtraight to the north ſide of the coach, and diſcharged a piſtol (loaded with three balls) in at the door thereof; that moment Honeyman ſet his foot in the boot of the coach, and reaching up his hand to ſtep in, received the ſhot deſigned for Sharp in the wriſt of his hand, and the primate eſcaped. Upon this, Mr. Mitchel croſſed the ſtreet with much compoſure, till he came to Niddry's wynd-head, where a man offered to ſtop him, to whom he preſented a piſtol, upon which he let him go; he ſtepped down the wynd, and up Steven Law's cloſs, went into a houſe, changed his cloaths, and came ſtraight to the ſtreet, as being the place where, indeed, he would be leaſt ſuſpected. The cry aroſe, that a man was killed; upon which ſome replied, It was only a biſhop, and all was very ſoon calmed. Upon Monday the 13, the council iſſued out a proclamation offering a reward of five thouſand merks to any that would diſcover the actor, and pardon to acceſſories; but nothing more at that time enſued.

The managers, and thoſe of the prelatical perſuaſion, made a mighty noiſe and handle of this againſt the preſbyterians, whereas this deed was his only, without the knowledge or pre-concert of any, as he himſelf in a letter declares; yea, with a deſign to beſpatter the Preſbyterian church of Scotland, a moſt ſcurrilous pamphlet was publiſhed at London, not only reflecting on our excellent reformers from popery, publiſhing arrant lies anent Mr. Alexander

lexander Henderſon, abuſing Mr. David Dickſon, and breaking jeſts upon the remonſtrators and preſbyterians (as they called them), but alſo, in a moſt malicious and groundleſs kind of rhapſody, ſlandering Mr. Mitchel.

After this Mr. Mitchel ſhifted the beſt way he could, until the beginning of the year 1674.; he was diſcovered by Sir William Sharp, the biſhop's brother, and ere ever Mr. Mitchel was aware, he cauſed a certain number of his ſervants (armed for that purpoſe) lay hold on him, and apprehend and commit him to priſon; and on the 10th of February was examined by the lord chancellor, lord regiſter and lord Halton; he denied the aſſaſſination of the arch-biſhop, but being taken apart by the chancellor, he confeſſed (that it was he who ſhot the biſhop of Orkney while aiming at the arch-biſhop), upon aſſurance of his life, given by the chancellor in theſe words, "Upon my great oath "and reputation, if I be chancellor, I ſhall ſave your life." On the 12th he was examined before the council, and ſaid nothing but what he had ſaid before the committee. He was remitted to the juſtice-court to receive his indictment and ſentence, which was, To have his right hand ſtruck off at the croſs of Edinburgh, and his goods forfeited; which laſt part was not to be executed, till his majeſty had got notice; becauſe, ſays lord Halton, in a letter to earl Kincardine, aſſurance of life was given him upon his confeſſion.

However, he was, on the ſecond of March, brought before the lords juſticiary, and indicted for being concerned at Pentland, and for the attempt on the arch-biſhop of St Andrews; but he pleaded not guilty, and inſiſted that the things alledged againſt him ſhould be proved: The lords poſtponed the affair till the 25th; mean-while, the council made an act March 12, ſpecifying that Mr. James Mitchel confeſſed his firing the piſtol at the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, upon aſſurance given him of life by one of the committee, who had a warrant from the lord commiſſioner and ſecret council to give the ſame, and therefore did freely confeſs, *&c.* In the ſaid act it was declared, That, on account of his refuſing to adhere to his confeſſion, the promiſes made to him were void, and that the lords of juſticiary and jury ought to proceed againſt him, without any regard to theſe. About the 25, he was brought before the juſticiary; but as there was no proof againſt him, they with conſent of the advocate protracted the affair, and he was again remanded to priſon.

Thus he continued until Jan. 6th, 1676, that he was ordered to be examined before the council by torture, concerning his being in the rebellion (as they termed it) in the year 1666. Accordingly he was brought before them upon the 18th, about ſix o'clock at night:—Linlithgow, being preſes, told him, He was brought before them to ſee whether he would adhere to his former confeſſion.—He anſwered, "My lord, it is not unknown to your lordſhip, "and others here preſent, that, by the council's order, I "was remitted to the lords of juſticiary, before whom I "received an indictment at my lord advocate's inſtance, "&c. to which indictment I anſwered at three ſeveral di-"ets, and at the laſt diet, being deſerted by my lord advo-"cate, I humbly conceive, that, both by the law of the "nation, and the practice of this court, I ought to have "been ſet at liberty; yet notwithſtanding, I was, contra-"ry to law, equity and juſtice, returned to priſon: And "upon what account I am this night before you, I am "ignorant." The preſes told him, He was only called to ſee if he would own his former confeſſion.——He replied, "He knew no crime he was guilty of, and therefore made "no ſuch confeſſion as he alledged." Upon this, the treaſurer depute ſaid, The pannel was one of the moſt arrogant liars and rogues he had known.—Mr. Mitchel replied, "My lord, if there were fewer of theſe perſons, "you have been ſpeaking of, in the nation, I ſhould not "be ſtanding this night at the bar; but my lord advocate "knoweth, that what is alledged againſt me is not my "confeſſion." The preſes ſaid, Sir, we will cauſe a ſharper thing make you confeſs.—He anſwered, "My lord, I "hope you are Chriſtians and not pagans." Then he was returned to priſon.

On the 22d, he was again called before them, to ſee if he would own his former confeſſion, and a paper produced, alledged to be ſubſcribed by him; but he would not acknowledge the ſame. The preſes ſaid, You ſee what is upon the table (meaning the boots), I will ſee if that will make you do it. Mr. Mitchel anſwered, "My lord, I con-"feſs, that, by torture, you may cauſe me to blaſpheme "God, as Saul did compel the ſaints; you may compel "me to ſpeak amiſs of your lordſhips; to call myſelf a "thief, a murderer, &c. and then pannel me on it: But "if you ſhall here put me to it, I proteſt before God and "your lordſhips, that nothing extorted from me by tor-"ture, ſhall be made uſe of againſt me in judgment, nor "have any force in law againſt me, or any other perſon.

"But

"But to be plain with you, my lords, I am ſo much of a "Chriſtian, that whatever your lordſhips ſhall legally prove "againſt me, if it be truth, I ſhall not deny it;—but, on "on the contrary, I am ſo much of a man, and a Scotſman, "that I never held myſelf obliged, by the law of God, na- "ture and nations, to be my own accuſer." The treaſurer-depute ſaid, He had the devil's logic, and ſophiſticated like him: aſk him whether that be his ſubſcription. Mr. Mitchel replied, I acknowledge no ſuch thing; and he was ſent back to priſon.

Upon the 24th, they aſſembled in their robes in the inner parliament houſe, and the boots and executioner were preſented. Mr. Mitchel was again interrogated, as above, but ſtill perſiſting, he was ordered to the torture. And he, knowing that, after the manner of the Spaniſh inquiſition, the more he confeſſed, either concerning himſelf or others, the more ſevere the torture would be, to make him confeſs the more, delivered himſelf in this manner:— "My lord, I have been now theſe two full years in priſon, "and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, which "hath been more intolerable to me than many deaths, if "I had been capable thereof; and it is well known, that "ſome in a ſhorter time have been tempted to make away "with themſelves; but reſpect and obedience to the ex- "preſs law and command of God hath made me to under- "go all theſe hardſhips, and I hope this torture with pa- "tience alſo, *viz.* that for the preſervation of my own life "and the life of others, as far as lies in my power; and to "keep innocent blood off your lordſhips perſons and fami- "lies, which, by ſhedding of mine, you would doubtleſs "bring upon yourſelves and poſterity, and wrath from the "Lord to the conſuming thereof, till there ſhould be no "eſcaping; and now again I proteſt, *&c.* as above: When "you pleaſe, call for the man appointed for the work." The executioner being called, he was tied in a two armed chair, and the boot brought; the executioner aſked which of the legs he ſhould take; the lords bade him take any of them; the executioner laying the left in the boot, Mr. Mitchel, lifting it out again, ſaid, "Since the judges have "not determined, take the beſt of the two, for I freely "beſtow it in the cauſe;" and ſo laid his right leg into the engine. After which the advocate aſked leave to ſpeak but one word, but notwithſtanding, inſiſted at a great length; to which Mr. Mitchel anſwered, "The advocate's "word or two hath multiplied to ſo many, that my me- "mory cannot ſerve, in the condition wherein I am (the

torture

"torture being begun) to reſume them in particular; but "I ſhall eſſay to anſwer the ſcope of his diſcourſe; where- "as he hath been ſpeaking of the ſovereignty of the ma- "giſtrate, I ſhall go ſomewhat further than he hath done, "and own that the magiſtrate whom God hath appointed, "is God's depute; both the throne and the judgment are "the Lord's, when he judgeth for God and according to "his law; and a part of his office is to deliver the poor "oppreſſed out of the hand of the oppreſſor, and ſhed no "innocent blood, Jerem. xxii. 3, *&c.* And whereas the "advocate hath been hinting at the ſinfulneſs of lying on "any account; it is anſwered, that not only lying is ſin- "ful, but alſo a pernicious ſpeaking of the truth, is a hor- "rid ſin before the Lord, when it tendeth to the ſhedding "of innocent blood; witneſs the caſe of Doeg, Pſalm lii. "compared with 2 Sam. xxii. 9. But what my lord advo- "cate hath forged againſt me is falſe, ſo that I am ſtand- "ing upon my former ground, *viz.* the preſervation of "my own life, and the life of others, as far as lies in my "power, the which I am expreſly commanded by the Lord "of hoſts."

Then the clerk's ſervant, being called, interrogated him in the torture, in upwards of thirty queſtions, which were all in write, of which the following are of the moſt importance.

Are you that Mr. James Mitchel who was excepted out of the king's grace and favour?

A. I never committed any crime deſerving to be excluded.

Q. Were you at Pentland?

A. No.

Q. Were you at Ayr, and did you join with the rebels there?

A. I never joined with any ſuch.

Q. Where was you at the time of Pentland?

A. In Edinburgh.

Q. When did you know of their riſing in arms?

A. When the reſt of the city knew of it.

Q. Where did you meet with James Wallace?

A. I knew him not at that time.

Q. Did you go out of town with captain Arnot?

A. No.

The other queſtions were anent his going abroad, *&c.* He perceived that they intended to catch him in a contradiction, or to find any who would witneſs againſt him.—At the beginning of the torture he ſaid, "My lords, not "knowing that I ſhall eſcape this torture with my life; "there-

" therefore, I beſeech you to remember what Solomon " ſaith, *He who ſheweth no mercy, ſhall have judgment with-* " *out mercy*, &c.—And now, my lords, I do freely, from " my heart, forgive you, who are ſitting judges upon the " bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this " horrible piece of work, and alſo thoſe who are vitiating " their eyes in beholding the ſame; and I intreat that God " may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg " God may be pleaſed for Chriſt's ſake to blot out my ſins " and iniquities, and never to lay them to my charge here " nor hereafter."

All this being over, the executioner took down his leg from a cheſt whereon it was lying all the time in the boot, and ſet both on the ground; and thruſting in the ſhelves to drive the wedges, began his ſtrokes; at every one of which, enquiring if he had any more to ſay, or would ſay any more; Mr. Mitchel anſwered no; and they continued to nine ſtrokes upon the head of the wedges; at length he fainted, through the extremity of pain: at which the executioner cried, Alas! my lords, he is gone! then they ſtopped the torture and went off; and in a little time, when recovered, he was carried, in the ſame chair, to the tolbooth.

It is indeed true that Mr. Mitchel made a confeſſion, upon the promiſe of his life; but the managers, having revoked their promiſe, becauſe he would not adhere to his confeſſion before the juſticiary, (being adviſed by ſome friends not to truſt too much to that promiſe) and be his own accuſer. " The reader muſt determine (ſays a very " impartial hiſtorian *) how far he was to blame now, in " not owning his confeſſion judicially, as they had judici- " ally revoked the condition upon which the confeſſion " was made, and to put a man to torture for finding out " things, for which they had not the leaſt proof, ſeems " to be unprecedented and cruel, and to bring him to a " farther trial appears to be unjuſt. For as another au- thor has well obſerved, " That when a confeſſion or pro- " miſe is made upon a condition, and that condition is ju- " dicially reſcinded, the obligation of the promiſe or con- " feſſion is taken away, and both parties are in *ſtatu quo*, " Joſh. ii. 14, *&c.* That, in many caſes it is lawful to con- " ceal and obſcure a neceſſary duty, and divert enemies " from a purſuit of it for a time. 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 2. xx. 5, " 6. Jer. xxxviii. 24, *&c.* That when an open enemy per- " verts

* Crookſhanks' hiſtory, vol. I. page 343.

"verts and overturns the very nature and matter of a dif-
"courſe or confeſſion, by leaving out the moſt material
"truths, and putting in untruths and circumſtances in
"their room, it no longer is the former diſcourſe or con-
"feſſion, *&c.* That when a perſon is brought before a
"limited judicatory, *&c.* before whom nothing was ever
"confeſſed or proven, the perſon may juſtly ſtand to his
"defence, and put his enemies to bring in proof againſt
"him, *&c.*"

After this Mr. Mitchel continued in priſon till the beginning of next year, when he and Mr. Frazer of Brae were with a party of twelve horſe and thirty foot, ſent to the Baſs, where he remained till about the 6th of Dec. when he was again brought to Edinburgh, in order for his trial and execution; which came on upon the 7th of Jan. 1678. On the third of the month Sir George Lockhart and Mr. John Ellis were appointed to plead for the pannel; but Sharp would have his life, and Lauderdale gave way to it. Sir Archibald Primroſe, lately turned out of the regiſter's place, took a copy of the council's act anent Mr. Mitchel, and ſent it to this council; and a day or two before the trial, went to Lauderdale, who, together with lord Rothes, lord Halton and Sharp, was ſummoned: The priſoner's witneſs, Primroſe, told Lauderdale, That he thought a promiſe of life had been given——The latter denied it——The former wiſhed that that act of the council might be looked into——Lauderdale ſaid, He would not give himſelf the trouble to look over the book of council.

When his trial came on, the great proof was, his confeſſion, Feb. 16. 1674.; many and long were the reaſons upon the points of the indictment. Sir George Lockhart argued in behalf of the priſoner with great learning, to the admiration of the audience, That no extra-judicial confeſſion could be allowed in court, and that his confeſſion was extorted from him by hopes and promiſes of life. The debates were ſo tedious that the court adjourned to the 9th of January; the replies and duplies are too tedious to be inſerted here: The reader will find them at large elſewhere ‡.

The witneſſes being examined, lord Rothes (being ſhewn Mr. Mitchel's confeſſion) ſwore that he was preſent, and ſaw him ſubſcribe that paper, and heard him make that confeſſion

* The author of the narration of his torture, which is inſerted at large in Naphtali.

‡ Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. appendix, No 93.

confeſſion, but that he did not at all give any aſſurance to the priſoner for his life; nor did he remember that there was any warrant given by the council to his lordſhip for that effect, *&c.* Halton and Lauderdale ſwore much to the ſame purpoſe; but the arch-biſhop ſwore, that he knew him, at the very firſt ſight at the bar, to be the perſon who ſhot at him, *&c.* But that he either gave him aſſurance or a warrant to any to give it, was a falſe and malicious calumny. That his grace gave no promiſe to Nichol Somerville, other than that it was his intereſt to make a free confeſſion. This Nichol Somerville, Mr. Mitchel's brother-in-law, offered, in court, to depone, That the arch-biſhop promiſed to him to ſecure his life, if he would prevail with him to confeſs. The arch biſhop denied this, and called it a villainous lie. Several other depoſitions were taken; ſuch as Sir William Paterſon, Mr. John Vanſe, and the biſhop of Galloway, who all ſwore in Sharp's favour, it being dangerous for them, at this juncture, to do otherwiſe.

After the witneſſes were examined, the advocate declared he had cloſed the probation; whereupon Mr. Mitchel produced a copy of an act of council March 12th, 1674, praying that the regiſter might be produced, or the clerk obliged to give extracts; but this they refuſed to do.—— "Lockhart (ſays Burnet *) pleaded for this, but Lauder- "dale, who was only a witneſs, and had no right to ſpeak, "refuſed; and ſo it was neglected."

The aſſize was incloſed, and ordered to return their verdict to-morrow afternoon, which being done, the ſentence was pronounced, "That the ſaid Mr. James Mitchel ſhould "be taken to the graſs-market of Edinburgh, upon Friday "the 18th of Jan. inſtant, betwixt two and four o'clock, "in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet "till he be dead, and all his moveables, goods and gear "eſcheat, and in-brought to his majeſty's uſe, *&c.*" No ſooner did the court break up, than the lords, being up ſtairs, found the act recorded, and ſigned by lord Rothes the preſident of the council. 'This action,' ſays the laſt-cited hiſtorian, 'and all concerned in it, were looked on by 'all the people with horror, and it was ſuch a complication 'of treachery, perjury and cruelty, as the like had not 'perhaps been known.'

Two days after the ſentence, orders came from court, for placing Mr. Mitchel's head and hands on ſome public

* In his hiſtory, page 415.

place of the city; but the ſentence being paſſed, no alteration could be made; and if Sharp had any hand in this, he miſſed his end and deſign. About the ſame time, his wife petitioned the council, that her huſband might be reprieved for ſome time, that ſhe might be in caſe to ſee and take her laſt farewel of him, eſpecially as it was not above twelve days ſince ſhe was delivered of a child, and preſently affected with a fever; but no regard was paid to this: The ſentence muſt be executed *.

While he was in priſon, he emitted a moſt faithful and large teſtimony †. In the firſt place, teſtifying againſt all profanity. Then he gives the cauſe of his ſuffering, in the words of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 14. *I have been very zealous for the Lord of hoſts*, &c. He adheres to the covenanted work of reformation and the covenant; approves of *lex rex*, the cauſes of God's wrath, apologetical relation, Naphtali, *jus populi*, &c. Afterwards he ſpeaks of magiſtracy in theſe words, "I believe magiſtracy to be an ordinance and appointment of God, as well under the new "Teſtament as it was under the old; and that whoſoever "reſiſteth the lawful magiſtrate in the exerciſe of his "lawful power, reſiſteth the ordinance and appointment "of God, Rom. xiii. 1. *&c.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. Deut. xvii. 15, "*&c.* The lawful magiſtrate muſt be a man qualified according to God's appointment, and not according to the "people's luſt and pleaſure, leſt in the end he ſhould prove "to them a prince of Sodom and governor of Gomorrah, "whom God, in his righteouſneſs, ſhould appoint for "their judgment, and eſtabliſh for their correction, *&c.*" Then he comes to be moſt explicit in teſtifying againſt the givers and receivers of the indulgence, as an incroachment on Chriſt's crown and prerogative royal, *&c*; proteſts before God, angels and men, againſt all acts made anywiſe derogative to the work of God and reformation; likewiſe proteſts againſt all baniſhments, impriſoning, finings and confinements that the people of God had been put to theſe years by-paſt; deſcribing the woful ſtate and condition of malignants, and all the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt. And in the laſt place ſpeaks very fervently anent his own ſufferings, ſtate and condition, which he begins to expreſs in theſe words, "Now if the Lord, in his wiſe and over-ruling providence, bring me to the cloſe of my pilgrimage, "to the full enjoyment of my long-looked for and deſired "happineſs

* See this petition inſerted in Naphthali.

† See this teſtimony at large in the ſame book.

" happineſs, let him take his own way and time in bring-
" ing me to it. And in the mean time, O thou my ſoul!
" ſing thou this ſong, Spring thou up, O well of thy hap-
" pineſs and ſalvation, of thy eternal hope and conſola-
" tion; and whilſt thou art burdened with this clogg of
" clay and tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by faith, hope
" and charity, and with all the inſtruments that God hath
" given thee; dig in it by precepts and promiſes; dig
" carefully, and dig continually; ay and until thou come
" to the ſource and head of the Fountain himſelf, from
" whence the water of life floweth: Dig until thou come
" to the aſſembly of the firſt-born, where this ſong is moſt
" ſuitably ſung, to the praiſe and glory of the rich grace
" and mercy of the Fountain of life, *&c.* And a little farther, when ſpeaking of his mortification to the world, and other ſweet experiences, he ſays, " And although, O
" Lord, thou ſhouldſt ſend me in the back track and te-
" nor of my life, to ſeek my ſoul's comfort and encourage-
" ment from them, yet I have no cauſe to complain of
" hard dealing from thy hand, ſeeing it is thy ordinary
" way with ſome of thy people, Pſalm xlii. 6. *O God, my*
" *ſoul is caſt down in me, from the land of Jordan and the hill*
" *Hermon*, &c. Yea, though laſt, he brought me to the
" banquetting houſe, and made love his banner over me,
" among the cold highland hills beſide Kippen Nov. 1673.
" He remembered his former loving kindneſs towards me;
" but withal he ſpoke in mine ear, that there was a tem-
" peſtuous ſtorm to meet me in the face, which I behoved
" to go through, in the ſtrength of that proviſion, 1 Kings
" xix. 7." Then, after the reciting of ſeveral ſcriptures, as comforting to him in his ſufferings, he comes at laſt to conclude with theſe words, " And ſeeing I have not pre-
" ferred nor ſought after mine own things, but thy ho-
" nour and glory, the good liberty and ſafety of thy chuch
" and people; although it be now miſconſtructed by many,
" yet I hope that thou, Lord, wilt make thy light to break
" forth as the morning, and my righteouſneſs as the noon-
" day, and that ſhame and darkneſs ſhall cover all who
" are enemies to my righteous cauſe: For thou, O Lord,
" art the ſhield of my head, and ſword of my excellency;
" and mine enemies ſhall be found liars, and ſhall be ſub-
" dued. Amen, yea and Amen.

Sic ſubſcribitur, JAMES MITCHEL.

Accordingly, upon the 18th of Jan. he was taken to the graſs-market of Edinburgh, and the ſentence put in execu-

tion. In the morning he delivered ſome copies of what he had to ſay, if permitted, at his death; but not having liberty to deliver this part of his vindicatory ſpeech to the people, he threw it over the ſcaffold, the ſubſtance of which was as follows.

" *Chriſtian people,*

" IT being rumoured abroad, immediately after I received my ſentence, that I would not have liberty to ſpeak in this place, I have not troubled myſelf to prepare any formal diſcourſe, on account of the pretended crime for which I am accuſed and ſentenced; neither did I think it very neceſſary, the fame of the proceſs having gone ſo much abroad, what by a former indictment given me near four years ago, the diet of which was ſuffered to deſert, in reſpect the late advocate could not find a juſt way to reach me with the extra-judicial confeſſion they opponed to me; all knew he was zealous in it, yet my charity to him is ſuch, that he would not ſuffer that unwarrantable zeal ſo far to blind him, as to overſtretch the laws of the land beyond their due limits, in prejudice of the life of a native ſubject; next by an extreme inquiry of torture, and then by exiling me to the baſs; and then, after all by giving me a new indictment at the inſtance of the new advocate, who, before, was one of mine, when I received the firſt indictment; to which new indictment and debate in the proceſs, I refer you; and particularly to theſe two defences of an extra-judicial confeſſion, and the promiſe of life given to me by the chancellor, upon his own and the public faith of the kingdom; upon the verity thereof I am content to die, and ready to lay down my life, and hope your charity to me a dying man will be ſuch as not to miſtruſt me therein; eſpecially ſince it is notoriouſly adminiculate by an act of ſecret council, and yet denied upon oath by the principal officers of ſtate preſent in council at the making of ſaid act, and whom the act bears to have been preſent: the duke of Lauderdale, being then his majeſty's commiſſioner, was likewiſe preſent;——and which act of council was, by the lords of juſticiary, moſt unjuſtly repelled, *&c.* Thus much for a ſhort account of the affair for which I am unjuſtly brought to this place; but I acknowledge my private and particular ſins have been ſuch as have deſerved a worſe death to me; but I hope in the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, to be freed from the

" eternal

" eternal punishment due to me for sin. I am confident " that God doth not plead with me in this place, for my " private and particular sins, but I am brought here that " the work of God may be made manifest, and for the tri- " al of faith, John ix. 3. 1 Pet. i. 7. That I might be a " witness for his despised truths and interest in this land, " where I am called to seal the same with my blood; and " I wish heartily that this my poor life may put an end " to the persecution of the true members of Christ in this " place, so much actuated by these perfidious prelates, in " opposition to whom, and testimony to the cause of Christ, " I at this time lay down my life, and bless God that he " hath thought me so much worthy as to do the same, for " his glory and interest. Finally, Concerning a christian " duty, in a singular and extraordinary case, and anent " my particular judgment, concerning both church and " state, it is evidently declared and manifested elsewhere. " Farewell all earthly enjoyments, and welcome Father, " Son and Holy Ghost, into whose hands I commit my " spirit.

JAMES MITCHEL.

Here we have heard the end of the zealous and faithful Mr. James Mitchel, who, beyond all doubt, was a most pious man, notwithstanding all the foul aspersions that have been, or will be cast upon him (not only by malignant prelates, but even by the high fliers, or more corrupted part of the presbyterian persuasion) namely, on account of his firing at bishop Sharp; which, they think, is enough to explode, affront or bespatter all the faithful contendings of the true reformed and covenanted church of Scotland. But in this Mr. Mitchel stands in need of little or no vindication; for by this time the reader may perceive, that he looked upon himself as in a state of war, and that, as Sharp was doubtless one of the chief instigators of the tyranny, bloodshed and oppression in that dismal period, he therefore, no doubt, thought he had a right to take every opportunity of cutting him off, especially as all the ways of common justice were blocked up; yet all this opens no door for every private person, at their own hand, to execute justice on an open offender, where there is access to a lawful magistrate appointed for that end. Yea what he himself saith anent this affair, in a letter dated Feb. 1674. may be sufficient to stop the mouths of all that have or may oppose the same, a few words of which may be subjoined to this narrative; where, after he has resum-

ed

ed what paſſed betwixt him and the chancellor, he ſays, that as to his deſign againſt Sharp, "He looked up him to "be the main inſtigator of all the oppreſſion and blood-"ſhed of his brethren, that followed thereupon, and of "the continual purſuing of his life; and he being a ſoldi-"er, not having laid down arms, but being ſtill upon his "own defence, and having no other end or quarrel at any "man but what (according to his apprehenſion of him) may "be underſtood by the many thouſands of the faithful, be-"ſides the proſecution of the ends of the ſame covenant, "which was and is in that point, the overthrow of pre-"lates and prelacy, and he being a declared enemy to him "on that account, and he to him in like manner; and as "he was always to take his advantage, as it appeared, ſo "he took of him any opportunity that offered——For, ſays he, "I, by his inſtigation, being excluded from all "grace and favour, thought it my duty to purſue him at "all occaſions, *&c.*" And a little farther he inſtances in Deut. xiii. 19. where the ſeducer or inticer to a falſe worſhip is to be put to death, and that by the hand of the witneſs, whereof he was one; takes notice of Phinehas, Elijah, *&c.*; and then obſerves, that the biſhops would ſay, what they did was by law and authority, but what he did was contrary to both; but he anſwers, The king himſelf and all the eſtates of the land, *&c.* both were and are obliged by the oath of God upon them, to extirpate the perjured prelates and prelacy, and, in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their lives and fortunes, *&c.*

The Life of Mr. JOHN WELWOOD.

MR. JOHN WELWOOD, born about the year 1649, was ſon to Mr. James Welwood, ſometime miniſter at Tindergirth (and brother to Mr. Andrew Welwood and James Welwood doctor of medicine at London). After he had gone through the ordinary courſes of learning he entered on the miniſtry, and afterwards preached in many places, but we do not hear that he was ever ſettled miniſter in any pariſh, it being then a time when all who intended any honeſty or faithfulneſs in teſtifying againſt the ſins and defections of the times, were thruſt out of the church and proſecuted with the greateſt extremity. It is ſaid, that he preached

preached ſome five or ſix ſermons in the pariſh where his father was miniſter, which were bleſſed with more diſcernible effects of good amongſt that people than all the diligent painfulneſs his father had exerciſed in the time he was miniſter of that pariſh.

And beſides his ſingular piety and faithfulneſs in preaching, he was a moſt fervent preſſer to all the duties of the chriſtian life, particularly to the ſetting up and keeping of fellowſhip and ſociety meetings, for prayer and chriſtian conference, which he often frequented himſelf. One time, among ſeveral others, at the new houſe in Livingſton pariſh, after the night was far ſpent, he ſaid, Let one pray, and be ſhort that we may win to our apartments before it be light; it was the turn of one who exceeded many in gifts. ——But before he ended it was day-light within the houſe. After prayer he ſaid, James, James, your gifts have the ſtart of your graces: And to the reſt he ſaid, Be adviſed, all of you, not to follow him in all times and in all things, otherwiſe there will be many ins and many outs in your tract and walk.

Anno 1677. there was an Eraſtian meeting of the actually indulged and non-indulged, procured by the indulged and their favourites, in order to get unity made and kept up (but rather in reality a conſpiracy without any truth, unity or veracity among theſe backſliders and falſe prophets).—Mr. Welwood, worthy Mr. Cameron, and another miniſter were called before this meeting, in order to have them depoſed, and their licence taken from them, for their faithfulneſs in preaching up ſeparation from the actually indulged. But they declined their authority, as being no lawful judicatory of Jeſus Chriſt, whilſt thus made up of thoſe who were actually indulged. Some of them went to Mr. Hog, who was then in town, though not at this meeting, for his advice anent them. To whom he ſaid, His name is Welwood, but if ye take that unhappy courſe to depoſe them, he will perhaps turn out their Torwood at laſt.

Mr. Welwood was a man of a lean and tender body. He always ſlept, ate and drank but little, as being one ſtill under a deep exerciſe, the ſtate and caſe of his ſoul laying a great concern upon his ſpirit, about the defections and tyranny of that day, eſpecially concerning the indulged, and ſo many pleading in their favour. But, being of a ſickly conſtitution before, he turned more melancholy and tender. Much * about this time, he was informed againſt to the managers

* Wodrow's hiſtory, Vol. I. page 443.

managers at Edinburgh, that having intruded upon the kirk of Tarboltoun, in the ſhire of Ayr; the council appointed Glencairn and lord Roſs to ſee that he be turned out and apprehended; but there is nothing further can be learned anent this order.

One Sabbath when he was going to preach, and the tent ſet up for him, the laird on whoſe ground it was, cauſed lift it, and ſet it on another laird's ground. But when Mr. Welwood ſaw it, he ſaid, in a ſhort time that laird ſhall not have one furr of land. Some quarrelled him for ſaying ſo (this laird being then a great profeſſor). He ſaid, Let alone a little and he will turn out in his own colours. Shortly after this, he fell out in adultery, and became moſt miſerable and contemptible, being, as was ſaid, one of York's four pound papiſts.

In the beginning of the year 1679, he ſaid to William Nicolſon a Fife-ſhire man, Ye ſhall have a brave ſummer of the goſpel this year, and for your further encouragement an old man or woman for very age may yet live to ſee the biſhops down, and yet the church not delivered, but ere all be done we will get a few faithful miniſters in Scotland to hear; but keep ſtill amongſt the faithful poor mourning remnant that is for God, for there is a cloud coming on the church of Scotland, the like of which was never heard; for the moſt part will turn to defection.—— But I ſee, on the other ſide of it, the church's delivery, with miniſters and chriſtians, that you would be aſhamed to open a mouth before them.

Among his laſt public days of preaching, he preached at Boulterhall in Fife, upon that text, *Not many noble*, &c. Here he wiſhed that all the Lord's people, whom he had placed in ſtations of diſtinction, there and everywhere would expreſs their thankfulneſs that the words *not many* were not *not any*, and that the whole of them were not excluded. In the end of that ſermon he ſaid, (pointing to St. Andrews) "If that unhappy prelate Sharp die the death of all men, God never ſpoke by me." The biſhop had a ſervant, who, upon liberty from his maſter on Saturday's night, went to viſit his brother, who was a ſervant to a gentleman near Boulterhall (the biſhop ordering him to be home on Sabbath night). He went with the laird, and his brother that day. Mr. Welwood noticed him with the biſhop's livery on, and when ſermon was ended, he deſired him to ſtand up, for he had ſomewhat to ſay to him. "I "deſire you, ſaid he, before all theſe witneſſes, when thou "goeſt home, to tell thy maſter, that his treachery, ty-

"ranny

" ranny and wicked life are near an end, and his death " ſhall be both ſudden, ſurpriſing, and bloody; and as he " hath thirſted after and ſhed the blood of the ſaints, he " ſhall not go to his grave in peace, *&c.*" The youth went home, and at ſupper the biſhop aſked him, If he had been at a conventicle? He ſaid, He was. He aſked, What his text was, and what he ſaid? The man told him ſeveral things, and particularly the above meſſage from Mr. Welwood. The biſhop made ſport of it. But his wife ſaid, I adviſe you to take more notice of that, for I hear that theſe men's words are not vain words.

Shortly after this he went to Perth, and there lodged in the houſe of one John Barclay. His bodily weakneſs increaſing, he was laid aſide from ſerving his Maſter in public; and lingered under a conſumptive diſtemper until the beginning of April 1679, when he died. During the time of his ſickneſs, while he was able to ſpeak, he laid himſelf out to do good to ſouls. None but ſuch as were looked upon to be friends to the perſecuted cauſe knew that he was in town; and his practice was, to call them in, one family after another, at different times; and diſcourſe to them about their ſpiritual ſtate. His converſation was both convincing, edifying and confirming. Many came to viſit him, and among the reſt one Aiton, younger of Inchdarny in Fife, (a pious youth about eighteen years of age) and giving Mr. Welwood an account of the great tyranny and wickedneſs of prelate Sharp, Mr. Welwood ſaid, " You will ſhortly be quit of him, and he will get a " ſudden and ſharp off-going, and ye will be the firſt that " will take the good news of his death to heaven." Which literally came to paſs the May following.

About the ſame time he ſaid to another who came to viſit him, " that many of the Lord's people ſhould be in " arms that ſummer for the defence of the goſpel; but he " was fully perſuaded that they would work no deliverance; " and that, after the fall of that party, the public ſtandard " of the goſpel ſhould fall for ſome time, ſo that there " would not be a true faithful miniſter in Scotland, ex- " cepting two, unto whom they could reſort, to hear or " converſe with, anent the ſtate of the church; and they " would alſo ſeal the teſtimony with their blood; and that " after this there ſhould be a dreadful defection and apoſ- " tacy; but God would pour out his wrath upon the ene- " mies of his church and people, wherein many of the " Lord's people, who had made defection from his way " ſhould fall among the reſt in this common calamity; but

"this ſtroke, he thought, would not be long, and upon "the back thereof there would be the moſt glorious deli- "verance and reformation that ever was in Britain, where- "in the church ſhould never be troubled any more with "prelacy."

When drawing near his end, in converſation with ſome friends, he uſed frequently to communicate his own exer- ciſe and experience, with the aſſurance he had obtained of his intereſt in Chriſt, he ſaid, "I have no more doubt of "my intereſt in Chriſt, than if I were in heaven already." And at another time he ſaid, "Although I have been for "ſome weeks without ſenſible comforting preſence, yet I "have not the leaſt doubt of my intereſt in Chriſt. I "have oftentimes endeavoured to pick a hole in my inte- "reſt, but cannot get it done. That morning ere he di- "ed, when he obſerved the light of the day, he ſaid, Now "eternal light, and no more night and darkneſs to me."— And that night he exchanged a weakly body, a wicked world, and a weary life, for an immortal crown of glory, in that heavenly inheritance which is prepared and reſerv- ed for ſuch as him.

The night after his exit his corpſe was removed from John Barclay's houſe into a private room, belonging to one Janet Hutton (till his friends might conſult about his funeral) that ſo he might not be put to trouble for con- cealing him. It was quickly ſpread abroad that an inter- communed preacher was dead in town, upon which the magiſtrates ordered a meſſenger to go and arreſt the corpſe. They lay there that night, and the next day a conſiderable number of his friends in Fife, in good order, came to town in order to his burial, but the magiſtrates would not ſuffer him to be interred at Perth, but ordered the town- militia to be raiſed, and impriſoned John Bryce, box-maſ- ter or treaſurer to the guildry, for refuſing to give out the militia's arms. However the magiſtrates gave his friends leave to carry his corpſe out of town, and bury them with- out their precincts, where they pleaſed. But any of the town's people, who were obſerved to accompany the fune- ral were impriſoned. After they were gone out of town, his friends ſent two men before them to Drone, four miles from Perth, to prepare a grave in that church-yard. The men went to Mr. Pitcairn, the miniſter there (one of the old reſolutioners), and deſired the keys of the church-yard, that they might dig a grave for the corpſe of Mr. Welwood, but he refuſed to give them. They went over the church-

yard-

yard-dyke and digged a grave, and there the corpſe was interred.

There appears to be only one of his ſermons in print (ſaid to be preached in Bogles-hole in Clydeſdale), upon 1 Peter iv. 18. *And if the righteous ſcarcely be ſaved*, &c.—

There are alſo ſome of his religious letters, written to his godly friends and acquaintances, yet extant in manuſcript. But we are not to expect to meet with any thing conſiderable of the writings of Mr. John Welwood*, or the ſucceeding worthies; and no wonder, ſeeing that in ſuch a broken ſtate of the church, they were ſtill upon their watch, haunted and hurried from place to place, without the leaſt time or conveniency for writing; yea, and oftentimes what little fragments they had collected, fell into the hand of falſe friends and enemies, and were by them either deſtroyed or loſt.

* Mr. Crookſhanks, in his hiſtory page 439, calls him Mr. James Welwood, which alteration proceeds probably from a miſtake in P. Walker's remarkable paſſages of the lives of Semple, Welwood, &c. page 26. edit. 1728.

The Life of WILLIAM GORDON *of Earlſtoun.*

WILLIAM GORDON of Earlſtoun was born about the year ——. He was ſon to that famous reformer Alexander Gordon of Earlſtoun, and was lineally deſcended of that famous Alexander Gordon who entertained the followers of John Wickliffe, and who had a new teſtament of the vulgar tongue which they uſed to read in their meetings at the wood near Airds beſide Earlſtoun. William Gordon, having thus the advantage of a very religious education, began very early to follow Chriſt. As early as the year 1637, Mr. Rutherford in a letter admoniſhes him thus: Sir, lay the foundation thus and ye ſhall not ſoon ſhrink nor be ſhaken: make tight work at the bottom, and your ſhip ſhall ride againſt all ſtorms; if withal your anchor be faſtened on good ground, I mean, within the vail, &c*." And indeed by the bleſſing of God, he began very early to diſtinguiſh himſelf for piety and religion with a firm attachment to the preſbyterian intereſt and a covenanted work of reformation; in which he continued ſtedfaſt and unmoveable untill he loſt his life in the honourable cauſe.

* Vid Rutherford's letters, epiſt. 139.

What hand he had in the public affairs during Cromwel's uſurpation, I cannot ſo well ſay: we muſt ſuppoſe him upon the remonſtrators' ſide. But the firſt public teſtimony he gave after the reſtoration of Charles II. recorded in hiſtory, was, about the year 1663, when ſome commiſſioners were appointed by the council to go ſouth and inquire anent ſome oppoſition that was then made by the people to the ſettlement of curates at Kirkcudbright and Irongray: and the ſaid commiſſioners, knowing this worthy gentleman's firmneſs to the preſbyterian principles, and being deſigned either to make him comply in ſettling an epiſcopal incumbent in the pariſh of Dalry in Galloway (where, by the once eſtabliſhed laws, he had ſome right in preſenting) or, if he refuſed to concur with the biſhop, which they had all reaſon imaginable to ſuſpect he would, to bring him to further trouble. Accordingly they wrote him a letter in the following tenor:—"Finding the church of Dalry to be one of thoſe that the biſhop hath preſented, an actual miniſter Mr. George Henry fit and qualified for the charge, and that the gentleman is to come to your pariſh this Sabbath next to preach to that people, and that you are a perſon of ſpecial intereſt there,—we do require you to cauſe his edict to be ſerved, and the congregation to conveen and countenance him ſo as to be encouraged to proſecute his miniſtry in that place."—Your loving friends and ſervants,

LINLITHGOW, GALLOWAY,
ANNANDALE, DRUMLANERK.

To this letter Earlſtoun gave them a very reſpectful return, ſhewing, upon ſolid reaſons, why he could not comply with this their unjuſt demand, as the following excerpt from that letter evidences:—"I ever judged it ſafeſt to obey God, and ſtand at a diſtance from whatſoever doth not tend to God's glory and the edification of the ſouls of his ſcattered people, of which that congregation is a part. And beſides, my Lords, it is known to many, that I pretend to lay claim to the right of patronage of that pariſh, and have already determined therein with the conſent of the people to a truly worthy and qualified perſon, that he may be admitted to exerciſe his gifts amongſt that people; and for me to countenance the bearer of your Lordſhip's letter, were to procure me moſt impiouſly and dishonourably to wrong the majeſty of God and violently to take away the Chriſtian liberty of his afflicted people and enervate my own right, *&c.*"†

This

† Here obſerve that though this worthy gentleman mentions the right of patronage, yet it is with this proviſo and limitation, the

This was, without queſtion, what the managers wanted, and ſo his trouble began: for, on the 30th of July following, "the lords of council order letters to be directed, "to charge William Gordon of Earlſtoun to compear be- "fore them—to anſwer for his ſeditious and factious car- "riage:" that was, his refuſing to comply with prelacy, and hear the curates, and for his favouring and hearing the outed miniſters. And further, Nov. 24th, ſame year, "The council being informed, that the laird of Earlſtoun "kept conventicles and private meetings in his houſe,—do "order letters to be directed againſt him to compear before "this council to anſwer for his contempt, under the pain "of rebellion." But all this noways daſhed the courage of this confeſſor of Chriſt in adhering to his perſecuted and deſpiſed goſpel; which made theſe malignant enemies yet paſs a more ſevere and rigorous act againſt him; in which it was exhibited that he had been at ſeveral conventicles (as they were pleaſed to call the preachings of the goſpel) where Mr. Gabriel Semple, a depoſed miniſter, did preach in the Corſack wood and wood of Airds; and heard texts of ſcripture explained both in his mother's and in his own houſe by outed miniſters; "—and being re- "quired to enact himſelf to abſtain from all ſuch meetings "in time coming, and to live peaceably and orderly, con- "form to law," he refuſed to do the ſame: They did, therefore, order the ſaid William Gordon of Earlſtoun to be baniſhed, and to depart forth of the kingdom within a month, and not to return under pain of death, and that he live peaceably during that time, under the penalty of 10,000 l. or otherwiſe, to enter his perſon in priſon.

Here it would appear, that he did not obey this ſentence. And although we have little or no particular account of his ſufferings, yet we are aſſured he endured a ſeries of hardſhips.—In the year 1667, he was turned out of his houſe and all; and the ſaid houſe made a garriſon for Bannantine that wicked wretch and his party; after which, almoſt every year produced him new troubles, until the 22d or 23d of January, 1679, that he emerged out of all his troubles, and arrived at the haven of reſt, and obtained his glorious reward in the following manner—

Having

choice or conſent of the people; otherwiſe ſays he it would wrong the majeſty of God, take away the Chriſtian liberty of the people, and invalidate his own right: and how unlike is this to the ſpecies of patronage and claim of patrons at this time, when nothing but abſolute power and arbitrary meaſures will ſatisfy them.

Having ſome affairs to ſettle (perhaps on a view never to return) he could not join that ſuffering handful who were then in arms near Bothwel: he ſent his ſon who was in the action. He himſelf haſtening forward as ſoon as poſſible to their aſſiſtance, and not knowing of their diſaſter, was met near the place by a party of Engliſh dragoons who were in queſt of the ſufferers, and, like another valiant champion of Chriſt, he refuſed to ſurrender or comply with their demand, and ſo they killed him ſtraight out upon the ſpot *; his ſon being out of the way, and his friends not obtaining that his body ſhould be urned amongſt the bones of his anceſtors; he was interred in the church-yard of Glaſsford: and though a pillar or monument was erected over his grave, yet no inſcription was got inſcribed becauſe of the ſeverity of theſe times.

Thus fell a renowned Gordon, one whoſe character at preſent I am in no capacity to deſcribe: only, I may venture to ſay, that he was a gentleman of good parts and endowments; a man devoted unto religion and godlineſs; and a prime ſupporter of the Preſbyterian intereſt in that part of the country wherein he lived.—The Gordons have all along made no ſmall figure in our Scottiſh hiſtory;—but here was a patriot, a good Chriſtian, a confeſſor and (I may add) a martyr of Jeſus Chriſt.

* His ſon Alexander Gordon here narrowly eſcaped being taken, by means of one of his tenants, who knowing him as he rode thro' Hamilton, made him diſmount, put on woman's cloaths, and rock the cradle. After this he went over to his brother in law Mr. Hamilton, to repreſent the low caſe of the united ſocieties to the churches of the Netherlands; he was by them called home, and when returning back a ſecond time, he was apprehended by the enemy and put to the torture, but by means of his friend the duke of Gordon, his life was ſpared. However, he was ſent to the Baſs, and from thence (I ſuppoſe) to Blackneſs, where from 1683. he continued till he was liberated at the Revolution.——It is to be lamented, that neither he, after this, nor his ſon Sir Thomas, fully followed the ſteps of their anceſtors.

The Lives of Meſſrs. JOHN KID *and* JOHN KING.

MESSRS. John Kid and John King ſuffered many hardſhips during the perſecuting period, namely, from the year 1670, to the time of their martyrdom 1679, Mr.

Mr. King was ſometime chaplain to lord Cardroſs; and it appears, he was apprehended and impriſoned in the year 1674. but got out on a bond and ſurety for 5000 merks, to appear when called. Next year he was again, by a party of the perſecutors, apprehended in the ſaid lord Cardroſs's, but was immediately reſcued from their hands by ſome country people, who had profited much by his miniſtry. After this, he was taken a third time by bloody Claverhouſe near Hamilton, with about 17 others, and brought to Evandale, where they were all reſcued by their ſuffering brethren at Drumclog. After which he and Mr. Kid were of great ſervice, and preached often among the honeſt party of our ſufferers, till their defeat at Bothwel, where Mr. Kid, among other priſoners, was taken and brought to Edinburgh. It would appear that Mr. King was apprehended alſo at the ſame time in or weſt from Glaſgow †. For a party of Engliſh dragoons being there, and one of them on horſeback called for ſome ale, and drank to

† Since the publication of the above, I received the following account of the taking of Mr. King in a letter from a correſpondent.

Mr King having come to pay his reſpects to the Laird of Blair, (in Dalry parish near Kilwinning to whom formerly he had been ſome time chaplain) one Bryce Blair, a farmer, who had been groom there while Mr. King was about that houſe, getting notice, came and deſired Mr King to pay him a viſit, to which he conſented. Accordingly, he went where he preached a ſhort word on the Saturday night following. But on the Sabbath morning, a party of the enemy (according to ſome, Crighton's dragoons) being in queſt of him, and getting the ſcent, two of them in diſguiſe came to an old man feeding cattle near Bryce Blair's houſe, and asked him, whether he knew where that godly miniſter Mr. King was; for they were afraid he would be taken, as the enemy were in purſuit of him; and if they knew where he was, they would ſecure him from them. The old man having more honeſty than policy, cried out, I'll run and tell him. Whereupon they rode full ſpeed after him to the houſe. Finding a ſervant of the houſe waiting on Mr. King's and his ſervant's horſes, they immediately diſmounted, and having driven their own horſes into the ſtanding corn, threatening him not to ſtir from the ſpot on pain of death, one of them took his ſaddle, and putting it on Mr. King's horſe ſaid, Many a mile have I rode after thee, but I ſhall ride upon thee now.

By this time the reſt had ſurrounded the houſe, and Mr. King and his ſervant being in bed they immediately commanded them to riſe and put on their cloaths. While his ſervant was putting on his ſpurs, one of the ſoldiers damned him, ſaying, was he putting a ſpur on a priſoner? To whom he replied, He would put on what he pleaſed: For which he received from him a blow: then another gave that ſoldier a blow, ſaying, Damn you, ſir, are you ſtriking a priſoner, while making no reſiſtance. In the hurry, Mr. King's ſervant threw his maſter's wallees into a peat loſt. Thus they were both carried off. They hired one David Cumming in the

to the confuſion of the covenants. Another of his comrades aſking him at the ſtable-green port, where he was going, he anſwered, To carry King to hell. But this poor wretch had not gone far whiſtling and ſinging, till his carbine accidentally went off, and killed him on the ſpot. *God ſhall ſhoot at them with an arrow, ſuddenly ſhall they be wounded*, Pſal. lxiv. 7.

Mr. King was taken to Edinburgh, where both he and Mr. Kid were before the council, July 9th. Mr. King confeſſed, when examined, That he was with thoſe who roſe at that time, *&c.* Mr. Kid confeſſed, he had preached in the fields, but never where there were men in arms, except in two places. They ſigned their confeſſion, which was afterwards produced in evidence againſt them before the juſticiary. On the 12th Mr. Kid was again examined before the council, and put to the torture. It ſeems he was more than once in the boots, where he behaved with much meekneſs and patience. Mr. King was examined on the 16th before the juſticiary, and Mr. Kid on the day following. On the 22d, they received their indictments. Their trial came on upon the 28th. They were again before the juſticiary, where, upon their former petition on the 24th, advocates were allowed to plead for them ‡, but no exculpation was allowed them. When their indictments were read, the advocate produced their confeſſions before the council, as proof againſt them; and accordingly they were brought in guilty and condemned to be hanged at the market croſs of Edinburgh on Thurſday the 14th of Aug. and their heads and right arms to be cut off, and diſpoſed of at the council's pleaſure.

Accordingly, the ſame day the king's act of indemnity was publiſhed in the forenoon, and, to grace the ſolemnity, the two noble martyrs (who were denied a ſhare therein) were in the afternoon brought forth to their execution. It was related by one there preſent, that, as they approached the

the ſame pariſh to be their guide to Glasgow, who willingly conſented. They preſſed a horſe for him to ride upon; but they had not gone far, when the horſe ran ſtark mad, and, jumping and ſtriking all around him with ſuch violence as affrighted the beholders, they were obliged to let him go; but no ſooner was he returned home, than he became as calm as ever. Cumming had to go on foot to Glaſgow. From thence Mr. King was ſent to Edinburgh. After which his ſervant was ſet at liberty. For what afterward became of Cumming ſee the Appendix.

‡ See a ſhort hint of their advocates pleadings and petition in behalf of Mr. King, Crookſhanks' hiſtory, vol. II. page 27.

the place, walking together hand in hand, Mr. Kid, looking about to Mr. King with a cheerful countenance, ſaid, "I have often heard and read of a kid ſacrificed, but I "ſeldom or never heard of a king made a ſacrifice." Upon the ſcaffold they appeared with a great deal of courage and ſerenity of mind, (as was uſual with the martyrs in theſe times), and died in much peace and joy; even a joy that none of their perſecutors could intermeddle with. Their heads were cut off on another ſcaffold prepared for the purpoſe.

Thus ended theſe two worthy miniſters and martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt, after they had owned their allegiance to Zion's king and Lord, and given a faithful teſtimony againſt popery, prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, *&c.*; and for the covenanted work of reformation in its different parts and periods. The reader will find their dying teſtimonies in Naphtali and the weſtern martyrology, page 146. *&c.* A few of their ſermons I had occaſion lately to publiſh.

The Life of Mr. JOHN BROWN.

MR. BROWN was ordained miniſter at Wamphray in Annandale. There is no certain account how long he was miniſter there, only it was ſome time before the reſtoration of Charles II. as appears from his great faithfulneſs in oppoſing prelacy, which was then about to be intruded upon the church; inſomuch that, for his fortitude and freedom with ſome of his neighbouring miniſters for their compliance with the prelates, contrary to the promiſe they had given him, he was turned out of that place.

Upon the 6th of Nov. 1662, he was brought before the council. Whether by letters to converſe with the managers, or by a citation, it is not certain. But the ſame day, the council's act againſt him runs thus:

"Mr. John Brown of Wamphray, being conveened be-"fore the council, for abuſing and reproaching ſome mi-"niſters for keeping the dioceſan ſynod with the arch-bi-"ſhop of Glaſgow, calling them perjured knaves and vil-"lains, did acknowledge that he called them falſe knaves "for ſo doing, becauſe they had promiſed the contrary to "him. The council ordain him to be ſecured cloſe priſo-"ner in the tolbooth till further orders."

He remained in priſon till Dec. 11. when, after Mr. Livingſton and others had received their ſentence, the council came to this concluſion anent him, "Upon a petition "preſented by Mr. John Brown miniſter of Wamphray, "now priſoner in Edinburgh, ſhewing, that he had been "kept cloſe priſoner theſe five weeks by-paſt, and ſeeing "that, by want of free air and other neceſſaries for main-"taining his crazy body, he is in hazard to loſe his life, "therefore, humbly deſiring warrant to be put at liberty, "upon caution to enter his perſon when he ſhould be com-"manded, as the petition bears; which being at length "heard and conſidered, the lords of council ordain the "ſupplicant to be put at liberty, forth of the tolbooth, he "firſt obliging himſelf to remove and depart off the king's "dominions, and not to return, without licence from his "majeſty and council, under pain of death."

Great were the hardſhips he underwent in priſon, for (ſays a hiſtorian) he was denied even the neceſſaries of life; and though, becauſe of the ill treatment he met with, he was brought almoſt to the gates of death, yet he could not have the benefit of the free air until he ſigned a bond obliging himſelf to a voluntary baniſhment, and that without any juſt cauſe *.

But, upon the 23d of the ſame month, on preſenting a petition to the council to prorogue the time of his removal from the kingdom, in regard he was not able to provide himſelf with neceſſaries, and the weather ſo unſeaſonable that he could not have the opportunity of a ſhip, &c. as the petition bears; which being read and conſidered, "They "grant him two months longer after the 11th of Dec. by-"paſt; in the mean time he being peaceable, acting nothing "in prejudice of the preſent government, &c."—And next year he went over to Holland (then the aſylum of the baniſhed) where he lived many years, but never, that we heard of, ſaw his own native country any more.

How he employed himſelf moſtly in Holland we are at a loſs to ſay; his many elaborate pieces, both practical, argumentative and hiſtorical, witneſs that he was not idle; which were either moſtly wrote there, or publiſhed from thence; and particularly thoſe concerning the indulgence, ceſs-paying, &c. ſent for the ſupport and ſtrengthening of his perſecuted brethren in the church of Scotland, unto whom he and Mr. M'Ward contributed all in their power, that they might be kept ſtraight (while labouring in the furnace

* Crookſhank's hiſtory, vol. I. page 255.

furnace of affliction) under a ſcene of ſore oppreſſion and bloody tyranny. But hither did the malice of their enemies yet purſue them. For the king, by the inſtigation of prelate Sharp, *anno* 1676, wrote to the ſtates-general to remove them from their province. And although the ſtates neither did nor could reaſonably grant this demand, ſeeing they had got the full ſtreſs of laws in Scotland many years before, yet it appears that they were obliged to wander farther from the land of their nativity.

Some time before his death, he was admitted miniſter of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam; where he, with great prudence and diligence, exerciſed that function; it being always his ſtudy and care to gain many ſouls to Chriſt. For as he was faithful in declaring the whole counſel of God to his people, in warning them againſt the evils of the time, ſo he was likewiſe a great textuary, cloſe in handling any truth he diſcourſed upon, and in the application moſt home, warm and ſearching, ſhewing himſelf a moſt ſkilful caſuiſt. His ſermons were not ſo plain, but the learned might admire them; nor ſo learned, but the plain underſtood them. His fellow-ſoldier and companion † in tribulation gives him this teſtimony, "That the "whole of his ſermons, without the intermixture of any "other matter, had a ſpecialty of pure goſpel tincture, "breathing nothing but faith in Chriſt, and communion "with him, &c."

The ordination of faithful Mr. Richard Cameron ſeems to have been the laſt of his public employments; and his laſt but excellent diſcourſe (before his exit from this world, which appears to have been about the end of the year 1679) was from Jer. ii. 35. *Behold I will plead with thee, becauſe thou ſayeſt, I have not ſinned*, &c. And having finiſhed his courſe with joy, he died in the Lord. *Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them.*

No doubt Mr. Brown was a man famous in his day, both for learning, faithfulneſs, warm zeal and true piety. He was a notable writer, a choice and pathetical preacher; in controverſy he was acute, maſculine and ſtrong, in hiſtory plain and comprehenſive, in divinity ſubſtantial and divine; the firſt he diſcovers in his work printed in Latin againſt the Socinians, and his treatiſe *de cauſa Dei contra anti-ſabbatarios*, which the learned world know better than can be here deſcribed. There is alſo a large manuſcript

† M'Ward, in his earneſt contendings, page 541.

hiſtory intitled, *Apologia pro eccleſia*, &c. *anno Domini* 1660. conſiſting of 1600 pages in 4to, which he gave in to Charles Gordon, ſometime miniſter at Dalmony, to be by him preſented to the firſt free general aſſembly of the church of Scotland, and was by him exhibited to the general aſſembly *anno* 1692; of this hiſtory the apologetical relation ſeems to be an abridgment. His letters and other papers, particularly the hiſtory of the indulgence, written and ſent home to his native country, manifeſt his great and fervent zeal for the cauſe of Chriſt. And his other practical pieces, ſuch as that on juſtification, on the Romans, Quakeriſm the way to Paganiſm; the hope of glory; and Chriſt the way, the truth and the life; the firſt and ſecond part of his life of faith, and Enoch's teſtament opened up, *&c.*; all which evidence his ſolid piety, and real acquaintance with God and godlineſs.

The Life of HENRY HALL *of Haugh-head.*

MR. HALL of Haugh-head (in the pariſh of Eckford in Teviotdale), having had a religious education, began very early to mind a life of holineſs, in all manner of godly converſation. In his younger years he was a moſt zealous oppoſer of the public reſolutions (that took place *anno* 1651) inſomuch, that when the miniſter of that pariſh complied with that courſe, he refuſed to hear him, and often went to Ancrum to hear Mr. John Livingſton. After the reſtoration of that wicked tyrant Charles II. being oppreſſed with the malicious perſecutions of the curates and other malignants, for his non-conformity, he was obliged to depart his native country, and go over to the border of England *anno* 1665, where he was very much renowned for his ſingular zeal in propagating the goſpel, by inſtructing the ignorant, and procuring miniſters to preach now and then among that people, who before his coming were very rude and barbarous, but now many of them became famous for piety. *Anno* 1666, he was taken priſoner on his way coming to Pentland, to the aſſiſtance of his covenanted brethren, and impriſoned with ſome others in Ceſford caſtle. But, by divine providence, he ſoon eſcaped thence, through the favour of his friend the earl of Roxburgh, (who was a blood-relation of his), unto whom the caſtle then pertained. He retired again to Northumberland

Northumberland, where, from this time until the year 1679, he lived, being very much beloved, of all that knew him, for his care and concern in propagating the goſpel of Chriſt in that country, inſomuch that his blameleſs and ſhining converſation drew love, reverence and eſteem even from his very enemies. About the year 1678, the heat of the perſecution in Scotland obliged many to wander about in Northumberland, as one colonel Struthers was violently purſuing all Scotſmen in thoſe places. Haugh-head was in that ſcuffle near Crookham, a village upon the Engliſh border, where one of his neareſt intimates, that gallant and religious gentleman Thomas Ker of Hayhop, fell. Upon which he was obliged to return again to Scotland, where he wandered up and down in the hotteſt time of the perſecution, moſtly with Mr. Donald Cargil and Mr. Richard Cameron. During which time, beſide his many other Chriſtian virtues, he ſignalized himſelf by a real zeal, in defence of the perſecuted goſpel in the fields. He was one of theſe four elders of the church of Scotland, who at the council of war at Shawhead-muir June 18. 1769, were choſen, with Meſſrs Cargil, Douglas, King and Barclay, to draw up the cauſes of the Lord's wrath againſt the land, which were to be the cauſes of a faſt on the day following. He had, indeed, an active hand in the moſt part of the tranſactions among the covenanters at that time; as being one of the commanding officers in that army, from the ſkirmiſh at Drumclog, to their defeat at Bothwel-bridge.

After this, being forfeited, and diligently ſearched for and purſued after, to eſchew the violent hands of theſe his indefatigable perſecutors, he was forced to go over to Holland (the only refuge then of our Scots ſufferers). But he had not ſtaved there long, until his zeal for the perſecuted intereſt of Chriſt, and his tender ſympathy for the afflicted remnant of his covenanted brethren, who were then wandering in Scotland, through the deſolate caves and dens of the earth, drew him home again; chooſing rather to undergo the utmoſt efforts of perſecuting fury, than to live at eaſe in the time of Joſeph's affliction, making Moſes's generous choice, rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy what momentary pleaſures the eaſe of the world could afford. Nor was he very much concerned with the riches of this world; for he ſtood not to give his ground † to hold field preachings on, when few or none elſe

† The Rev. Mr. George Barclay, who was very public at this time, and had his hand at many a good turn, and was a bleſſed inſtrument to the edification of many ſouls, but got a waff of that

elſe would do it; for he was ſtill a true lover of the free and faithful preached goſpel, and was always againſt the indulgence.

About a quarter of a year after his return from Holland, he was moſtly with Mr. Cargil, lurking as privily as they could about Borrowſtoneſs and other places on this and the other ſide the frith of Forth. At laſt they were taken notice of by theſe two bloody hounds, the curates of Borrowſtoneſs and Carridden, who ſoon ſmelled out Mr. Cargil and his companion, and preſently ſent information to Middleton, governor of Blackneſs caſtle (who was a papiſt). After conſultation, he immediately took the ſcent after them, ordering his ſoldiers to follow him at a diſtance, by twos and threes together, at convenient intervals, to avoid ſuſpicion, while he and his man rode up after them at ſome diſtance, till they came to Queensferry; where perceiving the houſe where they alighted, he ſent his ſervant off in haſte for his men, putting up his horſe in another houſe, and coming to the houſe to them as a ſtranger, pretended a great deal of kindneſs and civility to Mr. Cargil and him, deſiring that they might have a glaſs of wine together.—— When each had taken a glaſs, and were in ſome friendly conference, the governor, wearying that his men came not up, threw off the maſk, and laid hands on them, ſaying, they were his priſoners, and commanded the people of the houſe, in the king's name to aſſiſt. But they all refuſed, except one Thomas George a waiter; by whoſe aſſiſtance he got the gate ſhut. In the mean while Haugh-head, being a bold and briſk man, ſtruggled hard with the governor, until Cargil got off; and after the ſcuffle, as he was going off himſelf, having got clear of the governor, Thomas George ſtruck him on the head, with a carbine, and wounded him mortally. However he got out; and, by this time the women of the town, who were aſſembled at the gate to the reſcue of the priſoners, convoyed him out of town. He walked ſome time on foot, but unable to ſpeak much, ſave only ſome little reflection upon a woman who interpoſed, hindering him to kill the governor, that ſo he might have made his eſcape more timeouſly. At laſt he fainted, and was carried to a country houſe near Echlin; and although chirurgeons were ſpeedily brought, yet he never recovered the uſe of his ſpeech any more. Dalziel, living near-by, was ſoon advertiſed, and came quickly with a party

murthering eaſt wind, in the year 1679 --ſaid, The beſt days that ever he had in preaching of the goſpel was in the hounds belonging to the laird of Haugh-head, worthy Henry Hall, &c.

ty of the guards, and ſeized him; and although every one ſaw the gentleman juſt a-dying, yet ſuch was his inhumanity, that he muſt carry him to Edinburgh. But he died, in their hands, on the way thither; and made an end of this his earthly pilgrimage to receive his heavenly crown. His corpſe was carried to the Cannongate tolbooth, where they lay three days without burial; and then his friends conveened for that end, to do their laſt office to him; yet that could not be granted. At laſt they cauſed bury him clandeſtinely in the night; for ſuch was the fury of theſe limbs of antichriſt, that after they had ſlain the witneſſes, they would not ſuffer them to be decently interred in the earth; which is another laſting evidence of the cruelty of thoſe times.

Thus the worthy gentleman, after he had in an eminent manner, ſerved his day and generation, fell a victim to prelatic fury. Upon him was found, when he was taken, a rude draught of an unſubſcribed paper, afterwards called the Queensferry paper; which the reader will find, inſerted at large, in Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. II. Appendix, No. 46.; the ſubſtance of which is contained in Crookſhank's hiſtory, and in the appendix to the cloud of witneſſes.

The Life of Mr. RICHARD CAMERON.

MR. RICHARD CAMERON was born in Falkland, in ſhire of Fyfe (his father being a merchant there). He was of the epiſcopal perſuaſion at firſt; for, after he had paſſed his courſe of learning, he was ſome time ſchoolmaſter and precentor to the curate of Falkland He ſometimes attended the ſermons of the indulged, as he had opportunity; but at laſt it pleaſed the Lord to incline him to go out to hear the perſecuted goſpel in the fields; which when the curates underſtood, they ſet upon him, partly by flattery and partly by threats, and at laſt by more direct perſecution to make him forbear attending theſe meetings. But ſuch was the wonderful working of the Lord by his powerful Spirit upon him, that having got a lively diſcovery of the ſin and hazard of prelacy, he deſerted the curates altogether, and no ſooner was he enlightened anent the evil of prelacy, but he began

more

more narrowly to ſearch into the ſtate of things, that he might know what was his proper and neceſſary duty. The Lord was pleaſed to diſcover to him the ſinfulneſs of the indulgence, as flowing from the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy uſurped by the king; and, being zealouſly affected for the honour of Chriſt, wronged by that Eraſtian acknowledgement of the magiſtrate's uſurped power over the church, he longed for an opportunity to give a teſtimony againſt it. This made him leave Falkland, and go to Sir Walter Scot of Harden, who attended the indulged meetings. Here he took the opportunity (notwithſtanding of many ſtrong temptations to the contrary) to witneſs in his ſtation, againſt the indulgence. Particularly on Sabbath when called to attend the lady to church, he returned from the entry, refuſing to go that day; and ſpent it in his chamber, where he met with much of the Lord's preſence (as he himſelf afterwards teſtified) and got very evident diſcoveries of the nature of theſe temptations and ſuggeſtions of Satan, which were like to prevail with him before; and upon Monday, giving a reaſon unto the ſaid Sir William and his lady why he went not to church with them, he took occaſion to be plain and expreſs in teſtifying againſt the indulgence, in the original riſe, ſpring, and complex nature thereof. After which, finding his ſervice would be no longer acceptable to them, he went to the ſouth, where he met with the reverend Mr. John Welch. He ſtayed ſome time in his company, who, finding him a man every way qualified for the miniſtry, preſſed him to accept a licence to preach; which he for ſometime refuſed, chiefly upon the account that having ſuch clear diſcoveries of the ſinfulneſs of the indulgence, he could not but teſtify againſt it explicitly, ſo ſoon as he ſhould have opportunity to preach the goſpel in public, &c.——But the force of his objections being anſwered by Mr. Welch's ſerious ſollicitations, he was prevailed on to accept of a licence from the outed miniſters, who were then preaching in the fields, and had not then complied with the indulgence. Accordingly he was licenced by Mr. Welch and Mr. Semple at Haugh-head in Teviotdale, at the houſe of Henry Hall. Here he told them, He would be a bone of contention among them; for if he preached againſt a national ſin among them it ſhould be againſt the indulgences, and for ſeparation from the indulged.

After he was licenced, they ſent him at firſt to preach in Annandale. He ſaid, How could he go there.——He knew not what ſort of people they were. But Mr. Welch ſaid,

ſaid, Go your way, Richie, and ſet the fire of hell to their tail. He went, and, the firſt day, he preached upon that text, *How ſhall I put thee among the children*, &c. In the application he ſaid, Put you amongſt the children! the offſpring of robbers and thieves. Many have heard of Annandale thieves. Some of them got a merciful caſt that day, and told it afterwards, That it was the firſt field-meeting that ever they attended; and that they went out of curioſity, to ſee how a miniſter could preach in a tent, and people ſit on the ground. After this, he preached ſeveral times with Mr. Welch, Mr. Semple and others, until 1679, that he and Mr. Welwood were called before that Eraſtian meeting at Edinburgh, in order to be depoſed for their freedom and faithfulneſs in preaching againſt the ſinful compliance of that time.

After this he preached at Maybole, where many thouſands of people were aſſembled together, it being the firſt time that the ‡ ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper was then diſpenſed in the open fields. At this time he uſed yet more freedom in teſtifying againſt the ſinfulneſs of the indulgences, for which he was alſo called before another meeting of the indulged at Dinugh in Galloway; and a little after that, he was again called before a preſhytery of them, at Sundewal in Dunſcore in Nithſdale: And this was the third time they had deſigned to take his licence from him. Here it was where Robert Gray a Northumberland man (who ſuffered afterwards in the Graſs-market in 1682.), Robert Neilſon and others proteſted againſt them for ſuch a conduct. At this meeting they prevailed with him to give his promiſe, That for ſome ſhort time he ſhould forbear ſuch an explicit way of preaching againſt the indulgence, and ſeparation from them who were indulged:—— Which promiſe lay heavy on him afterwards, as will appear in its own proper place.

After the giving of this promiſe, finding himſelf by virtue thereof bound up from declaring the whole counſel of God, he turned a little melancholy; and, to get the definite time of that unhappy promiſe exhauſted, in the end of the year 1678, he went over to Holland (not knowing what work the Lord had for him there,); where he converſed with Mr. M'Ward and others of our baniſhed worthies. In his private converſation and exerciſe in families, but eſpecially in his public ſermon in the Scots kirk of Rotter-

‡ Thoſe who diſpenſed the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper here, were M. ſſrs. Archibald Riddel, John Welch, Andrew Moton, Patrick Warner, George Barclay and others.

dam, he was moſt refreſhing unto many ſouls, where he was moſt cloſe upon converſion work from that text, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden*, &c.; and moſt ſatisfying and agreeable to Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown and others, who were ſadly miſinformed by the indulged, and thoſe of their perſuaſion, that he could preach nothing but babble againſt the indulgence, ceſs-paying, &c. But here he touched upon none of theſe things, except in prayer, when lamenting over the deplorable caſe of Scotland by defection and tyranny.

About this time Mr. M'Ward ſaid to him, "Richard, "the public ſtandard is now fallen in Scotland, and, if, I "know any thing of the mind of the Lord, you are called "to undergo your trials before us; and go home, and "lift the fallen ſtandard, and diſplay it publicly before the "world; but before ye put your hand to it, ye ſhall go "to as many of the field-miniſters (for ſo they were yet "called) as ye can find, and give them your hearty invita-"tion to go with you; and if they will not go, go alone, "and the Lord will go with you."

Accordingly he was ordained by Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown and Roleman, a famous Dutch divine. When their hands were lift up from his head, Mr. M'Ward continued his on his head, and cried out, "Behold, all ye beholders, here "is the head of a faithful miniſter and ſervant of Jeſus "Chriſt, who ſhall loſe the ſame for his Maſter's intereſt, "and ſhall be ſet up before ſun and moon, in the view of "the world."

In the beginning of the year 1680, he returned home to Scotland, where he ſpent ſome time in going from miniſter to miniſter, of thoſe who formerly kept up the public ſtandard of the goſpel in the fields; but all in vain, for the perſecution being then ſo hot after Bothwel, againſt all ſuch who had not accepted the indulgence and indemnity, none of them would adventure upon that hazard, except Mr. Donald Cargil and Mr. Thomas Douglas who came together, and kept a public faſt-day in Darmeid-muir, betwixt Clydeſdale and Lothian; one of the chief cauſes of which was the reception of the duke of York (that ſworn vaſſal of antichriſt) unto Scotland, after he had been excluded from England and ſeveral other places. After ſeveral meetings among themſelves, for forming a declaration and teſtimony, which they were about to publiſh to the world, at laſt they agreed upon one, which they publiſhed at the market-croſs of Sanquhar, June 22d, 1680. from which place it is commonly called the Sanquhar declaratio n.

tion. After this they were obliged, for ſome time, to ſeparate one from another, and go to different corners of the land: And that not only upon the account of the urgent call and neceſſity of the people, who were then in a moſt ſtarving condition, with reſpect to the free and faithful preached goſpel, but alſo on account of the indefatigable ſcrutiny of the enemy, who, for their better encouragement, had, by proclamation, 5000 merks offered for apprehending Mr. Cameron, 3000 for Mr. Cargil and Mr. Douglas, and 100 for each of the reſt, who were concerned in the publication of the foreſaid declaration.

After parting, Mr. Cameron went to Swine-know in New-Monkland, where he had a moſt confirming and comforting day upon that ſoul-refreſhing text, Iſa. xxxi. 2. *And a man ſhall be a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempeſt*, &c. In his preface that day, he ſaid, He was fully aſſured that the Lord, in mercy unto this church and nation, would ſweep the throne of Britain of that unhappy race of the name of Stuart, for their treachery, tyranny and lechery, but eſpecially their uſurping the royal prerogatives of Chriſt, and this he was as ſure of as his hands were upon that cloth, yea and more ſure, for he had that by ſenſe, but the other by faith.

Mr. H. E. * who ſuffered much by impriſonment and otherways in this period, and though otherways a worthy good man, yet was ſo miſled that having one time premeditated a ſermon, wherein he intended to ſpeak ſomewhat againſt Mr. Cameron and Mr. Cargil, (ſo far was he in taking part with them): But on the Saturday's night he heard an audible voice which ſaid twice unto him, *audi*, he anſwered, *audio*, I hear: the voice ſpoke again, and ſaid, "Beware of calling Cameron's words, vain." This ſtopt him from his intended purpoſe. This he told himſelf afterwards unto an old reverend miniſter, who afterwards related the matter as above ſaid.

When he came to preach in and about Cumnock, he was much oppoſed by the lairds of Logan and Horſeclugh, who repreſented him as a Jeſuit, and a vile naughty perſon. But yet ſome of the Lord's people, who had retained their former faithfulneſs, gave him a call to preach in that pariſh. When he began, he exhorted the people to mind that they were in the ſight and preſence of a holy God, and that all of them were haſtening to an endleſs

* Probably this was Mr. Henry Erſkine, the late Mr. Erſkine's grandfather.

eſtate of either well or woe. One Andrew Dalziel, a debauchee (a cocker or fowler), who was in the houſe, it being a ſtormy day, cried out, "Sir, we neither know "you nor your God." Mr. Cameron, muſing a little, ſaid, "You, and all who do not know my God in mercy, ſhall "know him in his judgments, which ſhall be ſudden and "ſurprizing in a few days upon you; and I, as a ſent ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe commiſſion I bear, and "whoſe badge I wear upon my breaſt, give you warning, "and leave you to the juſtice of God." Accordingly, in a few days after, the ſaid Andrew, being in perfect health, took his breakfaſt plentifully, and before he roſe fell a-vomiting, and vomited his heart's blood in the very veſſel out of which he had taken his breakfaſt; and died in a moſt frightful manner. This admoniſhing paſſage, together with the power and preſence of the Lord going along with the goſpel diſpenſed by him, during the little time he was there, made the foreſaid two lairds deſire a conference with him, which he readily aſſented to. After which they were obliged to acknowledge, that they had been in the wrong to him, and deſired his forgiveneſs. He ſaid, From his heart he forgave them what wrongs they had done to him, but for what wrongs they had done to the intereſt of Chriſt, it was not his part, but he was perſuaded that they would be remarkably puniſhed for it. And to the laird of Logan he ſaid, That he ſhould be written childleſs; and to Horſeclugh, That he ſhould ſuffer by burning. Both of which came afterwards to paſs.

Upon the fourth of July following (being 18 days before his death), he preached at the Graſs-water-ſide near Cumnock. In his preface that day, he ſaid, "There are three "or four things I have to tell you this day, which I muſt "not omit, becauſe I will be but a breakfaſt or four-hours "to the enemy, ſome day or other ſhortly; and then my "work and my time will be finiſhed both. And the firſt is "this, As for king Charles II. who is now upon the throne "of Britain, after him there ſhall not be a crowned king "of the name of Stuart in Scotland *. 2*dly*, There ſhall "not be an old covenanter's head above ground that ſwore "theſe covenants with uplifted hands, ere ye get a right "reformation ſet up in Scotland. 3*dly*, A man ſhall ride "a day's journey in the ſhires of Galloway, Ayr, and "Clydeſdale, and not ſee a reeking houſe nor hear a cock "crow, ere ye get a right reformation, and ſeveral other "ſhires ſhall be little better. And 4*thly*, The rod that the "Lord

* King James II. never took the coronation oath of Scotland.

" Lord will make inſtrumental in this, will be the French " and other foreigners, together with a party in this land " joining them: but ye that ſtand to the teſtimony in that " day, be not diſcouraged at the fewneſs of your number, " for when Chriſt comes to raiſe up his own work in Scot- " land, he will not want men enough to work for him, *&c.*"

In the week following, he preached in the pariſh of Carluke, upon theſe words Iſa. xl. 24. *Shall the prey be taken from the mighty?* &c. And the Sabbath following, at Hind-Bottom near Crawford-John, he preached on theſe words, *You will not come to me that you may have life.* In the time of which ſermon he fell a-weeping, and the greater part of the multitude alſo, ſo that few dry cheeks were to be ſeen among them. After this, unto the death of his death, he moſtly kept his chamber-door ſhut until night; for the miſtreſs of the houſe where he ſtayed, having been ſeveral times at the door, got no acceſs. At laſt ſhe forced it up, and found him very melancholy. She earneſtly deſired to know how it was with him. He ſaid, That weary promiſe I gave to theſe miniſters has lain heavy upon me, and for which my carcaſe ſhall dung the wilderneſs, and that ere it be long. Being now near his end, he had ſuch a large earneſt of the Spirit, which made him have ſuch a longing deſire for full poſſeſſion of the heavenly inheritance, that he ſeldom prayed in a family, aſked a bleſſing or gave thanks, but he requeſted patience to wait until the Lord's appointed time came.

His laſt ſabbath * he preached (with Mr. Cargil in Clydeſdale) on Pſal. xlvi. 10. *Be ſtill and know that I am God,* &c. That day he ſaid, He was ſure that the Lord would lift up a ſtandard againſt Antichriſt, that would go to the gates of Rome and burn it with fire, and that blood ſhould be their ſign, and *no quarter* their word; and earneſtly wiſhed that it might begin in Scotland. At their parting, they concluded to meet the ſecond Sabbath after this at Craigmead.—But he was killed on the Thurſday thereafter. And the Sabbath following, Mr. Cargil preached in the pariſh of the Shots upon that text, *Know ye not that there is a great man and prince fallen this day in Iſrael?*

The laſt night of his life, he was in the houſe of William Mitchel in Meadow-head, at the water of Ayr, where about

* Another account bears, that his laſt ſermon was preached at the water of Renan in Galloway, and that it was a very prophetical one. But though he might have preached there, yet, according to the order of time and place as above ſpecified, it does not appear to have been the laſt ſermon that he preached.

bout 23 horſe and 40 foot had continued with him that week. That morning a woman gave him water to waſh his face and hands; and having waſhed and dried them with a towel, he looked to his hands, and laid them on his face, ſaying, This is their laſt waſhing, I have need to make them clean, for there are many to ſee them. At this the woman's mother wept. He ſaid, Weep not for me, but for yourſelf and yours, and for the ſins of a ſinful land, for ye have many melancholy, ſorrowful and weary days before you.

The people who remained with him were in ſome heſitation, whether they ſhould abide together for their own defence, or diſperſe and ſhift for themſelves. But that day, being the 22d of July, they were ſurpriſed by Bruce of Earls-hall; who, having got command of Airely's troop and Strahan's dragoons (upon notice given him by Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree †) came furiouſly upon them about four o'clock in the afternoon, when lying on the eaſt end of Airs-moſs. When they ſaw the enemy approaching, and no poſſibility of eſcaping, they all gathered round about him, while he prayed a ſhort word; wherein he repeated this expreſſion thrice over, Lord, ſpare the green and take the ripe. When ended, he ſaid to his brother with great intrepidity, Come, let us fight it out to the laſt; for this is the day that I have longed for, and the day that I have prayed for, to die fighting againſt our Lord's avowed enemies: this is the day that we will get the crown.—And to the reſt he ſaid, Be encouraged all of you to fight it out valiantly, for all of you that ſhall fall this day, I ſee heaven's gates open to receive you.

But the enemy approaching, they immediately drew up eight horſe with him on the right, the reſt, with valiant Hackſton, on the left, and the foot in the middle; where they all behaved with much bravery until overpowered by a ſuperior number. At laſt Hackſton was taken priſoner (as will afterwards be more fully narrated) and Mr. Cameron was killed on the ſpot, and his head and hands cut off by one Murray, and taken to Edinburgh. His father being in priſon for the ſame cauſe, they carried them to him (to add grief

† It was ſaid, Earſhall got 500 l. and Ochiltree 10,000 merks. However ſome time after, one morning about break of day, a fiery pillar of a bloody colour ſeemingly about two yards long, was ſeen hanging above that houſe. The ſame day about two o'clock afternoon the caſtle took fire, and was with charters, plate and all, burnt down to the ground. The ſon ſaid to the father while it was burning, "This is the vengeance of Cameron's blood." That houſe was never built. For the new houſe, eſtate and all, they are gone from that race to others.

grief unto his former ſorrow), and inquired at him, if he knew them. He took his ſon's hands and head, which were very fair, being a man of a fair complexion with his own hair, and kiſſed them, and ſaid, "I know, I know "them; they are my ſon's, my own dear ſon's; it is the "Lord, good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong "me nor mine, but has made goodneſs and mercy to fol-"low us all our days." After which, by order of the council, his head was fixed upon the Nether-bow port, and his hands beſide it, with the fingers upward.

Thus this valiant ſoldier and miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt came to his end, after he had been not only highly inſtrumental in turning many ſouls unto God, but alſo in lifting up a faithful ſtandard for his royal Lord and Maſter, againſt all his enemies, and the defections and ſinful compliances of that time. One of his and Chriſt's declared enemies, when he took out his head at Edinburgh, gave him this teſtimony, ſaying, "There the head and hands of a "man who lived praying and preaching, and died praying "and fighting." And wherever the faithful contendings of the once famous covenanted church of Scotland are honourably made mention of, this, to his honour, ſhall be recorded of him.

When he was ſlain, there was found upon him a ſhort paper, or bond of mutual defence, which the reader will find inſerted in Wodrow's hiſtory, and in the appendix to the cloud of witneſſes. There are alſo ſome few of his letters now publiſhed with Mr. Renwick's collection of letters, But the only ſermon of his that appeared in print formerly, is that preached at Carluke, intitled, Good news to Scotland, publiſhed *anno* 1733. He wrote alſo in defence of the Sanquhar declaration, but we can give no account of its ever being publiſhed. Some more of his ſermons were lately publiſhed.

An ACROSTIC *on his Name.*

M OST noble Cameron of renown,
A fame of thee ſhall ne'er go down;
S ince truth with zeal thou didſt purſue,
T o Zion's king loyal and true.
E v'n when the dragon ſpu'd his flood,
R eſiſt thou didſt unto the blood:

R an ſwiftly in thy Chriſtian race,
I n faith and patience to that place
C hriſt did prepare to ſuch as thee,
H e knew would not his ſtandard flee.

A pattern

A pattern of valour and zeal,
R ather to ſuffer than to fail;
D idſt ſhew thyſelf with might and main,

C ounting that droſs others thought gain;
A faithful witneſs 'gainſt all thoſe,
M en of all ſorts did truth oppoſe;
E ven thou with Moſes didſt eſteem
R eproaches for the God of heaven:
O n him alone thou didſt rely,
N ot ſparing for his cauſe to die.

The Life of DAVID HACKSTON *of Rathillet.*

DAVID HACKSTON of Rathillet, in the ſhire of Fife, is ſaid in his younger years to have been without the leaſt ſenſe of any thing religious, until it pleaſed the Lord, in his infinite goodneſs, to incline him to go out and attend the goſpel then preached in the fields, where he was caught in the goſpel net, and became ſuch a true convert, that after a moſt mature deliberation upon the controverted points of the principles of religion in that period, he at laſt embarked himſelf in that noble cauſe (for which he afterward ſuffered), with a full reſolution to ſtand and fall with the deſpiſed perſecuted people, cauſe and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt.

There is no account of any public appearance that this worthy gentleman made, amongſt that party, until the 3d of May 1679, that we find him, with other eight gentlemen, who were in queſt of one Carmichael, who, by means of the arch-biſhop, had got commiſſion to harraſs and perſecute all he could find (in the ſhire of Fife) for non-conformity; but not finding him, when they were ready to drop the ſearch, they providentially met with their arch-enemy himſelf. When-ever they deſcried his coach, one of them ſaid, It ſeems that the Lord hath delivered him into our hand; and propoſed that they ſhould chooſe one for their leader, whoſe orders the reſt were to obey. Upon which they choſe David Hackſton for their commander; but he abſolutely refuſed, upon account of a difference ſubſiſting betwixt Sharp and him in a civil proceſs, wherein he judged himſelf to have been wronged by the primate; which deed he thought would give the world ground to think, it was rather out of perſonal pique and revenge, which

which he profeſſed he was free of. They then choſe another, and came up with the coach; and having got the biſhop out, and given him ſome wounds, he fell on the ground. They ordered him to pray, but, inſtead of that, ſeeing Rathillet at ſome diſtance, (having never alighted from his horſe), he crept towards him on his hands and his feet, and ſaid, Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me.—To which he anſwered, I ſhall never lay a hand on you. At laſt he was killed; after which every one judged of the action as their inclinations moved them. However, the deed was wholly charged upon him (and his brother-in-law, Balfour of Kinloch) although he had no active hand in this action.

About the latter end of the ſame month of May, that he might not be found wanting to the Lord's cauſe, intereſt and people, upon any emergent occaſion, he, with ſome friends from Fife, joined that ſuffering handful of the covenanters at Evandale, where, after he and Mr. Hamilton, *&c.* had drawn up that declaration (afterward called the Rutherglen declaration), he and Mr. Douglas went to the market croſs of Rutherglen, and upon the anniverſary day the 29 of May, where they extinguiſhed the bonefires, and publiſhed the ſaid teſtimony. They returned back to Evandale, where they were attacked by Claverhouſe, upon the firſt of June near Drumclog. Here Mr. Hackſton was appointed one of the commanding officers (under Mr. Hamilton who commanded in chief), where he behaved with much valour and gallantry during that ſkirmiſh.——After which he was a very uſeful inſtrument among that faithful remnant (as witneſs his repeated proteſts againſt the corrupt and Eraſtian party), and had an active hand in the moſt part of the public tranſactions among them, until that fatal day the 22d of June, where he and his troop of horſe were the laſt upon the field of battle at Bothwelbridge *.

But, this worthy and religious gentleman, being now declared a rebel to the king (though no rebel to Zion's king), and a proclamation iſſued out, wherein was a reward offered of 10,000 merks to any who could inform of or apprehend him, or any of thoſe concerned in the death of the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews. Upon this and the proclamation after Bothwel, he was obliged to retire out of the way for about a year's ſpace. In which time he did not neglect to attend the goſpel in the fields, where-ever

* See Wilſon's impartial relation of Bothwel bridge, p. 67.

he could have it faithfully diſpenſed. But this pious gentleman, having run faſt and done much in a little time, it could not be expected he ſhould continue long, and upon the 22d of July 1680, having been with that little party a few days, who attended Mr. Richard Cameron at Airsmoſs, they were ſurprized by Bruce of Earls-hall, Airly's troop and Strahan's dragoons.

Here, being commander in chief of that little band, and ſeeing the enemy approaching faſt, he rode off to ſeek ſome ſtrength of ground for their better advantage, and the reſt followed; but ſeeing they could go no further, they turned back, and drew up quickly. Eight horſe on the right, and fifteen on the left; and the foot who were but ill armed in the middle. He then aſked, If they were all willing to fight? They all anſwered, They were. Both armies advanced, and a ſtrong party of the enemies horſe coming hard upon them, their horſe fired, killed and wounded ſeverals of them, both horſe and foot; after which they advanced to the enemies very faces, when, after giving and receiving fire, valiant Hackſton being in the front, finding the horſe behind him broke, rode in among them, and out at a ſide, without any damage; but being aſſaulted by ſeverals with whom he fought a long time, they following him and he them by turns, until he ſtuck in a bog, and the foremoſt of them, one Ramſay, one of his acquaintance, who followed him in, and they being on foot, fought with ſmall ſwords, without much advantage on either ſide. But at length cloſing, he was ſtruck down by three on horſeback behind him; and falling after he had received three ſore wounds on the head, they ſaved his life, which he ſubmitted to. He was, with the reſt of the priſoners, carried to the rear, where they gave them all a teſtimony * of brave reſolute men. After this he was brought to Douglas, and from thence to Lanerk, where Dalziel threatned to roaſt him for not ſatisfying him with anſwers. After which he and other three priſoners were taken to Edinburgh, where, by order of the council, they were

* Some of theſe bloody enemies ſaid, That that handful were men of the greateſt courage that ever they let their faces to fight againſt, although they had been at battles abroad: and that if they had been as well trained, horſed and armed as they were, they would ſurely have been put to flight. And few of them eſcaped, for their ſhots and ſtrokes were deadly, of which few recovered; for though there were but nine of the covenanters killed, yet there were twenty-eight of the enemy killed or died of their wounds in a few days. Walker's memoirs, p. 56.

were received by the magiſtrates at the water-gate, and he ſet on a horſe's bare back, with his face backward, and the other three laid on a goad of iron, and carried up the ſtreet (and Mr. Cameron's head on a halbert before them) to the parliament cloſs, where he was taken down, and the reſt looſed by the hand of the hangman.

He was immediately brought before the council, where his indictment was read by the chancellor, and he examined, which examination and anſwers thereunto being elſewhere ‡ inſerted at large, it may ſuffice here to obſerve, that being aſked, if he thought the biſhop's death murder? he told them, That he was not obliged to anſwer ſuch queſtions; yet he would not call it ſo, but rather ſay, it was not murder. Being further aſked, If he owned the king's authority, he replied, "That though he was not o-"bliged to anſwer, yet as he was permitted to ſpeak, he "would ſay ſomething to that; and 1*ſt*, That there could "be no lawful authority but what was of God, and that "no authority ſtated in a direct oppoſition to God could "be of God, and that he knew of no authority nor juſtici-"ary this day in theſe nations, but what were in a direct "oppoſition to God, and ſo could neither be of God nor "lawful, and that their fruits were kything it, in that they "were ſetting murderers, ſorcerers, and ſuch others at li-"berty from juſtice, and employing them in their ſervice, "and made it their whole work to oppreſs, kill and de-"ſtroy the Lord's people." Biſhop Paterſon aſked, "If e-"ver Pilate and that judicature, who were direct enemies to "Chriſt, were diſowned by him as judges?" He ſaid, "He "would anſwer no perjured prelate in the nation." Paterſon replied, "He could not be called perjured, ſince he ne-"ver took that ſacrilegious covenant." Mr. Hackſton ſaid, "That God would own that covenant, when none of them "were to oppoſe it, *&c.*" Notwithſtanding theſe bold, free, and open anſwers, they threatened him with torture, but this he no-wiſe regarded.

Upon the 26th, he was again brought before the council, where he anſwered much to the ſame purpoſe as before. The chancellor ſaid, He was a vicious man. He anſwered, That while he was ſo, he had been acceptable to him, but now when otherwiſe it was not ſo. He aſked him, If he would yet own that cauſe with his blood, if at liberty?—He anſwered, That both their fathers had owned it with the hazard of their blood before him. Then he

‡ See his letters and anſwers in the cloud of witneſſes.

was called by all a murderer.—He anſwered, God ſhould decide it betwixt them, to whom he referred it, who were moſt murderers in his ſight, him or them. Biſhop Paterſon's brother, in conference, told him, That the whole council found that he was a man of great parts, and alſo of good birth. He ſaid, That for his birth, he was related to the beſt of the kingdom, which he thought little of, and as for his parts, they were very ſmall; yet he truſted ſo much to the goodneſs of that cauſe for which he was a priſoner, that if they would give God that juſtice, as to let his cauſe be diſputed, he doubted not to plead it againſt all that ſpeak againſt it.

Upon the 27, he was taken before the juſticiary, where he declined the king's authority as an uſurper of the prorogative of the Son of God, whereby he had involved the land in idolatry, perjury and other wickedneſs; and declined them as exerciſing under him the ſupreme power over the church, uſurped from Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.* and therefore durſt not, with his own conſent, ſuſtain them as competent judges; but declined them as open and ſtated enemies to the living God, and competitors for his throne and power, belonging to him only.

On the 29, he was brought to his trial, where the council, in a moſt unprecedented manner, appointed the manner of his execution; for they well knew his judges would find him guilty. And upon Friday the 30th, being brought again before them, they aſked, If he had any more to ſay.——He anſwered, What I have ſaid I will ſeal. Then they told him, They had ſomething to ſay to him; and commanded him to ſit down and receive his ſentence, which he did, but told them, They were all murderers; for all the power they had was derived from tyranny; and that theſe years by-gone they had not only tyrannized over the church of God, but alſo grinded the faces of the poor, ſo that oppreſſion, perjury and bloodſhed were to be found in their ſkirts.

Upon this, he was carried from the bar on a hurdle drawn backwards, unto the place of execution at the croſs of Edinburgh. None were ſuffered to be with him but two bailies, the executioner and his ſervants. He was permitted to pray to God Almighty, but not to ſpeak to the people. Being come upon the ſcaffold, his right hand was ſtruck off, and a little after his left; which he endured with great firmneſs and conſtancy. The hangman being long in cutting off the right hand, he deſired him to ſtrike in the joint of the left; which being done, he was drawn

drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pully, and ſuffered to fall down a conſiderable way upon the lower ſcaffold three times with his whole weight, and then fixed at the top of the gallows. Then the executioner, with a large knife, cut open his breaſt, and pulled out his heart, before he was dead, for it moved when it fell on the ſcaffold. He then ſtuck his knife in it, and ſhewed it on all ſides to the people, crying, Here is the heart of a traitor. At laſt, he threw it into a fire prepared for that purpoſe, and having quartered his body, his head was fixed on the Nether-bow; one of his quarters, with his hands at St. Andrews; another at Glaſgow; a third at Leith; and the fourth at Bruntiſland.——Thus fell this champion for the cauſe of Chriſt, a ſacrifice unto prelatic fury, to gratify the luſt and ambition of wicked and bloody men. Whether his courage, conſtancy or faithfulneſs had the pre-eminency it is hard to determine.—But his memory is ſtill alive, and it is better to ſay no more of him, than either too much or too little.

The Life of ROBERT KER *of Kerſland, Eſq;*

ROBERT KER of Kerſland being born and educated in a very religious family, began early to diſcover more than an ordinary zeal for religion. But the firſt public appearance that we find he made for the cauſe, and intereſt of religion, was in the year 1666, about Nov. 26. when he, Caldwell and ſome others of the Renfrew gentlemen, gathered themſelves together, and marched eaſtward to join Col. Wallace and that little handful who renewed the covenants at Lanerk. But, having heard that General Dalziel was, by that time got betwixt them and their friends, they were obliged to diſmiſs. But this could not eſcape the knowledge of the managers: for the laird of Blackſtoun one of their own number, upon a promiſe of pardon, informed againſt the reſt, and ſo redeemed his own neck by accuſing his neighbour.—But of this he had nothing to boaſt of afterwards *.

Kerſland was after this, obliged to retire out of the way; and the next year he was forfeited in his life and fortune, and his eſtate given to Lieut. General Drummond of Cromlie

* See more of this laird of Blackſtoun, in the appendix.

lie, and his lands in Beith to William Blair of that ilk, which eſtate they unjuſtly held until the Revolution†.

After this, to elude the ſtorm, he thought fit to retire and go over to Holland; and there choſe to live with his family at Utrecht;—where he had the advantage of hearing the goſpel and other excellent converſation. In that place he continued near three years. But his friends thinking it neceſſary, that he ſhould come home to ſettle ſome of his affairs, if poſſible, his lady returned home in the end of 1669, and himſelf ſoon followed: but to his unſpeakable grief, he found, when he came to Edinburgh, that ſhe was in a fever: She lodged in a woman's houſe who was a favourer of the ſufferers. And though he lodged in a more private place, and only uſed to come in the evenings to viſit his ſick lady; yet one Cannon of Mardrogate, who had not yet altogether caſt off the maſk, at leaſt his treachery and apoſtacy was not then diſcovered, got notice of it.—He ſoon gave information to the Chancellor, and orders were procured from Lauderdale then in town, to ſearch that houſe on pretence that Mr. John Welch was keeping conventicles in the Lady Kerſland's chamber: But the deſign was for Kerſland himſelf, as the ſequel will declare. Accordingly, a party came, and finding no conventicle, were juſt going to retire. But one Murray ‡ having particular notice from Mardrogate, that when any company came to the room, Kerſland in the evening uſed to retire behind a bed; and having a torch in his hand, provided for that end, ſaid, he behoved to ſearch the room: and ſo went ſtraight behind the bed and brought him out, charging him to render his arms. Kerſland told him he had none but the Bible, which he had then in his hand; and that was enough to condemn him in theſe times.—At parting with his lady, ſhe ſhewed much calmneſs and compoſure, exhorting him to do nothing that might wound his conſcience out of regard to her or her children, and repeated that text of ſcripture, *No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.*

He was forthwith taken to the guard, and then to the Abbey; where a committee of the council, that ſame night, was gathered for his examination. When he was brought before them, they aſked him concerning the lawfulneſs of the appearance at Pentland; which he, in plain terms, owned to be lawful, and what he thought duty.—

Upon

† For a particular account of this gift, ſee Samſon's Riddle, *&c.* page 139. 144.

‡ See more of Murray in the Append x.

Upon which he was immediately impriſoned. When going away, the Chancellor upbraided him with what paſſed betwixt him and his lady, which he ſuffered with much patience.

He was near three months priſoner in Edinburgh; and from thence ſent to Dumbarton caſtle, where he continued near a year and a half. Then he was ordered for Aberdeen, where he was kept cloſe priſoner without fire for three months ſpace in the cold winter ſeaſon.—From Aberdeen he was brought ſouth to Stirling caſtle, where he continued ſome years; and then was, a ſecond time, returned to Dumbarton, where he continued till October 1677. Then the council confined him to Irvine, and allowed him ſome time to tranſport himſelf and his family, then at Glaſgow, into that place.

Coming to his family at Glaſgow, he was viſited by many friends and acquaintance: and the ſame night, convoying the Lady Caldwall and her daughter, he was taken by ſome of the guards, and kept in the guard houſe till next day; when the commanding officer would have diſmiſſed him, but firſt he behoved to know the arch-biſhop's pleaſure, who immediately ordered him a cloſe priſoner in the tolbooth. The arch-biſhop took horſe immediately for Edinburgh: Lady Kerſland followed after, if poſſible, to prevent miſinformation.—In the mean time, a fire breaking out in Glaſgow, the tolbooth being in hazard, and the magiſtrates refuſing to let out the priſoners, the well affected people of the town got long ladders and ſet the priſoners free, and Kerſland amongſt the reſt, after he had been eight years priſoner. After the hurry was over, he inclined to have ſurrendered himſelf again priſoner; but hearing from his lady of the arch-biſhop's deſign againſt him, he retired and abſconded all that winter*. In the

* It would appear, he was retaken about the end of that year, by the acts of council; and liberate without any conditions: which was a thing uncommon at this time. Vid. Wodrow's hiſtory, Vol. I. page 146.

N B. It has been thought ſomewhat ſtrange, that the poſterity of ſuch ancient and religious families as this and Earlſtoun ſhould be now extinct in their houſes and eſtates. But this needs be no paradox; for the condition of the covenant or promiſe of property and dignity is,——*if thy children will keep my covenant and teſtimony, their children ſhall alſo ſit upon thy throne for ever, and ſhall return unto the Lord thy God, and obey his voice; thy God will bring thee unto the land which thy fathers poſſeſſed, and thou ſhalt poſſeſs it.* Now the contrary practices muſt produce the contrary effects: and upon none more remarkable than thoſe who apoſta-

the ſpring and ſummer following, he kept company with the perſecuted miniſters, and heard the goſpel preached in the fields, and was at communions, particularly that at Maybole. About the beginning of harveſt, 1678, he returned again to his old retiring place Utrecht, where he continued until the day of his death.

When near his departure, his dear acquaintance Sir Robert Hamilton being with him, and ſignifying to him that he might be ſpared as another Caleb to ſee the good land when the ſtorm was over; to whom, amongſt his laſt words, he ſaid, "What is man before the Lord? yea, what "is a nation? as the drop of a bucket, or the ſmall duſt in "the balance: yea, leſs than nothing and vanity. But this "much I can ſay in humility, that, through free grace, I "have endeavoured to keep the poſt that God hath ſet me "at. Theſe fourteen years I have not deſired to lift the "one foot till the Lord ſhewed me where to ſet down the "other." And ſo, in a few minutes, he finiſhed his courſe with joy and fell aſleep in Jeſus, Nov. 14. 1680, leaving his wife and five children in a ſtrange land.

It were ſuperfluous to inſiſt here upon the character of the thrice renowned Ker. It is evident to all, he was a man of a great mind, far above a ſervile and mercenary diſpoſition.—He was, for a number of years, hurried from place to place, and guarded from priſon to priſon. He endured all this with undaunted courage.—He loſt a good eſtate then for the cauſe of Chriſt: and, though he got not the martyrs crown, yet he beyond all doubt obtained the ſufferers reward.

apoſtatize from the profeſſion, principles and piety of their anceſtors. It is ſaid, that Sir Thomas Gordon of Earlſtoun fell into a profligate and irreligious life. And for Donald Ker, he fell in with king William, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk in Flanders, 1692. And for John Crawford (alias Ker) who married his ſiſter, and with her the eſtate of Kerſland, he got a patent to be a rogue, *patrem ſequitur ſua proles*, from Queen Ann and her miniſtry, by virtue of which he feigned himſelf ſometimes a Jacobite, and ſometimes an old diſſenter, or Cameronian, (as he calls them) unto whom he gives high encomiums. What correſpondences he might have with ſome of theſe who had been officers in the Angus regiment I know not; but it is evident from the minute of the general meeting that he was never admitted into the community, or ſecrets of the genuine old diſſenters: for, though he attended one or more of their meetings, yet he was refuſed, and ſo could never influence them to publiſh any of their declarations. But more of this, if the Lord will, elſewhere on another occaſion.

The reader will find the above mentioned patent on the frontiſpiece of his memoirs: And what ſatisfaction he himſelf had in this dirty work and wicked courſes in the courts intereſt, as he himſelf calls it, and how he was by them repaid as he deſerved, in theſe memoirs, from page 31 to 81, *&c.*

The Life of Mr. DONALD CARGIL.

MR. CARGIL ſeems to have been born ſometime about the year 1610. He was eldeſt ſon to a moſt reſpected family in the pariſh of Rattray. After he had been ſometime in the ſchools of Aberdeen, he went to St. Andrews, where having perfected his courſe of philoſophy, his Father preſt upon him much to ſtudy divinity, in order for the miniſtry; but he, through tenderneſs of ſpirit, conſtantly refuſed, telling his father, That the work of the miniſtry was too great a burden for his weak ſhoulders;—and requeſted to command to any other employment he pleaſed. But his father ſtill continuing to urge him, he reſolved to ſet apart a day of private faſting to ſeek the Lord's mind therein. And after much wreſtling with the Lord by prayer, the third chapter of Ezekiel, and chief of theſe words in the firſt verſe (*Son of man, eat this roll, and go ſpeak unto the houſe of Iſrael*), made a ſtrong impreſſion upon his mind, ſo that he durſt no longer refuſe his father's deſire, but dedicated himſelf wholly unto that office.

After this, he got a call to the Barony church of Glaſgow. It was ſo ordered by divine providence that the very firſt text the preſbytery ordered him to preach upon, was theſe words in the third of Ezekiel (already mentioned) by which he was more confirmed that he had God's call to that pariſh. This pariſh had been long vacant, by reaſon that two miniſters of the reſolution party, *viz.* Meſſrs Young and Blair, had ſtill oppoſed the ſettlement of ſuch godly men as had been called by the people. But in reference to Mr. Cargil's call, they were, in God's providence, much bound up from their wonted oppoſition. Here Mr. Cargil perceiving the lightneſs and unconcerned behaviour of the people under the word, was much diſcouraged thereat, ſo that he reſolved to return home and not accept the call; which when he was urged by ſome godly miniſters not to do, and his reaſons aſked, he anſwered, They are a rebellious people. The miniſters ſolicited him to ſtay, but in vain. But when the horſe was drawn, and he juſt going to begin his journey, being in the houſe of Mr. Durham, when he had ſaluted ſeveral of his chriſtian friends that came to ſee him take horſe, as he was taking farewel of a

certain godly woman, ſhe ſaid to him, "Sir, you have "promiſed to preach on Thurſday, and have you appointed "a meal to a poor ſtarving people, and will ye go away "and not give it? if you do, the curſe of God will go with "you." This ſo moved him, that he durſt not go away as he intended; but ſitting down deſired her and others to pray for him. So he remained and was ſettled in that pariſh, where he continued to exerciſe his miniſtry with great ſucceſs, to the unſpeakable ſatisfaction both of his own pariſh, and all the godly that heard and knew him, until that by the unhappy reſtoration of Charles II. prelacy was again reſtored.

Upon the 26th of May following, the day conſecrated in commemoration of the ſaid reſtoration, he had occaſion to preach in his own church (it being his ordinary week-day's preaching) when he ſaw an unuſual throng of people come to hear him, thinking he had preached in compliance with that ſolemnity. Upon entering the pulpit, he ſaid, "We "are not come here to keep this day upon the account for "which others keep it. We thought once to have bleſſed "the day, wherein the king came home again, but now "we think we ſhall have reaſon to curſe it, and if any of "you be come here in order to the ſolemnizing of this day "we deſire you to remove." And enlarging upon theſe words in the 9th of Hoſea, *Rejoice not, O Iſrael*, &c. he ſaid, This is the firſt ſtep of our going a-whoring from God; and whoever of the Lord's people this day are rejoicing, their joy will be like the crackling of thorns under a pot, it will ſoon be turned to mourning; he (meaning the king) will be the wofulleſt ſight that ever the poor church of Scotland ſaw; wo, wo, wo unto him, his name ſhall ſtink while the world ſtands, for treachery, tyranny and lechery.

This did extremely enrage the malignant party againſt him, ſo that being hotly purſued, he was obliged to abſcond, remaining ſometime in private houſes, and ſometime lying all night without, among broom near the city, yet never omitting any proper occaſion of private preaching, catechizing and viſiting of families and other miniſterial duties. But at length when the churches were all vacated of preſbyterians by an act of council *anno* 1662. Middleton ſent a band of ſoldiers to apprehend him, who, coming to the church, found him not, he having providentially juſt ſtepped out of the one door, a minute before they came in at the other; whereupon they took the keys of the church-door with them and departed. In the mean while

while the council paſſed an act of confinement, baniſhing him unto the north ſide of the Tay, under penalty of being impriſoned and proſecuted as a ſeditious perſon: But this ſentence he no way regarded.

During this time, partly by grief for the ruin of God's work in the land, and partly by the toils and inconveniences of his labours and accommodation, his voice became ſo broken, that he could not be heard by many together, which was a ſore exerciſe to him, and diſcouragement to preach in the fields; but one day, Mr. Blackater coming to preach near Glaſgow, he eſſayed to preach with him, and ſtanding on a chair (as his cuſtom was) he lectured on Iſa. xliv. 3. *I will pour water on him that is thirſty*, &c. The people were much diſcouraged (knowing his voice to be ſore broken) leſt they ſhould not have heard by reaſon of the great confluence. But it pleaſed the Lord to looſe his tongue, and reſtore his voice to ſuch a diſtinct clearneſs, that none could eaſily exceed him; and not only his voice, but his ſpirit was ſo enlarged, and ſuch a door of utterance given him, that Mr. Blackater, ſucceeding him, ſaid to the people, "Ye, that have ſuch preaching, have "no need to invite ſtrangers to preach to you; make good "uſe of your mercy." After this he continued to preach without the city, a great multitude attending and profiting by his miniſtry, being wonderfully preſerved in the midſt of dangers, the enemy ſeveral times ſending out to watch him, and catch ſomething from his mouth whereof they might accuſe him, *&c.*

In the month of October 1665, they made a public ſearch for him in the city. But he, being informed, took horſe, and rode out of town, and at a narrow paſs of the way he met a good number of muſketteers. As he paſſed them, turning to another way on the right hand, one of them aſked him, Sir, What-o-clock is it? he anſwered, It is ſix. Another of them, knowing his voice, ſaid, There is the man we are ſeeking. Upon hearing this, he put ſpurs to his horſe, and ſo eſcaped.

For about three years he uſually reſided in the houſe of one Margaret Craig, a very godly woman, where he lectured morning and evening to ſuch as came to hear him. And though they ſearched ſtrictly for him here, yet providence ſo ordered it, that he was either caſually or purpoſely abſent; for the Lord was often ſo gracious to him, that he left him not without ſome notice of approaching hazard. Thus, one ſabbath, as he was going to Woodſide to preach, as he was about to mount the horſe, having

one foot in the ſtirrup, he turned about to his man, and ſaid, I muſt not go yonder to-day.——And in a little, a party of the enemy came there in queſt of him, but miſſing the mark they aimed at, they fell upon the people, by apprehending and impriſoning ſeverals of them.

Another of his remarkable eſcapes was at a ſearch made for him in the city, where they came to his chamber and found him not, being providentially in another houſe that night. But what is moſt remarkable, being one day preaching privately in the houſe of one Mr. Calender, they came and beſet the houſe; the people put him and another into a window, cloſing the window up with books. The ſearch was ſo ſtrict, that they ſearched the very cieling of the houſe, until one of them fell through the lower loft. Had they removed but one of the books, they would certainly have found him. But the Lord ſo ordered that they did it not; for as one of the ſoldiers was about to take up one of them, the maid cried to the commander, That he was going to take her maſter's books, and he was ordered to let them be. Thus narrowly he eſcaped this danger.

Thus he continued until the 23d of November 1668. that the council, upon information of a breach of his confinement, cited him to appear before them on the 11th of January thereafter. But when he was apprehended and compeared before the council, and ſtrictly examined (wherein he was moſt ſingularly ſtrengthened to bear a faithful teſtimony to his Maſter's honour and his perſecuted cauſe and truths), yet by the interpoſition of ſome perſons of quality, his own friends, and his wife's relations, he was diſmiſſed, and preſently returned to Glaſgow, and there performed all the miniſterial duties, as when in his own church, notwithſtanding the diligence of perſecutors in ſearching for him again.

Some time before Bothwel, notwithſtanding all the ſearches that were made for him by the enemy, which were both ſtrict and frequent, he preached publicly for eighteen Sabbath-days to multitudes, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſands, within a little more than a quarter of a mile of the city of Glaſgow; yea, ſo near it, that the pſalms when ſinging, were heard through ſeveral parts of it; and yet all this time uninterrupted.

At Bothwel being taken by the enemy, and ſtruck down to the ground with a ſword, ſeeing nothing but preſent death for him, having received ſeveral dangerous wounds in the head, one of the ſoldiers aſked his name; he told him it was Donald Cargil; another aſked him, if he

he was a miniſter? He anſwered, he was: whereupon they let him go. When his wounds were examined, he feared to aſk if they were mortal, deſiring, in ſubmiſſion to God, to live, judging that the Lord had yet further work for him to accompliſh.

Some time after the fight at Bothwel, he was purſued from his own chamber out of town, and forced to go through ſeveral thorn hedges. But he was no ſooner out, than he ſaw a troop of dragoons juſt oppoſite to him, back he could not go, ſoldiers being poſted every where to catch him; upon which he went forward, near by the troop, who looked to him, and he to them, until he got paſt. But coming to the place of the water, at which he intended to go over, he ſaw another troop ſtanding on the other ſide, who called to him, but he made them no anſwer. And going about a mile up the water he eſcaped, and preached at Langſide next Sabbath without interruption. At another time, being in a houſe beſet with ſoldiers, he went through the midſt of them, they thinking it was the goodman of the houſe, and eſcaped.

After Bothwel, * he fell into a deep exerciſe anent his call to the miniſtry, but, by the grace and goodneſs of God, he ſoon emerged out of that, and alſo got much light anent the duty of the day, being a faithful contender againſt the enemy's uſurped power, and againſt the ſinful compliance of miniſters, in accepting the indulgence, with indemnities, oaths, bonds, and all other corruptions.

There was a certain woman in Rutherglen, about two miles from Glaſgow, who, by the inſtigation of ſome, both miniſters and profeſſors, was perſuaded to adviſe her huſband to go but once to hear the curate, to prevent the family being reduced; which ſhe prevailed with him to do. But ſhe going the next day after to milk her cows, two or three of them dropt down dead at her feet, and Satan, as ſhe conceived, appeared unto her; which caſt her under ſad and ſore exerciſes and deſertion; ſo that ſhe was brought to queſtion her intereſt in Chriſt, and all that had formerly paſſed betwixt God and her ſoul, and was often tempted to deſtroy herſelf, and ſundry times attempted it. Being before known to be an eminent Chriſtian, ſhe was viſited by many Chriſtians; but without ſucceſs: ſtill crying out, ſhe was undone; ſhe had denied Chriſt, and he had denied her.

* It appears that it was about this time, that he reſolved to go over to Holland, but we have no certain account where or what time he ſtayed there; but from the ſequel of the following account it could not be long.

her. After a long time's continuance of this exercise, she cried for Mr. Cargil; who came to her, but found her distemper so strong, that for several visits he was obliged to leave her as he found her, to his no small grief. However, after setting some days apart on her behalf, he at last came again to her; but finding her no better, still rejecting all comfort, still crying out, That she had no interest in the mercy of God, or merits of Christ, but had sinned the unpardonable sin; he, looking in her face for a considerable time, took out his Bible, and naming her, said, "I have "this day a commission from my Lord and Master, to re- "new the marriage contract betwixt you and him; and if "ye will not consent, I am to require your subscription on "this Bible, that you are willing to quit all right, interest "in, or pretence unto him:" and then he offered her pen and ink for that purpose. She was silent for some time; but at last cried out, "O! *salvation is come unto this house.* "I take him; I take him on his own terms, as he is offered "unto me by his faithful ambassador." From that time her bonds were loosed.

One time, Mr. Cargil, Mr. Walter Smith, and some other Christian friends being met in a friend's house in Edinburgh, one of the company, having got notice, told him of the general bonding of the west country gentlemen for suppressing the field meetings, and for putting all out of their grounds who frequented them. After sitting silent for some time, he answered, with several heavy sighs and groans, The enemy have been long filling up their cup; and ministers and professors must have time to fill up theirs also; and it shall not be full till enemies and they be clasped in one another's arms; and then, as the Lord lives, he will bring the wheel of his wrath and justice over them altogether.

Some time after the beginning of the year 1680, he retired toward the frith of Forth, where he continued until that scuffle at Queensferry, where worthy Haugh-head was killed, and he sorely wounded. But escaping, a certain woman found him in a private place, on the south side of town, and tying up his wounds with her head-clothes, conducted him to the house of one Robert Puntens, in Carlowrie, where a surgeon dressed his wounds, and Mrs. Puntens gave him some warm milk, and he lay in their barn all night. From thence he went to the south, and next Sabbath preached at Cairn-hill, somewhere adjacent to Loudon, in his blood and wounds (for no danger could stop him from going about doing good). His text was in

Heb.

Heb. xi. 32. *And ſhall I more ſay, for time would fail me to tell of Gideon*, &c. At night ſome perſons ſaid to him, We think, Sir, preaching and praying go beſt with you when your danger and diſtreſs are greateſt. He ſaid, It had been ſo, and he hoped it would be ſo, that the more that enemies and others did thruſt at him that he might fall, the more ſenſibly the Lord had helped him; and then (as it had been to himſelf) he repeated theſe words, *The Lord is my ſtrength and ſong, and has become my ſalvation*, in the 118th pſalm, which was the pſalm he ſung upon the ſcaffold.

After this, he and Mr. Richard Cameron met and preached together in Darmeid-muir, and other places, until that Mr. Cameron was ſlain at Airs-moſs, and then he went north, where, in the month of September following, he had a moſt numerous meeting at the Torwood near Stirling, where he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt ſome of the moſt violent perſecutors of that day, as formally as the preſent ſtate of things could then permit. Some time before this, it is ſaid, he was very remote and ſpoke very little in company; only to ſome he ſaid, He had a tout to give with the trumpet that the Lord had put in his hand, that would ſound in the ears of many in Britain, and other places in Europe alſo. It is ſaid *, that nobody knew what he was to do that morning, except Mr. Walt. Smith, to whom he imparted the thoughts of his heart. When he began, ſome friends feared he would be ſhot. His landlord, in whoſe houſe he had been that night, caſt his coat and ran for it. In the forenoon he lectured on Ezek. xxi. 25, *&c.* and preached on 1 Cor. v. 13. and then diſcourſed ſome time on the nature of excommunication, and then proceeded to the ſentence; after which, in the afternoon, he preached from Lam. iii. 31, 32. *For the Lord will not caſt off for ever.*

The next Lord's day he preached at Fallow-hill in the pariſh of Livingſton. In the preface he ſaid, "I know I am "and will be condemned by many, for excommunicating "thoſe wicked men; but condemn me who will, I know "I am approven of by God, and am perſuaded that what "I have done on earth is ratified in heaven; for, if ever I "knew the mind of God, and was clear in my call to any "piece of my generation-work, it was that. And I ſhall "give you two ſigns, that ye may know I am in no delu-"ſion: (1.) If ſome of theſe men do not find that ſentence "binding

‡ See Walker's remarkable paſſages of the life of Mr. Cargil, &c. page 8.

" binding upon them, ere they go off the ſtage, and be o-
" bliged to confeſs it, *&c.* (2.) If theſe men die the ordi-
" nary death of men, then God hath not ſpoken by me *."

About the 22d of October following, a long and ſevere proclamation was iſſued out againſt him and his followers, wherein a reward of 5000 merks was offered for apprehending him, *&c.*——Next month governor Middleton, having been fruſtrated in his deſign upon Mr. Cargil at Queensferry, laid another plot for him, by conſulting one James Henderſon in Ferry, who, by forging and ſigning letters, in name of bailie Adam in Culroſs, and ſome other ſerious Chriſtians in Fife, for Mr. Cargil to come over, and preach to them at the hill of Baith. Accordingly Henderſon went to Edinburgh with the letters, and, after a moſt diligent ſearch, found him in the weſt bow. Mr. Cargil being willing to anſwer the call, Henderſon propoſed to go before, and have a boat ready at the Ferry againſt they came; and, that he might know them, he deſired to ſee Mr. Cargil's cloath, (Mr. Skeen and Mr. Boig being in the ſame room). In the mean time he had Middleton's ſoldiers lying at the Mutton-hole, about three miles from Edinburgh, *&c.* Mr. Skeen, Archibald Stuart, Mrs. Muir and Marion Hervey took the way before on foot, Mr. Cargil and Mr. Boig being to follow on horſeback. Whenever they came to the place, the ſoldiers ſpied them; but Mrs. Muir eſcaped, and went and ſtoped Mr. Cargil and Mr. Boig, who fled back to Edinburgh.

After this remarkable eſcape, Mr. Cargil, ſeeing nothing but the violent flames of treachery and tyranny againſt him above all others, retired for about three months to England, where the Lord bleſſed his labours, to the conviction and edification of many. In the time of his abſence that deluſion of the Gibbites aroſe, from one John Gib ſailor in Borrowſtoneſs, who, with other three men and twenty-ſix women, vented and maintained the moſt ſtrange deluſions, Some time after, Mr. Cargil returned from England;

* The firſt of theſe was clearly verified in the caſe of lord Rothes, and the ſecond was verified in the remembrance of many yet alive. (1.) Every perſon knoweth that Charles II. was poiſoned. (2.) His brother the duke of York died at St Germains in France. (3.) The duke of Monmouth was executed at London. (4.) The duke of Lauderdale turned a belly god, and died on the chamber-box. (5.) The duke of Rothes died raving under the dreadful terror of that ſentence, &c. (6.) Bloody Sir George MacKenzie died at London, and all the paſſages of his body running blood. (7.) General Dalziel died with a glaſs of wine at his mouth in perfect health. See Walker's remarks, page 10,

land, and was at no ſmall pains to reclaim them, but with little ſucceſs. After his laſt conference with them * (at Darngavel in Cambuſnethen pariſh) he come next ſabbath, and preached at the Underbank wood, below Lanerk, and from thence to Loudon-hill, where he preached upon a faſt day, being the 5th of May. Here he intended only to have preached once, and to have baptized ſome children. His text was, *No man that hath followed me in the regeneration*, &c. When ſermon was over, and the children baptized, more children came up; whereupon friends preſſed him to preach in the afternoon; which he did from theſe words, *Weep not for me*, &c. In the mean while, the enemy at Glaſgow, getting notice of this meeting, ſeized all the horſes in and about the town, that they could come by, and mounted in queſt of him; yea, ſuch was their haſte and fury, that one of the ſoldiers, who happened to be behind the reſt, riding furiouſly down the ſtreet, called the Stockwell, at mid-day, rode over a child, and killed her on the ſpot. Juſt as Mr. Cargil was praying at the cloſe, a lad alarmed them of the enemy's approach. They (having no centinels that day, which was not their ordinary) were ſurprized, that ſome of them, who had been at Pentland, Bothwel, Airs-moſs, and other dangers, were never ſo ſeized with fear, ſome of the women throwing their children from them. In this confuſion Mr. Cargil was running ſtraight on the enemy, but Gavin Wotherſpoon and others haled him to the moſs, unto which the people fled. The dragoons fired hard upon them, but there were none either killed or taken that day.

About this time, ſome ſpoke to Mr. Cargil of his preaching and praying ſhort. They ſaid, "O Sir, it is long betwixt meals, and we are in a ſtarving condition; all is good, ſweet and wholeſome that you deliver; but why do you ſo ſtraiten us?" He ſaid, "Ever ſince I bowed a knee in good earneſt to pray, I never durſt preach and pray with my gifts; and when my heart is not affected, and comes not up with my mouth, I always thought it time to quit it. What comes not from the heart, I have little hope it will go to the hearts of others." Then he

* About this time the Gibbites were all taken and impriſoned in the tolbooth and correction houſe of Edinburgh, but, by the duke of York and his faction, were ſoon liberated; after which the four men and two women went weſt to the Froſt moſs, betwixt Airth and Stirling, where they burnt the Holy Bible, every one of them uſing expreſſions at that horrid action which are fearful to utter.

repeated theſe words in the 51ſt pſalm, *Then will I teach tranſgreſſors thy way*, &c.

From Loudon hill he took a tour through Ayr-ſhire to Carrick and Galloway, preaching, baptizing, and marrying ſome people; but ſtayed not long until he returned to Clydeſdale. He deſigned, after his return, to have preached one day at Tinto-hill, but the lady of St. John's kirk gave it out to be at Home-common. He, being in the houſe of John Liddel near Tinto, went out to ſpend the Sabbath morning by himſelf, and ſeeing the people all paſſing by, he inquired the reaſon, which being told, he roſe and followed them five miles. The morning being warm (about the firſt of June) and the heights ſteep, he was very much fatigued before he got to the place, where a man gave him a drink of water out of his bonnet, and another between ſermons; this being the beſt entertainment he got that day, for he had taſted nothing in the morning. Here he lectured on the 6th of Iſaiah, and preached on theſe words, *Be not high-minded, but fear*, &c. From thence he went to Fife, and baptized many children, and preached one day at Daven-common, and then returned to the Benry-ridge in Cambuſnethen, where he received a call from the hands of two men, to come back to Galloway, but got it not anſwered *.

Mr. Cargil, in that ſhort time, had run very faſt towards his end †, which now haſtens apace. Having left the Benry-ridge, he preached one day at Auchingilloch ‡, and then came to preach his laſt ſermon on Dunſyre-common, betwixt Clydeſdale and Lothian) upon that text, Iſa. xxvi. 20. *Come, my people, and enter into your chambers*, &c.

Some

§ To theſe two men he ſaid, If I be not under a deluſion, (for that was his ordinary way of ſpeaking of things to come) the French and other foreigners with ſome unhappy men in this land, will be your ſtroke: it will come at ſuch a nick of time when one of theſe nations will not be in a capacity to help another. For me, I am to die ſhortly by the hand of thoſe murderers, and ſhall not ſee it. I know not how the Lord's people will endure it that have to meet with it; but the foreſight and forethought of it make me tremble. And then, as if it had been to himſelf, he ſaid, Short but very ſharp.

‡ Sometimes he ran on foot, having loſt ſeveral horſes in his remarkable eſcapes, one of which was ſhot under him at Linlithgow-bridge.

‡ The week before he was taken, he married two perſons; and being in the Leewood, John Weir and his wife brought him his dinner. Being preſſed to eat, he ſaid, Let me alone, I cannot be preſſed: for I took not that meal of meat theſe 30 years but I could have taken as much when I roſe up as when I ſat down. Vide Walk. Relation, page 45.

Some time that night, through the perſuaſion of Mr. Smith and Mr. Boig, he went with the lady of St. John's kirk, as far as Covington mill, to the houſe of one Andrew Fiſher. In the mean time, James Irvin of Bonſhaw, having got a general commiſſion, marched with a party of dragoons from Kilbride, and next morning, by ſun-riſing, came to St. John's kirk, and having ſearched it, he ſearched alſo the houſe of one Thomſon, and then came to Covington mill, and there apprehended him, Mr. Smith and Mr. Boig. Bonſhaw, when he found them, cried out, O bleſſed Bonſhaw! and bleſſed day that ever I was born! that has found ſuch a prize! a prize of 5000 merks for apprehending of him this morning! They marched hard to Lanerk, and put them in jail, until they got ſome refreſhment, and then brought them out in haſte, got horſes and ſet the priſoners on their bare backs. Bonſhaw tied Mr. Cargil's feet below the horſe's belly (with his own hand) very hard, at which this good man looked down to him, and ſaid, "Why do you tie me ſo hard? your wickedneſs "is great. You will not long eſcape the juſt judgment of "God, and, if I be not miſtaken, it will ſeize you in this "place." Which accordingly next year came to paſs; for having got this price of blood, one of his comrades, in a rage, ran him through with a ſword at Lanerk; and his laſt words were, "G—d d——n my ſoul eternally, for I "am gone." *Miſchief ſhall hunt the violent man.*

They came to Glaſgow in haſte, fearing a reſcue of the priſoners, and while waiting at the tolbooth till the magiſtrates came to receive them, one John Niſbet, the archbiſhop's factor, ſaid to Mr. Cargil in ridicule, three times over, Will you give us one word more, (alluding to an expreſſion he uſed ſometimes when preaching) to whom Mr. Cargil ſaid with regret, "*Mock not, leſt your bands be made* "*ſtrong.* The day is coming, when you ſhall not have one "word to ſay though you would." This alſo came quickly to paſs, for, not many days after, he fell ſuddenly ill, and for three days his tongue ſwelled, and though he was moſt earneſt to ſpeak, yet he could not command one word, and died in great torment and ſeeming terror.

From Glaſgow they were taken to Edinburgh; and July 15th, were brought before the council. Chancellor Rothes (being one of thoſe whom he excommunicated at Torwood) raged againſt him, threatning him with torture and a violent death. To whom he ſaid. "My lord Rothes "forbear to threaten me, for die what death I will, your "eyes ſhall not ſee it."—Which accordingly came to paſs,

for he died the morning of that day, in the afternoon of which Mr. Cargil was executed.

When before the council, he was aſked, If he owned the king's authority, *&c.*? He anſwered, As the magiſtrate's authority is now eſtabliſhed by the act of parliament and explanatory act, that he denied the ſame. Being alſo examined anent the excommunication at Torwood, he declined to anſwer, as being an eccleſiaſtical matter, and they a civil judicatory. He owned the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms in caſes of neceſſity, and denied that thoſe who roſe at Bothwel, *&c.* were rebels; and being interrogate anent the Sanquhar declaration, he declined to give his judgment until he had more time to peruſe the contents thereof. He further declared, he could not give his ſenſe of the killing of the biſhop; but that the ſcriptures ſay, Upon the Lord's giving a call to a private man to kill, he might do it lawfully; and gave the inſtances of Jael and Phinehas. Theſe were the moſt material points on which he was examined *.

While he was in priſon a gentlewoman (who came to viſit him) told him weeping, "That theſe heaven-daring ene-"mies were contriving a moſt violent death for him; ſome, "a barrel with many pikes to roll him in; others, an iron "chair red-hot to roaſt him in, *&c.*" But he ſaid, "Let "you, nor none of the Lord's people be troubled for theſe "things, for all that they will get liberty to do to me will "be to knit me up, cut me down, and chop off my old "head, and then fare them well; they have done with me "and I with them for ever."

He was again before the council on the 19th, but refuſed to anſwer their queſtions, except anent the excommunication, wherein he expreſt himſelf much as above. It appears that there was ſome motion made to ſpare him, as he was an old man, and ſend him priſoner to the Baſs during life; which motion, being put to a vote, was, by the caſting vote of the earl of Argyle, rejected, who doomed him to the gallows, there to die like a traitor.

Upon the 26th, he was brought before the juſticiary, and indicted in common form. His confeſſion being produced in evidence againſt him, he was brought in guilty of high treaſon, and condemned, with the reſt, to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh, and his head placed on the Nether-bow. When they came to theſe words in his indictment, viz. *having caſt off all fear of God*, &c. he cauſed the clerk

* See his examination and anſwers at large in Wodrow's hiſtory Vol. II. page 184.

clerk to ſtop, and (pointing to the advocate Sir George MacKenzie) ſaid, "The man that hath cauſed that paper to "be drawn up, hath done it contrary to the light of his "own conſcience, for he knoweth that I have been a fear-"er of God from mine infancy; but that man, I ſay, who "took the holy Bible in his hand, and ſaid, It would ne-"ver be well with the land, until that book was deſtroyed, "&c. I ſay, he is the man that hath caſt off all fear of "God." The advocate ſtormed at this, but could not deny the truth thereof.

When they got their ſentence anounced by ſound of trumpet, he ſaid, That is a weary ſound, but the ſound of "the laſt trumpet will be a joyful ſound to me, and all "that will be found having on Chriſt's righteouſneſs.

Being come to the ſcaffold, he ſtood with his back to the ladder, and deſired the attention of the numerous ſpectators, and after ſinging from the 16th verſe of the 118th pſalm, he began to ſpeak to three ſorts of people, but being interrupted by the drums, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, Ye ſee we have not liberty to ſpeak, or ſpeak what we would, but God knoweth our hearts. As he proceeded, he was again interrupted. Then after a little pauſe or ſilence he began to exhort the people; and to ſhew his own comfort in laying down his life, in the aſſurance of a bleſſed eternity, expreſſing himſelf in theſe words, "Now, I "am as ſure of my intereſt in Chriſt and peace with God, "as all within this Bible and the Spirit of God can make "me; and I am fully perſuaded that this is the very way "for which I ſuffer, and that he will return glorioufly to "Scotland; but it will be terrifying to many. Therefore "I intreat you, be not diſcouraged at the way of Chriſt, "and the cauſe for which I am to lay down my life, and "ſtep to eternity, where my ſoul ſhall be as full of him as "it can deſire to be; and now this is the ſweeteſt and moſt "glorious day that ever mine eyes did ſee. Enemies are "now enraged againſt the way and people of God, but ere "long they ſhall be enraged one againſt another, to their "own confuſion; here the drums did beat a third time. Then ſetting his foot on the ladder, he ſaid, "The Lord "knows I go on this ladder with leſs fear and perturbation "of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach."—— When up, he ſat down and ſaid, "Now I am near the get-"ting of the crown, which ſhall be ſure, for which I bleſs "the Lord, and deſire all of you to bleſs him, that he "hath brought me here, and made me triumph over de-"vils, men and ſin; They ſhall wound me no more. I

"forgive

"forgive all men the wrongs they have done me; and I "pray the ſufferers may be kept from ſin, and helped to "know their duty." Then having prayed a little within himſelf, he lifted up the napkin and ſaid, "Farewel all "relations and friends in Chriſt; farewel acquaintance "and earthly enjoyments; farewel reading and preaching, "praying and believing, wanderings, reproach and ſuffer-"ings. Welcome Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt; into thy "hands I commit my ſpirit." Then he prayed a little, and the executioner turned him over as he was praying; and ſo he finiſhed his courſe, and the miniſtry that he had received of the Lord.

Take his character from Sir Robert Hamilton of Preſton, who was his cotemporary.——He was affectionate, affable and tender-hearted to all ſuch as he thought had any thing of the image of God in them; ſober and temperate in his diet, ſaying commonly, It was well won that was won off the fleſh; generous, liberal and moſt charitable to the poor; a great hater of covetouſneſs; a frequent viſiter of the ſick; much alone; loving to be retired; but when about his Maſter's public work, laying hold of every opportunity to edify; in converſation ſtill droping what might miniſter grace to the hearers; his countenance was edifying to beholders; often ſighing with deep groans; preaching in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, upon all hazards; ever the ſame in judgment and practice. From his youth he was much given to the duty of ſecret prayer, for whole nights together; wherein it was obſerved that, both in ſecret and in families, he always ſat ſtraight up upon his knees with his hands lifted up, and in this poſture (as ſome took notice) he died with the rope about his neck.

Beſide his laſt ſpeech and teſtimony, and ſeveral other religious letters, with the lecture, ſermon and ſentence of excommunication at Torwood, which are all publiſhed, there are alſo ſeveral other ſermons, and notes of ſermons interſperſed, among ſome peoples hands in print and manuſcript, ſome of which were lately publiſhed. Yet if we may believe one † who heard ſeverals of them preached, they are nothing to what they were when delivered; and however pathetical, yet doubtleſs far inferior to what they would have been, had they been corrected and publiſhed by the worthy author himſelf.

Follows

† Vid Walker in his remarkable paſſages, &c.

Follows an ACROSTICK *on his Name.*

M oſt ſweet and ſavoury is thy fame,
A nd more renowned is thy name,
S urely than any can record,
T hou highly favoured of the Lord.
E xalted thou on earth didſt live;
R ich grace to thee the Lord did give.

D uring the time thou dwelt below,
O n in a courſe to heaven didſt go.
N ot caſten down with doubts and fears,
A ſſured of heaven near thirty years.
L abour thou didſt in Chriſt's vineyard;
D iligent waſt, no time thou ſpar'd.

C hriſt's ſtandard thou didſt bear alone,
A fter others from it were gone.
R ight zeal for truth was found in thee,
G reat ſinners cenſur'dſt faithfully.
I n holding truth didſt conſtant prove,
L aidſt down thy life out of true love.

June 21ſt, 1741. W. W.

The Life of Mr. WALTER SMITH.

WALTER SMITH was ſon to Walter Smith in the pariſh of St. Ninian's, near Airth in Stirling-ſhire. He was an eminent Chriſtian and good ſcholar. He went over to Holland, where he ſtudied ſometime under the famous Leuſden, who had a great eſteem and value for him, as being one both of high attainments and great experience in the ſerious exerciſe and ſolid practice of chriſtianity.

In the year 1679, we find that he made no mean figure among that little handful of the Lord's ſuffering remnant, who roſe in their own defence at Bothwel-bridge. —For he was both choſen clerk to the council of war, and alſo a commanding-officer among the honeſt party; and had the honour not only to witneſs and proteſt againſt the ſinful compliance of that corrupt Eraſtian party, that then foiſted themſelves in amongſt them, but was alſo one of thoſe three who were then appointed to draw up the cauſes

ſes of the Lord's wrath againſt the land, and the Hamilton declaration was to be one of the laſt cauſes thereof, with a new declaration which they intended to have publiſhed at that time; and although both of theſe were undertaken, yet the Lord did not honour them to publiſh the ſame, as ſome of them with great regret, unto their dying day, did acknowledge *.

After the overthrow and diſſipation of the covenanters at Bothwel (wherein the Eraſtian party among them had no little hand), it appears that Mr. Smith went over, for ſome time to Holland, but did not ſtay long; for we meet with him again with Mr. Cargil at Torwood, in Sept. 1680. after which he was very helpful to him in his converſation and advice in difficult caſes, and praying in families (when he was fatigued with ſore travel, being an old man, and going then often on foot), and many times in public preaching days precenting for him.

He had a longing deſire to preach Chriſt, and him crucified unto the world, and the word of ſalvation thro' his name. Mr. Cargil had the ſame deſire, and for that end, it is ſaid, had written to two miniſters to meet him at Cummerhead in Liſmehago in Clydeſdale, but ere that day came, that door was cloſed (for they were in the enemies hands). However Mr. Smith followed the example of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, in going about doing good, in many places and to many perſons, in ſpiritual, edifying converſation, and was a ſingular example of true piety and zeal, which had more influence upon many than moſt part of the miniſters of that day.

A little before his death he drew up twenty-two rules for fellowſhip or ſociety meetings, which at that time greatly increaſed, from the river Tay to Newcaſtle, in which he was very inſtrumental, which afterwards ſettled unto a general and quarterly correſpondence four times yearly, that ſo they might ſpeak one with another, when they wanted the public preaching of the goſpel; and to appoint general faſting days through the whole community, wherein their own ſins, and the prevailing ſins and defections of the times, were the principal cauſes thereof; and that each ſociety was to meet and ſpend ſome time of the Lord's day together, when deprived of the public ordinances †. Mr. Cargil ſaid, That

* See a more full account of this in Wilſon's impartial relation of Bothwel-bridge, page 13. &c.

† The reader will find an account of theſe their tranſactions in their own regiſter now publiſhed of late, under the title of Faithful Contendings diſplayed, &c.

That theſe ſociety-meetings would increaſe more and more for a time; but when the judgment came upon theſe ſinful lands, there would be few ſtanding ſociety-meetings, when there would be moſt need, few mourners, prayers, pleaders, *&c.* what through carnality, ſecurity, darkneſs, deadneſs and diviſions.

But he was now well nigh the evening of his life, and his labours both. For having been with Mr. Cargil, when he preached his laſt ſermon on Dunſyre common, betwixt Clydeſdale and Lothian, he was next morning, by wicked Bonſhaw (who had formerly traded in fine horſes betwixt the two kingdoms), apprehended at Covington-mill. He was, with the reſt of the priſoners, carried from Lanerk to Glaſgow, and from thence taken to Edingburgh, where, upon the 15th of July, he was brought before the council, and there examined if he owned the king and his authority as lawful? He anſwered, "He cannot acknowledge the "preſent authority the king is now inveſted with, and the "exerciſe thereof, being now clothed with a ſupremacy o-"ver the church." Being interrogate, If the king's falling from the covenant looſes him from his obedience, and if the king thereby loſes his authority? He anſwered, He "thinks he is obliged to perform all the duties of the co-"venant, conform to the word of God, and the king is "only to be obeyed in terms of the covenant. Being further interrogate anent the Torwood excommunication, he declared, He thought their reaſons were juſt.

On the 19th he was again brought before them and interrogate, If he owned the Sanquhar declaration? It was then read to him, and he owned the ſame in all it articles, except that he looked not upon theſe perſons as the formal repreſentatives of the preſbyterian church, as they called themſelves. And as to that expreſſion, The king ſhould have been denuded many years ago, he did not like the word *denuded*, but ſaid, What the king has done juſtifies the peoples revolting againſt him. As to theſe words, where the king is called an uſurper and a tyrant, he ſaid, Certainly the king is an uſurper, and wiſhed he was not a tyrant.

Upon the 26. he was with the reſt, brought before the juſticiary, where, being indicted in common form, their confeſſions were produced as evidences againſt them, and they all brought in guilty of high treaſon, and condemned to be hanged at the croſs of Edingburgh upon the 27. and their heads to be ſevered from their bodies, and thoſe of Meſſrs. Cargil, Smith and Boig to be placed on the Nether-

bow, and the heads of the others on the Weſt-port, all which was done accordingly.

After Mr. Cargil was executed, Mr. Smith was brought upon the ſcaffold, where he adhered to the very ſame cauſe with Mr. Cargil, and declared the ſame uſurpation of Chriſt's crown and dignity, and died with great aſſurance of his intereſt in Chriſt, declaring his abhorrence of popery, prelacy, eraſtianiſm and all other ſteps of defection. He went up the ladder with all ſigns of cheerfulneſs, and when the executioner was to untie his cravat, he would not ſuffer him, but untied it himſelf, and calling to his brother, he threw it down, ſaying, This is the laſt token you ſhall get from me. After the napkin was drawn over his face, he uncovered it again, and ſaid, I have one word more to ſay, and that is, to all who have any love to God and his righteous cauſe, that they would ſet time apart, and ſing a ſong of praiſe to the Lord, for what he has done for my ſoul, and my ſoul ſaith, To him be praiſe. Then the napkin being let down, he was turned over praying, and died in the Lord, with his face bending upon Mr. Cargil's breaſt. Theſe two cleaved to one another, in love and unity, in their life; and between them in their death, there was no diſparity. *Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleaſant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided*, &c.

The now glorified Mr. Walter Smith was a man no leſs learned than pious, faithful and religious. His old maſter, the profeſſor of divinity at Utrecht in Holland (when he heard of his public violent bloody death of martyrdom), gave him this teſtimony, weeping, ſaying, in broken Engliſh, "O Smith! the great, brave Smith! who exceeded "all that I ever taught. He was capable to teach many, "but few to inſtruct him." Beſides ſome letters, and the forementioned twenty-two rules for fellowſhip meetings, he wrote alſo twenty-two ſteps of national defection; all which are now publiſhed; and if theſe, with his laſt teſtimony, be rightly conſidered, it will appear that his writings were inferior to few of the contendings of that time.

The

The Life of Mr. ROBERT GARNOCK.*

ROBERT GARNOCK was born in Stirling, *anno* ——, and baptized by faithful Mr. James Guthrie. In his younger years, his parents took much pains to train him up in the way of duty: but ſoon after the reſtoration, the faithful preſbyterian miniſters being turned out, curates were put in their place, and with them came ignorance, profanity and perſecution.—Some time after this, Mr. Law preached at his own houſe in Monteith, and one Mr. Hutchiſon ſometimes at Kippen. Being one Saturday's evening gone out to his grandmother's houſe in the country, and having an uncle who frequented theſe meetings, he went along with him unto a place called Shieldbrae.—And next Sabbath he went with him through much difficulty (being then but young) through froſt and ſnow, and heard Mr. Law at Montieth; which ſermon through a divine bleſſing, wrought much upon his mind.—Thus he continued for ſome conſiderable time to go out in the end of the week for an opportunity of hearing the goſpel, and to return in the beginning of next week to Stirling, but did not let his parents know any thing of the matter.

But one time, hearing a proclamation read at the croſs exhibiting, that all who did not hear or receive privileges from the curates were to be ſeverely puniſhed; which much troubled his mind, making him heſitate whether to go to a field preaching that he heard was to be next Sabbath, or not. But at laſt he came to this reſolution: Says he, "the Lord inclined my heart to go and put that word to me, go for once, go for all, if they take thee, for that which is to come. So I went there, and the Lord did me good: for I got at that ſermon that which, although they had rent me into a thouſand pieces, I would not have ſaid what I had ſaid before. So the Lord made me follow the goſpel for a long time; and tho' I knew little then what I meant, yet he put it in my heart ſtill to keep by the honeſt ſide, and not to comply or join with enemies of one kind or another,

* What relates to this worthy, I have extracted from the account of his life wrote by himſelf when in priſon yet in manuſcript, what concerns his trial and martyrdom, I have collected from hiſtory and other writings.

ther, yea not to watch, ward or ſtrengthen their hands any manner of way. When I was aſked, why I would not keep watch (or ſtand centry) on the town; it was a commanded duty; I told them, I would not lift arms againſt the work of God. If ever I carried arms, it ſhould be for the defence of the goſpel."

Now, he became a perſecuted man, and was obliged to leave the town. His father being a black-ſmith, he had learned the ſame trade, and ſo he went ſome time to Glaſgow, and followed his occupation. From Glaſgow he returned home; and from thence went again to Borrowſtouneſs, where he had great debate, as himſelf expreſſes it,—"about that woeful indulgence:—I did not know the dreadful hazard of hearing them, until I ſaw they preached at the hazard of men's lives.—This made me examine the matter, until I found out that they were directly wrong and contrary to ſcripture, had changed their head, had quitted Jeſus Chriſt as their head, and had taken their commiſſion from men, owning that perjured adultrous wretch as head of the church, receiving their commiſſion to preach in ſuch and ſuch places from him and thoſe bloody thieves under him."

From Borrowſtouneſs he returned back to Falkirk; and thence home to Stirling, where he remained for ſome time under a ſeries of difficulties: for, after he got off when taken with others at the Shield-brae,—while he was making bold to viſit Mr. Skeen, he was taken in the caſtle, and kept all night, and uſed very barbarouſly by the ſoldiers, and at eight o'clock next morning taken before the provoſt, who not being then at leiſure, he was impriſoned till afternoon. But by the interceſſion of one Colin M'Kinzie (to whom his father was ſmith) he was got out, and without ſo much as paying the jailor's fee. "I had much of the Lord's kindneſs at that time, (ſays he) although I did not know then what it meant; and ſo I was thruſt forth unto my wandering again."

About this time, he intended to go to Ireland; but being diſappointed, he returned back to Stirling, where he was toſt to and fro for ſome time: and yet he remarks, he had ſome ſweet times in this condition; particularly one night, when he was down in the Carſe with one Barron Hendry;† after which heavy trials enſued unto him from profeſſors; becauſe he teſtified againſt every kind of their compliance with the current of the times. Upon this account, the ſociety

† This night he ſays they ſaw a remarkable flaſh of fire the ele- ments ſeeming as it were to open and then to cloſe again.

ſociety meeting he was in and he could not agree. This made him leave them, and go to one in the country; which, he ſays, were more ſound in judgment, and of an undaun- "ted courage and zeal for God and his cauſe; for the life "of religion was in that ſociety."

At this time, he fell into ſuch a degree of temptation by the devices of the enemy of man's ſalvation, that he was made to ſupplicate the Lord ſeveral times that he might not be permitted to affright him in ſome viſible ſhape, which he then apprehended he was attempting to do. But from theſe dreadful oppreſſions he was at laſt, through the goodneſs of God, happily delivered *. Although, as yet, he knew but little of experimental religion. And, ſays he, "The world thought I had religion: but to know the hid- "den things of godlineſs was yet a myſtery to me. I did "not know any thing as yet of the new birth, or what it "was ſpiritually to take the kingdom of heaven by violence, "*&c.*" Which ſerves to ſhew, that one may do and ſuffer many things for Chriſt and religion, and yet at the ſame time be a ſtranger to the life and power thereof.

But anon he falls into another difficulty; for a proclamation being iſſued, that all betwixt thirteen and ſixty was to pay Poll-money; word was ſent his father, that if he would pay it, he ſhould have his liberty; which was no ſmall temptation. But this he abſolutely refuſed, and alſo told his father plainly (when urged by him to do it) that, if one plack (or four pennies) would do it, he would not give it. His father ſaid, He would give it for him; to whom he anſwered, If he did, he needed never expect it or any conſideration for it from him. And for the reſult of the matter, hear his own words: "And O! but the Lord "was kind to me then; and his love was better than life. "I was toſſed in my wanderings and baniſhment with ma- "ny ups and downs, till I came to Edinburgh, where I "heard of a communion to be on the borders of England; "and then I went to it. O! let me bleſs the Lord that ev- "er tryſted me with ſuch a lot as that was: for the 20, "21 and 22 of April [1677] were the three moſt wonder- "ful days with the Lord's preſence that ever I ſaw on earth. "O! but his power was wonderfully ſeen, and great to all "the aſſembly, eſpecially to me. O! the three wonderful "days

* In his narrative he condeſcends upon four different times he apprehended he heard or ſaw the enemy; the laſt of which he was in company with another returning from a ſermon. But I forbear to relate theſe as I did with a late inſtance in the life of Mr. Cargil leſt they ſhould ſeem incredible in this ſceptical age.

"days of the Lord's preſence at Eaſt-Niſbet in the Merſe. "That was the greateſt communion, I ſuppoſe, theſe twen- "ty years. I got there what I will never forget while I "live. Glory to his ſweet name that ever there was ſuch a "day in Scotland. His work was wonderful to me both "in ſpirituals and temporals. O! that I could get him "praiſed and magnified for it. He was ſeen that day ſitting "at the head of his table, and his ſpikenard *ſending forth a* "*pleaſant ſmell.* Both good and bad were made to cry out, "and ſome to ſay, with the diſciples, *It is good for us to be* "*here.* They would have been content to have ſtaid there. "And I thought it was a begun heaven to be in that place."

After this, he returned home to Stirling, and got liberty to follow his employment for ſome time.—But, lo! another difficulty occurred; for while the Highland hoſt was commanded weſt, [in the beginning of 1678] all Stirling being commanded to be in arms, which all excepting a very few, obeyed; he refuſed, and went out of town with theſe few, and kept a meeting. When he returned, his father told him, he was paſt for the firſt time, but it behoved him to mount guard to-morrow.—He refuſed: his father was angry, and urged him with the practices of others. He told his father, he would hang his faith upon no man's belt, *&c.* On the morrow, when the drums beat to mount the guard, being the day of his ſocial meeting, he went out of the town under a heavy load of reproach, and even from profeſſors, who made no bones to ſay, that it was not principle of conſcience he heſitated upon, but that he might have liberty to ſtrole through the country; becauſe he attended theſe meetings; which was no eaſy matter to bear. Orders were given to apprehend him; but at that time he eſcaped their hand, and wandered from one place to another, until the beginning of Auguſt 1678, that he came to Carrick communion at May-bole: and what his exerciſe was there, himſelf thus expreſſes; "I was wonderfully tryſted "there; but not ſo as at the other. I went to the firſt ta- "ble, and then went and heard worthy Meſſrs. Kid and "Cameron preach at a little diſtance from the meeting, who "never left the fields till they ſealed and crowned it with "their blood. I cannot ſay but the Lord was kind to me, "on the day after there, and on the faſt day in the middle "of the week after that, near the borders of Kilmarnock "pariſh, where a diviſion aroſe about the indulgence, which "to this day is never yet done away. After my return "home, I was made to enter into covenant with him upon "his own terms againſt the indulgence and all other com-

"pliances:

"pliances: and, becauſe through the Lord's ſtrength I re-
"ſolved to keep my bargain, and not to join with them, it
"was ſaid, I had got new light; and I was much reproach-
"ed, yet I got much of the Lord's kindneſs when attending
"the preached goſpel in the field, to which I would ſome-
"times go twenty miles."

And having thus wandered to and fro for ſome time, he went to Edinburgh to ſee the priſoners, and then returned home to Stirling in the end of the week. Late on Saturday night, he heard of a field preaching, and ſeeing the ſoldiers and troopers marching out of the town to attack the people at that meeting, he made himſelf ready, and, with a few others, went toward the meeting: and, being armed, they arrived near the place; but the ſoldiers coming forward, the people ſtill, as they approached, ſeeing the enemy, turned off. So he and a few armed men and the miniſter, ſeeing this, took a hill above Fintry beſide the craigs of Ball-glaſs. So the enemy came forward. This little handful drew up in the beſt poſture the time and circumſtances would allow; and ſung a pſalm, at which the ſoldiers were ſo affrighted, that they told afterward, that the very matches had almoſt fallen out of their hands. At laſt a trooper coming up, commanded them to diſmiſs: but they refuſed. This was repeated ſeveral times, till the captain of the foot came forward, and gave them the ſame charge; which they alſo refuſed. Upon this, he commanded a party of his men to advance and fire upon them: which they did once or twice: which was by this little company returned with much courage and agility, until the whole party and the commanding officer (conſiſting of 48 men and 16 horſemen) fired upon this little handful, which he thinks amounted to not above 18 that had arms, with a few women. After ſeveral fires were returned on both ſides, one of the ſufferers ſtepped forward, and ſhot one ſide of the captain's periwig off, at which the foot fled; but the horſemen, taking the advantage of the riſing ground, ſurrounded this ſmall party. They then fired on a young man, but miſſed him. However, they took him and ſome others priſoners. The reſt fled off. Robert Garnock was hindermoſt, being the laſt on the place of action, and ſays, he intended not to have been taken, but rather killed. At laſt one of the enemy came after him, on which he reſolved either to kill or be killed before he ſurrendered,—catching a piſtol from one for that purpoſe. But another coming in for aſſiſtance, the trooper fled off, and ſo they eſcaped unto the other ſide of a precipice, where they ſtaid

until

until the enemy were gone, who marched directly with their priſoners to Stirling †.

After the fray was over, Robert ſtaid till evening, and ſpoke with ſome friends and the miniſter, who diſſuaded him all they could from going into Stirling. But being now approaching toward the eve of his pilgrimage ſtate, with Paul, in another caſe, when going up to Jeruſalem, he could not be prevailed upon; and ſo went to town: and entering the town about One in the morning, he got into a houſe at the foot of the caſtle-hill, and there got his arms left with much difficulty: but, as he was near the head of the caſtle-hill, he was by two ſoldiers (who were lying in wait for thoſe who had been at that meeting) apprehended and brought to the guard; and then brought before lord Linlithgow's ſon: who aſked him, if he was at that preaching? he told him, he was at no preaching. Linlithgow's ſon ſaid, he was a liar. Robert ſaid, he was no liar; and ſeeing ye will not believe me, I will tell no more: prove the reſt. Linlithgow ſaid, he would make him do it.—But he anſwered, he ſhould not. Then he aſked his name, trade, and his father's name, and where they dwelt? all which he anſwered. Then he bade keep him faſt. At night he was much abuſed by the ſoldiers; ſome of them who had been wounded in the ſkirmiſh, threatening him with torture, gagging in the mouth, &c. all which he bore with much patience. In the morning a ſerjeant came to examine him; but he refuſed him as a judge to anſwer to. At laſt the commanding officer came and examined him, if he was at that ſkirmiſh. He anſwered, That for being there he was taken; and whether I was there or not, I am not bound to give you an account. So he went out, and in a little returned with the provoſt, who thought to ſupplant him by aſking, who of Stirling folk was there? he anſwered, That they were both his neighbours and his; and though he had been there, he might account him very impudent to tell: for though he thought it his duty to aſk, yet it was not his to tell or anſwer: and he thought he ſhould rather commend him for ſo doing. After ſeveral other things anent that affair, he was commanded to cloſe priſon; and none, not ſo much as his father, allowed to ſpeak to him; but he did not want company at that time; for, ſays he, "O but I had a ſweet time of it: the Lord's "counte-

† I have been more full in relating the way and manner of this ſkirmiſh, as it is omitted, ſo far as I can learn, in the hiſtories of the ſufferings of the church of Scotland.

"countenance was better unto me than all the company in "the world."

The forementioned skirmish had fallen out May 8th, 1679, and upon the 19th of the same month, he was put into the common prison amongst malefactors; where he got some more liberty, having some others of the sufferers with him. However, they were very much disturbed by a notorious murderer, who, being drunk one time, thought to have killed him with a large plank or form. But happily the stroke did not hurt him, though he struck with all his force twice, whereby another was almost killed. This made him and other five to lie sometimes upon the stairs; for they could have no other place; though they desired the thieves hole, they could not obtain it. And thus they passed the time with much pain and trouble, until June 10th, that the Fife men were broke at Bewly *; and numbers taken which were brought in prisoners on the 11th; whereby they were very much thronged. Here he continued till the break at Bothwel on the 22d, after which there was no small confusion by tendering and pressing of a bond of conformity against offensive arms, wherein he got his share during that time.

Upon the 13th of July, he was brought forth and in company with about 100 more prisoners under a strong guard of red coats taken from Stirling to Edinburgh, and put into Gray-friar's church-yard, amongst the Bothwel prisoners: there he was more vexed both by the enemy and his fellow-sufferers than ever. A specimen of which I shall give in his own words: "Some of my neighbours desired the "bond, so they put it to me; but I refused. However, "the most part of them took it. Nay, there were some of "them supplicated for any bond. This made some of us "conclude it was our duty to testify against it; which piece "of employment was put upon me, against which some of "the prisoners obtested.—So I was rendered odious; but "many a-day the Lord was kind to me in that yard, and "kept me from many a fear and snare; his love was sweet "unto me. The men complained of us to the command-"ers, who sent for me and examined me on the bond and "other things: they said, I should be gagged, and every "day I was vexed with them; until almost the whole pri-"soners petitioned for it.—And there was as good as seventy "ministers sent into the yard to take it, and they said, it

* This seems to have been the skirmish at Bewly bog only mentioned in history.

" was not a head to ſuffer upon: when they had done, they " ſent in two gentlewomen with the commiſſion; and they ſet " upon me: I told them, if every one of them had as much " of it as I had, they would not be ſo buſy to preſs it: for " before this, the bloody crew came to the yard, and called " on me, and aſked, If I would take the bond. I ſaid, " No. They ſaid, I would get no other ſentence.—So I " was ſore put to it: I would often have been at the doing " of ſomething; but the Lord would not ſuffer me. So, " in his ſtrength, I fought on againſt my own heart and " them all, and overcame. But O! the croſs was ſweet " unto me and eaſy. There needs none fear to venture on " ſuffering in his way and ſtrength. O happy day, that " ever I was tryſted with ſuch a thing. My bargaining " with lovely Jeſus was ſweet unto me. It is true, afflicti- " on, for the preſent, ſeems not joyous but grievous; but " afterwards *it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteouſneſs to* " *thoſe who are exerciſed thereby.* I never knew the treach- " ery of miniſters, and their dreadful hypocriſy and double " dealing in the matters of God before that time, and I " could never love them after that; for they made many a " one to rack their conſcience in taking that bond. I was " brought out of the yard, Oct. 25th, with a guard of ſol- " diers; when coming out, one Mr. White aſked, if I " would take the bond? I, ſmiling, ſaid, No. He, in " way of jeer, ſaid, I had a face to glorify God in the Salt- " market. So I bade farewel to all my neighbours who " were ſorry; and White bade me take goodnight with " them, for I ſhould never ſee them more. But I ſaid, " Lads, take good heart; for we may yet meet again for " all this.—So I was brought before their council-court. " They aſked, if I would take the bond? I ſaid, No.— " Some of them ſaid, May be he does not know it; but " Halton ſaid, he knows it well enough. So one of them " read it. I aſked, if they would have me ſubſcribe a lie " to take away my life; for I never was in rebellion, nor " intended to be ſo. They ſaid, they would make another " bond for me. I anſwered, they needed not trouble them- " ſelves; for I was not deſigned to ſubſcribe any bond at this " time.

" *Queſt.* Will ye riſe in rebellion againſt the king?

" *Anſw.* I was not riſing in rebellion againſt the king.

" *Q.* Will ye take the bond never to riſe againſt the " king and his authority?

" *A.* What is the thing ye call authority? They ſaid, " If they, the ſoldiers or any other ſubject, ſhould kill

" me,

"me, I was bound not to reſiſt. I anſwered, That I will "never do.

"*Q.* Is the biſhop's death murder?

"*A.* I am a priſoner; and ſo no judge.

"*Q.* Is Bothwel-bridge rebellion?

"*A.* I am not bound to give my judgment in that.

"Then one of them ſaid, I told you what the rebel raſ-"cal would ſay: you will be hanged, Sir. I anſwered, "you muſt firſt convict me of a crime. They ſaid, you did "excommunicate priſoners for taking the bond. I ſaid, that "was not in my power; and moreover, I was now before "them, and prove it if they were able. They ſaid, they "would hang me for rebellion. I ſaid, you cannot: for if "you walk according to your own laws, I ſhould have my "liberty. They ſaid, Should we give a rebellious knave, "like you, your liberty? you ſhould be hanged immediate-"ly. I anſwered, That lies not yet in your power: ſo "they cauſed quickly to take me away, and put me in the "iron-houſe tolbooth. Much more paſſed that I muſt not "ſpend time to notice."

"So they brought me to the iron-houſe to fifteen of my "dear companions in tribulation; and there we were a ſweet "company, being all of one judgment. There ſerving the "Lord, day and night, in ſingleneſs of heart, his bleſſing "was ſeen amongſt us; for his love was better than life. "We were all with one accord tryſted ſweetly together: "and O it was ſweet to be in this company, and pleaſant to "thoſe who came in to ſee us, until the indictments came "in amongſt us. There were ten got their indictments. "Six came off, and four got their ſentence to die at Magus "muir. There were fifteen brought out of the yard, and ſome "of them got their liberty offered, if they would witneſs "againſt me. But they refuſed, ſo they got all their in-"dictments, but complied all, ſave one, who was ſenten-"ced to die with the other four at Magus muir."

In this ſituation he continued till Nov. 13. that he was, by the interceſſion of ſome friends, brought to the weſt galleries on the other ſide of the tolbooth, where he conti-nued ſometime, till called again before ſome of the coun-cil; after which he was again committed to cloſe priſon for a time, till one night being called forth by one of the keep-ers, one Mr. John Blair, being preſent, accoſted him thus, Wherefore do ye refuſe the bond? He anſwered, I have no time now for that matter. But out of that place, ſaid Blair, you ſhall not go, for the covenants and the xiii. of the Ro-mans bind you to it. I anſwered, No; they juſt bound

me to the contrary. What if popery ſhould come to the land, ſhould we bind ourſelves never to defend the true religion? He ſaid, we were looſed then. I ſaid, No; Preſbyterians were taken by their word, and they ſhould abide by it: and ere all were done, it ſhould be a dear bond unto them:—as for my part, I would rather go to the Graſs-market, and ſeal it with my blood, *&c.* After he came down, the goodman of the tolbooth abuſed him in a very indiſcreet manner, ſaying, that, if there were no more men, he ſhould be hanged; and that he was an ignorant fool; miniſters nor men could not convince him; and bade take him off again to cloſe priſon, where he was again as much vexed with a company of bonders as ever; for they were not only become lax in principle but in duty alſo, for he roundly told them, "You are far from what you were "in the iron-houſe before you took the bond; then you "would have been up at duty by two or three in the morn-"ing; now you lie in bed till eight or nine in the day.—"They ſaid, it was true enough; but ſaid no more."

After theſe got their liberty, he was accompanied with ſome other priſoners, ſome of whom were kept in for debt. And then, he ſays, he would have been up by four in the morning, and made exerciſe amongſt them three times a-day, and the Lord was kind to him during that time; and he reſolved never to make any compliance, and in this he was made to *eat meat out of the eater, and ſweet out of the ſtrong.* But ſome gentlemen, priſoners for religion where he was before, prevailed with the goodman of the tolbooth to have him back to them about the beginning of 1680. But here the old temptation to compliance and tampering with the enemy was afreſh renewed; for the miniſters coming in to viſit theſe, when they could do no more, they brought miniſters to the rooms to preach, and would make him hear them; which he poſitively refuſed. At laſt, they brought a miniſter, one of his acquaintance; him that ſhould have preached that day he was taken *. But hearing he had made ſome compliance with the enemy, he would not go to the next room to hear him make exerciſe, till he knew the certainty of the matter. After which, he came to another room, where they had ſome conference. A ſhort hint of it I ſhall here ſubjoin as follows: "He aſked "after my welfare; and if I was going out of the priſon? I "told him, I bleſſed the Lord for it, I was well, and was "not going out yet." After ſome converſation anent field-preachings,

* Whether this was Mr. Law after the revolution miniſter at Edinburgh, Mr. Hutcheſon or another, I can not ſay.

preachings, particularly, one by worthy Mr. Cameron at Monkland, which he condemned; "He asked, why I did "not hear ministers? I answered, I desired to hear none "but what are faithful; for I am a prisoner, and would "gladly be in the right way, not to wrong myself.—He "said, wherein are they unfaithful? I said, in changing "their head, quiting the Lord's way, and taking on with "covenant breakers, murderers of his people, &c. He "said, how would I prove that? I said, their own practice "proves it. He said, these were but failings, and these "would not perjure a man; and it is not for you to cast at "ministers: you know not what you are doing.—Answer, "I do not cast them off; they cast off themselves by quit-"ing the holding of their ministry of Christ. *Quest.* How "prove you that? *Answ.* The 10th of John proves it; for "they come not in by the door.—You may put me wrong; "but I think that in Gal. i. 6. *I marvel that ye are so soon "removed from him that called you*, &c. you may read that "at your leisure, how Paul had not his gospel from men, "nor by the will of men. He said, lay by these: but "what is the reason you will not hear others? I said, I de-"sire to hear none of these gaping for the indulgence, and "not faithful in preaching against it."

After some conference anent Messrs. Cameron and Cargil, in which he said Mr. Cameron was no minister; and Mr. Cargil was once one, and had quitted it; that they received their doctrines from men, their hearers, who said, you must preach such and such doctrines, and we will hear you. To all which the martyr gave pertinent answers. He said, "Robert, do not think I am angry that you come not "to hear me; for I desire not you, nor any of your faction "to come and hear me; for I cannot preach to all your "humours. I said, it was all the worse for that. He said, "none of these faults would cast off a minister. They were "but failings, not principles. I said I could not debate, "but I should let any Christian judge, if it was no princi-"ple for a minister to hold Christ head of the church. I "told him, there was once a day I would have ventured "my life at his back for the defence of Christ's gospel; "but not now; and I was more willing to lay down my "life now for his sweet and dear truths than ever I was. "He said, the Lord pity and help me. I said, I had much "need of it. And so he went away, and rendered me odi-"ous. This, amongst other things, made me go to God and "to engage in covenant with his Son never to hear any of "those who betrayed his cause, till I saw evidences of their

"repent-

" repentance. And I would have been willing to have " quitted all for that chiefeſt among ten thouſands."

Thus he continued, till, he ſays, he got bad counſel from ſome of his friends to ſupplicate for his liberty; and they prevailed ſo far as to draw up a ſupplication and brought him to ſubſcribe. But when they had got him to take the pen in his hand. " The Lord bade me hold, (ſays he) and " one came and bade me take heed. So I did it not, for " which I bleſs his holy name. But this lets me ſee, there " is no ſtanding in me. Had it not been his free love, I " had gone the blackeſt way ever one did, *&c.*"

The night before gallant Hackſton was executed, being down ſtairs, and hearing of the way and manner he was to be executed, he went up ſtairs, (though it was treaſon to ſpeak to him) and told him of it; which he could ſcarcely believe: But the keepers hearing came up to perſuade him to the contrary, and to put Robert in the irons. However they got eight gray coats who watched Mr. Hackſton all night, perſuading him to the contrary. So that he did not know till at the place of execution.

It would appear, he was not put in the irons then until ſome time after, that a young woman, who was taken at the Ferry when Hall-head was killed, who having liberty to come into the lady Gilkerclugh then in priſon, was conveyed out in a gentleman's habit, of which he and another got the blame, though entirely innocent; for which they were laid in irons: the other got his liberty, but Robert continued his alone ſometime, till they intended to ſend him off with ſome ſoldiers to Fanguirs. But the Lord having otherways determined, they could not get as many of the council conveened, as to get an order made out: and ſo he was continued in priſon, during which time he endured a ſore conflict with thoſe his fellow priſeners, who ſtill complied and got off, and others came in their place who ſet upon him afreſh: So that he and any one who was of his own judgment, could ſcarcely get liberty to worſhip God in the room without diſturbance, calling him a devil, *&c.* And thoſe who were faithful and a comfort to him, were ſtill taken from him and executed, while he was retained (his time not being yet come) in priſon where he was ſome time with one John Scarlet, who, he ſays, was one of the baſeſt of creatures.

To relate all the trials and difficulties he underwent, during the time of his impriſonment near the ſpace of two years and a half, with his various exerciſes, with the remarkable goodneſs of God towards him all that time, will be more than

than can conveniently be accompliſhed at preſent. I ſhall only notice one or two very ſtrange occurrences of divine providence towards him; which he obſerves, with a few of his own expreſſions concerning himſelf and exerciſe, and his condition toward the end of his narrative and life alſo: which follows in his own words.

"I have no reaſon (ſays he) but to go through with "chearfulneſs, whatever he puts me to for owning of his "cauſe: for if it had not been his ſweet love to me, I "might have been a ſufferer for the worſt of crimes: for "there is in me what is in the worſt of creatures: a remark-"able inſtance of which I was triſted with long ſince;— "which, while I live, I will not forget. Being at home "working with my father, and having mended a cheſt-"lock to an honeſt woman, I went home with it to put it "on: the woman not being at leiſure, there was a gun "ſtanding beſides me: and I oftimes having guns amongſt "my hands to dreſs, took it up, and (not adverting that "it was loaded) thinking her not good, tried to fire her; "whereupon ſhe went off, and the ball went up through a "loft above, and had almoſt killed a woman and a child; "and had not providence directed that ſhot, I had ſuffered "as a murderer: And am I not obliged to follow and ſuf-"fer for the *chiefeſt among ten thouſands*, that has ſo hon-"oured me a poor wretch? for many other things have "eſcaped me; but I may not ſtay to mention what the "Lord has done for me both at field preachings and other "places.

"I have had a continued warfare, and my predominants "grew mightily on my hand, which made my life ſome-"times heavy; but, amongſt the many ſweet nights and "days I have had, was that 23d in the evening and 24th "in the morning of Auguſt, 1681. The Lord was kind to "me; that was the beginning of mornings indeed, where-"on I got ſome of the Lord's love, and whereon I got an "open door, and got a little within the court, and there was "allowed to give in what I had to ſay either as to my own "ſouls caſe or the caſe of the church which is low at this "day. I have indeed had ſome ſweet days ſince, but I "have miſguided them, and could not keep in with him; "for my corruptions are ſo mighty, that ſometimes I have "been made to cry out, Woes me that ever I was born a "man of ſtrife and contention to many. *O wretched man "that I am, who ſhall deliver me from me from the body of "this death?* But the Lord maketh up all again with his

love;

" love; ſo that I have many ups and downs in my caſe.—
" I have forgotten ſome things particularly worthy remark:
" Such as, one night I was ſet upon by a French captain
" when out of town; but the Lord remarkably delivered
" me and brought me back again. So the Lord has let me
" ſee, I might have been ſtaged for worſe actions. So that
" I have no ground but to be for God while I live, and
" bleſs his name that ever honoured me with this dignity
" of ſuffering for his name and honourable cauſe.

" What will become of me is yet uncertain; but upon
" ſome conſiderations, what the land was doing in bringing
" in of popery—the love I bear to the Lord and his righ-
" teous cauſe, made me give in my proteſtation againſt the
" parliament, which this preſent year 1681 has made laws
" for the ſtrengthening of popery: and I could do no leſs;
" for the glory of God was dearer to me than my life.

" And now for any thing I know, I will be tortured, and
" my life taken, and ſo will get no more written. As to
" any that read it, I beg of them to ſhun all that is evil
" in my life, as they wiſh to ſhun hell; and if there be any
" thing in it that is for uſe, I requeſt the Lord that he may
" bring it home upon them, when I am gone, and make
" it thus uſeful for them that read it.—So I bid you all
" farewel, deſiring none of you may ſlight your time or
" duty as I have done; but ſhun the appearances of evil,
" cleave to that which is good, and ſpend much of your
" time with God: be not idle night nor day, and give not
" ever much ſleep unto yourſelves.—O ſirs, if you would
" be prevailed with to ſpend time for God, it would be the
" ſweeteſt and moſt deſireable ſervice ever you took in hand.
" O be perſuaded to fall in love with him, who is, without
" compare, *the chiefeſt among ten thouſand, yea, altoge-*
" *ther lovely.*—Take him for your all, and bind yourſelves
" hand and foot to his obedience. Let your ears be nailed
" to the poſts of his doors, and be his ſervants for ever."

" And now ſeeing I get no more time allowed me here on
" earth, I cloſe with my hearty farewel to all friends, and
" pray the Lord may guide them in all truth, and keep them
" from dreadful ſnares that are coming through this cove-
" nanted land of Scotland. So I bid you all farewel, and
" be faithful to the death. I know not certainly what may
" become of me after this; but I look and expect that my
" time in this world is now near an end, and ſo deſire to
" welcome all that the Lord ſends. Thinking preſently to
" be called in before God's enemies, I ſubſcribe it,

Sept. 28*th*, 1781. ROBERT GARNOCK."

And

And having now with pleaſure heard ſomewhat of the life and exerciſes of Robert Garnock, we come now to notice ſomewhat anent his trial, death or martyrdom which now haſtens apace. So, according to his own expectation above narrated, he was brought before the council, October 1ſt, where he diſowned the king's authority, refuſed them as his judges, and on the 7th was brought before the Juſticiary, and indicted, "That he did before the council, on the 1ſt of October, decline the authority of the king and council, and called the king and council tyrant, murderers, perjured and manſworn, declaring it was lawful to riſe in arms againſt them;—And gave in a moſt treaſonable paper, termed, *A proteſtation and teſtimony againſt parliamenters*, wherein he terms the members of parliament, idolaters, uſurpers of the Lord's inheritance; and proteſts againſt their procedure in their hell-hatched acts: which paper is ſigned by his hand, whereby he is guilty of the crime of treaſon; and further gave in a declaration to the council, wherein the ſaid Robert Garnock diſowns the king's authority and government, and proteſts againſt the council as tyrants: Therefore, *&c.*" By ſuch an explicit confeſſion, his own papers being turned to an indictment without any matters of fact againſt him, there was no difficulty of probation, his own proteſt and declinature being produced before the juſticiary and aſſize, to whom he was remitted. But before the aſſize were incloſed, Robert Garnock and other five who were indicted with him, delivered a paper to the inqueſt, containing a proteſtation and warning, wherein "They adviſe them to conſider what they are doing, and upon what grounds they paſs a ſentence upon them. They declare they are no rebels: they diſown no authority that is according to the word of God and the covenants the land is bound by.—They charge them to conſider how deep a guilt covenant breaking is, and put them in mind they are to be anſwerable to the great Judge of all for what they do in this matter; and ſay they do this, ſince they are in hazard of their lives, and againſt them. It is a dangerous thing to paſs a ſentence on men merely becauſe of their conſcience and judgment; only becauſe they cannot in conſcience yield to the iniquous laws of men;—that they are free ſubjects never taken in any action contrary to the preſent laws; adding that theſe whom they once thought ſhould or would rule for God have turned their authority for tyranny and inhumanity, and employ it both in deſtroying the laws of God, and murdering his people againſt and without law;—as we ourſelves can prove and witneſs when brought in before

them. After two years impriſonment; one of them moſt cruelly and tyrant-like roſe from the place of judgment, and drew a ſword, and would have killed one of us*, but Providence ordered it otherways: However the wound is yet to be ſhown. The like action was never heard or read of. After reminding them of David Finlay murdered at New-mills, Mr. Mitchel's caſe, and James Learmorils, who was murdered after he was three times freed by the aſſize. They add, that, after ſuch murders as deſerve death, they cannot ſee how they can own them as judges, charging them to notice what they do; aſſuring them their blood will be heavy upon them;—Concluding with Jer. xxvi. 15. And charging them not to take innocent blood on their heads." And ſubſcribe at Edinburgh October 7th 1681.

ROBERT GARNOCK, D. FARRIE, JA. STEWART, ALEX. RUSSEL, PAT. FORMAN, and G. LAPSLY.

Notwithſtanding all this, they were brought in guilty and ſentenced to be executed at the Gallow-lee betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, upon the 10th inſtant: Forman's hand to be cut off before, and the heads and hands of the reſt after death, and to be ſet up upon the Pleaſance port.

What his deportment and exerciſes were at the place of execution we are at a loſs to deſcribe: but from what is already related, we may ſafely conclude that, through divine grace, his demeanour was truly noble and Chriſtian. But that the reader may gueſs ſomewhat of his exerciſes, temper and diſpoſition about that time, I ſhall extract a few ſentences of his own words from his laſt ſpeech and dying teſtimony.

"I bleſs the Lord, that ever he honoured the like of me "with a bloody gibbet and bloody windy ſheet for his no- "ble, honourable and ſweet cauſe. O will ye love him, "ſirs? O he is well worth the loving and quitting all for. "O for many lives to ſeal the ſweet cauſe with: if I had as "many lives as there are hairs on my head, I would think "them all little to be martyrs for truth. I bleſs the Lord "I do not ſuffer unwillingly nor by conſtraint, but hearti- "ly and cheerfully.—I have been a long time priſoner, and "have been altered of my priſon. I was amongſt and in "in the company of the moſt part who ſuffered ſince Both- "well,

* Probably this was R. Garnock, who though a private man, was honoured of the Lord to be a public witneſs, which was moſt galling to them.

" well, and was in company with many enſnaring perſons; " though I do not queſtion their being godly folk; and yet " the Lord kept me from harkening to their counſel. " Glory, glory to his holy and ſweet name.—It is many " times my wonder how I have done ſuch and ſuch things; " but it is he that has done it: he hath done all things in " me and for me: holy is his name.—I bleſs the Lord I am " this day to ſtep out of time into eternity, and I am no " more troubled than if I were to take a match by marriage " on earth, and not ſo much. I bleſs the Lord I have " much peace of conſcience in what I have done. O but I " think it a very weighty piece of buſineſs to be within " twelve hours of eternity, and not troubled. Indeed the " Lord is kind, and has trained me up for this day, and " now I can want him no longer. I ſhall be filled with his " love this night; for I will be with him in paradiſe, and " get a new ſong put in my mouth, the ſong of Moſes and " the Lamb: I will be in amongſt the general aſſembly of " the firſt born, and enjoy the ſweet preſence of God and " his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſpirits of juſt men made " perfect: I am ſure of it.

" Now my Lord is bringing me to conformity with him- " ſelf, and honouring me with my worthy paſtor Mr. James " Guthrie: although I knew nothing when he was alive, " yet the Lord hath honoured me to proteſt againſt popery, " and to ſeal it with my blood: and he hath honoured me " to proteſt againſt prelacy and to ſeal it with blood. The " Lord has kept me in priſon to this day for that end. His " head is on one port of Edinburgh, and mine muſt go on " another. Glory, glory to the Lord's ſweet name for " what he hath done for me.

" Now I bleſs the Lord, I am not as many ſuſpect me, " thinking to won heaven by my ſuffering. No, there is " no attaining of it but through the precious blood of the " Son of God.—Now, ye that are the true ſeekers of God, " and the butt of the world's malice, O be diligent, and " run faſt. Time is precious: O make uſe of it, and act " for God; contend for truth: ſtand for God againſt all " his enemies: fear not the wrath of man: love one ano- " ther; wreſtle with God: mutually in ſocieties *confeſs your* " *faults one to another; pray one with another: reprove, ex-* " *hort and rebuke one another in love.* Slight no commanded " duty: Be faithful in your ſtations as you will be anſwer- " able at the great day: ſeek not counſel from men: fol- " low none further than they hold by truth.

" Now, farewell, ſweet reproaches for my lovely Lord " Jeſus, though once they were not joyous but grievous, " yet now they are ſweet. And I bleſs the Lord for it, I " heartily forgive all men for any thing they have ſaid of " me; and I pray it may not be laid unto their charge in " the day of accounts: and for what they have done to " God and his cauſe, I leave that to God and their own " conſcience. Farewell, all Chriſtian acquaintance, father, " mother, &c. Farewell, ſweet priſon for my royal Lord " Jeſus Chriſt, now at an end. Farewell, all croſſes of " one ſort or another: and ſo farewell, every thing in time, " reading, praying and believing. Welcome eternal life, " and the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect: Welcome, Fa- " ther, Son and Holy Ghoſt: into thy hands I commit " my Spirit."——*Sic Subſcribitur*,

ROBERT GARNOCK.

Accordingly the foregoing ſentence in all its parts was executed † upon them all except Lapſlay who got off.—And ſo they had their paſſage from the valley of miſery into the celeſtial country above, to inhabit that land *where the inhabitants*

† N. B. The faithful and pious Mr. Renwick was preſent, and much affected at this execution: after which he aſſembled ſome friends, and lifted their bodies in the night, and buried them in the Weſt Kirk. They alſo got their heads down; but, day approaching, they could not make the ſame place but were obliged to turn aſide to Lauriſton's Yards (to whom one Alexander Tweedie then in company with them, was gardener) where they in a box interred them. The ſaid gardener, it is ſaid, planted a white roſe-buſh above them, and a red one below them a little; which proved more fruitful than any buſhes in all the garden. This place being uncultivated for a conſiderable time, they lay till October 7th, 1728, that another gardener trenching the ground found them. They were liſted and by direction were laid on a table in the ſummer houſe of the proprietor; and a fair linen cloth cut out and laid upon them, where all had acceſs to come and ſee them; where they beheld a hole in each head which the hangman broke with his hammer when he drove them on the pikes. On the 19th, they were put in a full coffin covered with black, and by ſome friends, carried unto Gray-Friers church-yard, and interred near the martyr's tomb (being near forty-five years ſince their ſeparation from their bodies) they were re-buried on the ſame day Wedneſday, and about four o'clock afternoon the ſame time that at firſt they went to their reſting place: and attended, ſays one preſent, " with the greateſt multitude of " people old and young men and women, miniſters and others, that " ever I ſaw together." And there they ly awaiting a glorious reſurrection on the morning of the laſt day, when they ſhall be raiſed up with more honour, than at their death they were treated with reproach and ignominy.

bitants ſay not, I am ſick, and the people that dwell therein are forgiven their iniquities.

Thus ended Robert Garnock in the flower of his youth; a young man, but old in experimental religion.—His faithfulneſs was as remarkable as his piety, and his courage and conſtancy as both.—He was inured unto tribulations almoſt from his youth, wherein he was ſo far from being diſcouraged at the croſs of Chriſt, that he, in imitation of the primitive martyrs, ſeemed rather ambitious of ſuffering.—He always aimed at honeſty; and, notwithſtanding all oppoſition from pretended friends and profeſſed foes, he was by the Lord's ſtrength, enabled to remain unſhaken to the laſt: for, though he was nigh tripped, yet with the faithful man he was ſeldom foiled, never vanquiſhed.—May the Lord enable many in this apoſtate, inſidious, and lukewarm generation to emulate the martyr in imitation of him who now inherits the promiſe, *Be thou faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life.*

The Life of Mr. ROBERT M'WARD.

MR. ROBERT M'WARD was born in Glenluce. After he had gone through his courſes of learning at the univerſity, he was ordained miniſter of the goſpel at Glaſgow, where he continued for ſome time in the faithful diſcharge of his duty until the year 1661, that this good man and affectionate preacher began to obſerve the deſign of the then managers to overturn the whole covenanted work of reformation. In the month of February that year, he gave a moſt faithful and ſeaſonable teſtimony againſt the glaring defections of that time, in an excellent ſermon in the Trone-church of Glaſgow, upon a week-day; which ſermon was afterward the ground of a moſt ſevere proſecution. His text was in Amos iii. 2. *You have I known of all the families of the earth*, &c. He had preached upon it for ſome time upon the week-days, and after he had run through perſonal abounding ſins, and thoſe of the city, he came to the general and national ſins that were then abounding. And having enlarged upon theſe things in ſcriptural eloquence, in a moſt moving way, he gives a good many pertinent directions to mourn, conſider, repent and return, to wreſtle and pour out their ſouls before the Lord, and encourageth them to theſe duties from this, "That

"God

"God will look upon theſe duties as their diſſent from what "is done, prejudicial to his work and intereſt, and mark "them among the mourners of Zion." But what was moſt noticed, was that with which he cloſeth this ſermon, "As "for my part (ſaith he) as a poor member of this church "of Scotland, and an unworthy miniſter in it, I do this "day call you who are the people of God to witneſs, that I "humbly offer my diſſent to all acts which are or ſhall be "paſſed againſt the covenants and the work of reformation "in Scotland. And *2dly*, I proteſt that I am deſirous to be "free of the guilt thereof, and pray that God may put it "upon record in heaven.

The noiſe of this ſermon quickly flew abroad, and Mr. M'Ward was brought to Edinburgh under a guard, and impriſoned. Very ſoon after, he had an indictment given him by the king's advocate, for treaſonable preaching and ſedition. What the nature of his indictment was, we may eaſily gueſs from the ſcope of his excellent ſermon. He was allowed lawyers, whereby his proceſs became pretty long and tedious. Upon the 6th of June, he was brought before the parliament, where he had a very public opportunity to give a proof of his eminent parts and ſolid judgment. His charming eloquence was owned here by his very adverſaries, and he defended, by ſcripture and reaſon, his expreſſions in his ſermon before the bar of the houſe.

And although his excellent ſpeech had not the influence that might have been expected, yet doubtleſs it had ſome, for the houſe delayed coming to an iſſue at this time. He indeed expected a ſentence of death, which no way damped him; but his Maſter had more, and very conſiderable work too, for him elſewhere. Whether it was from orders from court to ſhed no more blood, or for other certain reaſons, it is not known; but his affair was delayed for ſome time, and upon ſome encouragement given him of ſucceſs, he, upon the Monday following, gave in a ſupplication to the parliament, wherein he exchanges the words proteſt and diſſent, which he had uſed in his ſermon, with thoſe of teſtifying, ſolemnly declaring and bearing witneſs, and yet at the ſame time declares he is not brought to this alteration, ſo much for fear of his perſon, *&c.* as from an earneſt deſire to remove out of the way any, or the leaſt occaſion of ſtumbling, that there may be the more ready and eaſy acceſs, without prejudice of words, to ponder and give judgment of the matter, *&c.*; and withal humbly proſtrates himſelf at their honours feet to be diſpoſed of as they ſhall think meet.

This

This ſupplication, with what went before, might have ſoftened the perſecutors (as the forecited hiſtorians obſerve) and yet it had no effect; for Mr. Sharp and his friends reſolved now to be rid, as much as they could, of the moſt eminent of the preſbyterian miniſters; and therefore he behoved to be baniſhed, which was the higheſt thing they could go to, unleſs they had taken his life. Upon the 5th or 6th of July, the parliament gave him for anſwer, That "they paſs ſentence of baniſhment upon the ſupplicant, allowing him ſix months to tarry in the nation; one of "which only in Glaſgow, with power to him to receive "the following year's ſtipends at departure."

His Maſter having work for him elſewhere, he ſubmitted to the ſentence, and tranſported himſelf and his family to Rotterdam, where for a while, upon the death of the reverend Mr. Alexander Petrie (author of the compendious church hiſtory), he was employed as miniſter of the Scots congregation there, to the no ſmall edification of many; and that not only to ſuch as were fled hither from the rage and fury of the bloody perſecutors, but alſo to thoſe who reſorted to him and Mr. Brown, for their advice in difficult caſes, in carrying on and bearing up a faithful teſtimony againſt both right and left-hand extremes, with every other prevailing corruption, and defection in that day, it being a day *of treading down in the valley of viſion.*

Thither the rage of his perſecutors followed him; even in a ſtrange land; for about the end of the year 1676, the king by the influence of primate Sharp, wrote to the ſtate-general to cauſe remove James Wallace, Robert M'Ward, and John Brown, out of their provinces. But the ſtates, conſidering that Meſſrs. M'Ward and Brown had already ſubmitted unto the Scots law, and received the ſentence of baniſhment, during life, out of the king's dominion, and having come under their protection, could not be impoſed on to remove them out of theſe provinces, or be any further diſquieted; and for this end ſent a letter to their ambaſſador at the court of England, to ſignify the ſame to his majeſty.

After this, this famous man was concerned in ordaining worthy and faithful Mr. Richard Cameron, when in Holland in the year 1679, and afterwards ſent him home with poſitive inſtructions to lift and bear up a free and faithful ſtandard againſt every defection and encroachment made upon the church of Chriſt in theſe lands, and particularly the indulgences, againſt which Mr. M'Ward never failed to give a free and faithful teſtimony, as is evident from ſe-

veral

veral of his writings, particularly that in anſwer to Mr. Fleming.

He remained at Rotterdam until ſome time about the 1681 or 1682, that he died. It is ſaid, that when, in his laſt ſickneſs, he deſired Mr. Shields and ſome other friends to carry him out to ſee a comet or blazing-ſtar (that then appeared), and when he ſaw it, he bleſt the Lord that now was about to cloſe his eyes, and was not to ſee the woful days that were coming on Britain and Ireland, but eſpecially upon ſinful Scotland. After which he died, and entered into his Maſter's joy, after he had been for twenty years abſent from his native country.

It were altogether ſuperfluous here to inſiſt upon the character of this faithful miniſter and witneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, ſeeing that his own writings do fully evidence him to have been a man of admirable eloquence (not to ſpeak of his learning) and ſingular zeal and faithfulneſs. While remaining in Holland, he wrote ſeveral pieces † which are ſaid to be theſe;—The poor man's cup of cold water miniſtred to the ſaints and ſufferers for Chriſt in Scotland, publiſhed about 1679; earneſt contendings, &c. publiſhed in 1723; banders diſbanded; with ſeveral prefatory epiſtles to ſome of Mr. Brown's works. He wrote alſo many other papers and letters, but eſpecially a hiſtory of the defections of the church of Scotland, which has never hitherto been publiſhed.

† Some accounts bear that Naphthali was wrote by him, but Wodrow ſays otherwiſe.

The Life of Captain JOHN PATON.

JOHN PATON was born at Meadow-head, in the pariſh of Fenwick and ſhire of Ayr. He was brought up in the art and occupation of huſbandry till near the ſtate of manhood.—But of the way and manner in which he went at firſt to a military life, there are various accounts.—Some ſay, that he inliſted at firſt a volunteer, and went abroad to the wars in Germany, where, for ſome heroic atchievement, at the taking of a certain city (probably by Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden), he was advanced to a captain's poſt; and that when he returned home, he was ſo far changed that his parents ſcarcely knew him. Other accounts bear,

bear, that he was with the Scots army (or militia) who went to England in January 1643-4, and was at the battle of Marſton-muir, at which place, it is ſaid that by ſome bad drink, an aſthmatical diſorder was contracted in his breaſt, which continued ever after.

But whatever of the ways, or if both ways were certain, he behoved to return very ſuddenly home; for it is ſaid, That *anno* 1645, when the ſeveral miniſters in the weſtern ſhires were called out upon the head of their own pariſh militia, to oppoſe Montroſe's inſurrection, he was called out by Mr. William Guthrie (or, as ſome ſay, taken by him from the plough), and, under the character of a captain, behaved with much gallantry about that time among the covenanters, particularly upon their defeat by Montroſe at Kilſyth, which fell out in the following manner:

Montroſe, having upon July 2d obtained a victory over the covenanters, advanced over the Forth, and upon the 14th encamped at Kilſyth near Stirling, and upon the 15th encountered the covenanters army, commanded by lieutenant-general Bailey. At the firſt on-ſet, ſome of Montroſe's highlanders, going too far up the hill, were invironed by the covenanters, and like to have been worſted; but the old lord Airly being ſent from Montroſe with freſh ſupplies of men, the covenanters were obliged to give way, and were, by the enemy, turned over unto a ſtanding marſh or bog, where there was no probability either of fighting or eſcaping. In this hurry, one of the captain's acquaintance, when ſinking, cried out to him, for God's ſake to help; but when he got time to look that way, he could not ſee him, for he was gone through the ſurface of the marſh, and could never be found afterwards. Upon this diſaſter, the ſwifteſt of the covenanters horſe got to Stirling; the foot were moſtly killed on the ſpot and in the chace, which, according to ſome hiſtorians *, continued for the ſpace of fourteen miles, whereby the greater part of the covenanters army was either drowned, or by theſe cruel ſavages cut off and killed.

In this extremity, the captain, as ſoon as he could get free of the bog, with ſword in hand made the beſt of his way through the enemy, till he got ſafe to the two colonels Hacket and Strahan, who all three rode off together: but had not gone far till they were encountered by about

* So ſays the hiſtory of the civil wars, page 186. The hiſtory of Montroſe's wars, or memoirs of his life, page 121.; and his letters to the covenanters, appendix, page 49.

fifteen of the enemy, all of whom they killed, except two who eſcaped. When they had gone a little farther, they were again attacked by about thirteen more, and of theſe they killed ten, ſo that only three of them could make their eſcape from them. But, upon the approach of about eleven Highlanders more, one of the colonels ſaid (in a familiar dialect), Johny, if thou do not ſomewhat now, we are all dead men. To whom the captain anſwered, Fear not; for we will do what we can, before we either yield, or flee before them. They killed nine of them, and put the reſt to flight.

About this time, the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people. For Montroſe, having defeated the covenanters at five or ſix different times, the committee of eſtates began to bethink themſelves, and for that end ſaw cauſe to recall general Leſlie, with 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons, from England. To oppoſe him Montroſe marched ſouthward, but was ſhamefully routed by Leſlie at Philip-haugh upon the 13th of Sept. Many of his forces were killed and taken priſoners, and he himſelf eſcaped with much difficulty *. After which Mr. William Guthrie and captain Paton returned home again to Fenwick.

Thus matters went on till the year 1648, that there aroſe two factions in Scotland, which were headed by duke Hamilton and the marquis of Argyle. The one party aimed at bringing down the king to Scotland; but the other oppoſed the ſame. However, the levies went on, whereby duke Hamilton, with a potent army, marched to England. In the mean-while major-general Middleton came upon a certain handful of the covenanters, aſſembled at the celebration of the Lord's ſupper at Mauchlin, a ſmall village in the ſhire of Ayr. At which place were Meſſrs. William Ardair, William Guthrie and John Nevay miniſters, and the earl of Loudon, who ſolicited Middleton to let the people diſmiſs in a peaceable manner; which he promiſed to do: but, in a moſt perfidious way, he fell upon them on the Monday after; which occaſioned ſome bloodſhed on both

* Although Montroſe got off at this time, yet when he made another inſurrection *anno* 1650, he was fought and routed by a few troops under the command of the forementioned colonels Strahan, Hacket and Ker, and he himſelf taken afterwards in the laird of Aſſen's, bound and brought to Edinburgh, where he was by the parliament condemned to be hanged May 21ſt, on a gallows thirty feet high, three hours ſpace, his head to be cut off and placed on the tolbooth, and his legs and arms to be hanged up in other public towns of the kingdom, which was executed accordingly. See the hiſtory of the civil wars, page 30. Montroſe's memoirs, page 517. &c.

both ſides, for captain Paton (being ſtill aware of theſe malignants notwithſtanding all their fair promiſes) cauſed his people from Fenwick to take arms with them, which accordingly they did; whereby they only made reſiſtance.—Yea it is ſaid, that the captain that day killed eighteen of the enemy with his own hand.

But duke Hamilton and his army being defeated, and he himſelf afterward beheaded, the Engliſh purſuing the victory, Cromwel and his men entered Scotland, by which means the engagers were not only made to yield, but quite diſſipated. Whereupon ſome of the ſtragglers came weſt plundering, and took up their reſidence for ſome time in the muirs of Loudon, Egleſham and Fenwick, which made the captain again beſtir himſelf; and taking a party of Fenwick men he went in queſt of them; and found ſome of them at a certain houſe in that pariſh called Lochgoin, and there gave them ſuch a fright (though without any bloodſhed) as made them give their promiſe never to moleſt or trouble that houſe or any other place in the bounds again, under pain of death:—and they went off without any further moleſtation.

Charles I. having been beheaded Jan. 30, 1648-9, and Charles II. called home from Breda 1650, upon notice of an invaſion from the Engliſh, the Scotch parliament appointed a levy of 10,000 foot and 3000 horſe to be inſtantly raiſed for the defence of the king and kingdom; among whom it behoved the captain again to take the field, for he was now become too popular to be hid in obſcurity.

Accordingly Cromwel and his army entered Scotland in July 1650. After which ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued betwixt the Engliſh and the Scots army, till the Scots were, by Cromwel and his army, upon the 3d of September, totally routed at Dunbar. After which, the act of claſſes being repealed, both church and ſtate began to act in different capacities, and to look as ſuſpiciouſly on one another as on the common enemy. There were in the army on the proteſtors ſide, colonels Ker, Hacket and Strahan, and of inferior officers, major Stuart, captain Arnot (brother to the laird of Lochridge) captain Paton, and others. The contention came to ſuch a criſis, that the colonels Ker and Strahan left the king's army, and came to the weſt * with ſome other officers; and many of them were eſteemed the moſt religious and beſt affected in the army. They proceeded ſo far as to give battle to the Engliſh at Hamilton,

* Blair's memoirs, page 113.

but were worſted; the Lord's wrath having gone forth againſt the whole land, becauſe Achan was in the camp of our Scottiſh Iſrael †.

The king and the Scots army, being no longer able to hold out againſt the Engliſh, ſhifted about and went for England, and about the end of Auguſt 1651, had Worceſter ſurrendered to them. But, the Engliſh army following hard upon their heels, they were by them totally routed upon the 3d of September, which made the king fly out of the kingdom. After which the captain returned home, when he ſaw how fruitleſs and unſucceſsful this expedition had been.

About this time, he took up the farm of Meadow-head, where he was born, and married one Janet Lindſay (who lived with him but a very ſhort time). And here he no leſs excelled in the duties of the true Chriſtian life, in a private ſtation, than he exceeded others while a ſoldier in the camp; and being under the miniſtry of that faithful man Mr. William Guthrie, by whom he was made one of the members of his ſeſſion, and continued ſo till that bright and ſhining light in the church was turned out by Charles II. who was again reſtored, and the yoke of ſupremacy and tyranny being by him wreathed about the neck of both church and ſtate, whereby matters grew ſtill worſe, till the year 1660, that upon ſome inſolencies committed in the ſouth and weſt by Sir James Turner, ſome people roſe (under the command of Barſcob and other gentlemen from Galloway) for their own defence. Several parties from the ſhire of Ayr joined them, commanded by colonel James Wallace from Achan's; captain Arnot came with a party from Mauchlin; Lockhart of Wicketſhaw with a party from Carluke; major Lermount with a party from above Galſton; Neilſon of Corſack with a party from Galloway; and captain Paton (who now behoved to take the field again) commanded a party of horſe from Loudon, Fenwick and other places. And being aſſembled they went eaſtward, renewed the covenants at Lanerk, and from thence went to Bathgate, then to Collington, and ſo on till they came to Rullion, near Pentland hills, where they were upon that fatal day November 28, attacked by general Dalziel and the king's forces. At their firſt onſet captain Arnot, with a party of horſe, fought a party of Dalziel's men with good ſucceſs; and, after him, another party made the general's men fly; but upon their laſt rencounter

† See this engagement in Cromwel's life.

counter about ſun-ſetting, Dalziel (being repulſed ſo often) advanced the whole left wing of his army upon col. Wallace's right, where he had ſcarce three weak horſe to receive them, and were obliged to give way*. Here captain Paton (who was all along with captain Arnot in the firſt encounter) behaved with great courage and gallantry. Dalziel, knowing him in the former wars, advanced upon him himſelf, thinking to take him priſoner. Upon his approach, each preſented their piſtols. Upon their firſt diſcharge, captain Paton perceived the piſtol-ball to hoop down upon Dalziel's boots, and knowing what was the cauſe (he having proof), put his hand to his pocket for ſome ſmall pieces of ſilver he had there for the purpoſe, and put one of them into his other piſtol. But Dalziel, having his eye on him in the mean while, jumped his horſe behind that of his own man, who by that means was ſlain. The colonel's men, being flanked in, on all hands, by Dalziel's men, were broke and overpowered in all their ranks. So that the captain and other two horſemen from Finwick were ſurrounded, five men deep, by the general, through whom he and the two men at his back had to make their way, when there was almoſt no other on the field of battle, having, in this laſt rencounter, ſtood almoſt an hour.

Whenever Dalziel perceived him go off, he commanded three of his men to follow hard after him, giving them marks whereby they ſhould know him. Immediately they came up with the captain, before whom was a great ſlough or ſtank in the way, out of which three Galloway men had juſt drawn their horſes. They cried to the captain, What would they do now! He anſwered them, What was the fray—he ſaw but three men coming upon them; and then cauſed his horſe jump the ditch, and faced about with his ſword drawn in his hand, ſtood ſtill till the firſt, coming up, endeavoured to make his horſe jump over alſo.——Upon which he, with his ſword†, clove his head in two, and his horſe being marred, fell into the bog, with the other two men and horſe. He told them to take his compliments to their maſter, and tell him he was not coming this night, and came off, and got ſafe home at laſt.

After

* See a more full account of the battle in Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. page 250. *&c.*

† Their ſword or ſhort ſhabble yet remains, and may now be ſeen in the hands of the publiſher of this collection. It was then by his progenitors counted to have twenty eight gaps in its edge, which made them afterwards obſerve that there were juſt as many years in the time of the perſecution, as there were ſteps or broken pieces in the edge thereof.

After this Chriſt's followers and witneſſes were reduced to many hardſhips, particularly ſuch as had been any way acceſſory to the riſing at Penland, ſo that they were obliged to reſort unto the wilderneſſes and other deſolate and ſolitary places. The winter following he and about twenty perſons had a very remarkable deliverance from the enemy.—Being aſſembled at Lochgoin, upon a certain night, for fellowſhip and godly converſation, they were miraculouſly anticipated or prevented by a repeated dream (of the enemies approaching) by the old man of the houſe, who was gone to bed for ſome reſt on account of his infirmity; and that juſt with as much time as they could make their eſcape, the enemy being within forty falls of the houſe.—After they got off, the old man roſe up quickly and met them with an apology, for the circumſtance the houſe was then in (it being but a little after day break), and nothing at that time was diſcovered.

About this time, the captain ſometimes remained at home, and ſometimes in ſuch remote places wherein he could beſt be concealed from the fury of his perſecutors. He married a ſecond wife, one Janet Millar from Egleſham (whoſe father fell at Bothwel-bridge), by whom he had ſix children, who continued ſtill to poſſeſs the farm of Meadow-head and Artnock in tack, until the day of his death.

He was alſo one who frequented the pure preached goſpel where-ever he could obtain it, and was a great encourager of the practice of carrying arms for the defence thereof, which he took to be a proper mean in part to reſtrain the enemy from violence. But things growing ſtill worſe and worſe, new troops of horſe and companies of foot being poured in upon the weſtern ſhires on purpoſe to ſuppreſs and ſearch out theſe field-meetings, which occaſioned their riſing again *anno* 1679. While, by theſe unparalelled ſeverities, they were with thoſe of whom the apoſtle ſpeaks, *deſtitute, afflicted and tormented, of whom the world was not worthy, and they wandered in deſerts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth**.

For that ſuffering remnant, under the command of Mr. Robert Hamilton, having got the victory over Claverhouſe on the 1ſt of June 1676, at Drumclog in Evandale (in which ſkirmiſh there was about 36 or 40 of that bloody crew killed), they went on the next day for Glaſgow, in purſuit of the enemy; but that proving unſucceſsful, they returned back, and on June 3d formed themſelves into a camp,

* Hebrews xi. 37, 38.

camp, and held a council of war. On the 4th they rendezvouzed at Kyperidge, &c.; and on the 5th they went to commiſſar Fleming's park, in the pariſh of Kilbride, by which time captain Paton (who all this time had not been idle) came to them with a body of horſemen from Finwick and Galſton; and many others joined them, ſo that they were greatly increaſed.

They had hitherto been of one heart and one mind, but a certain party of horſe from Carrick came to them (with whom were Mr. Welch, and ſome other miniſters who favoured the indulgence), after which they never had a day to do well, until they were defeated at Bothwel-bridge, upon the 22d of June following.

The proteſting party were not for joining with thoſe of the Eraſtian ſide, till they ſhould declare themſelves fully for God and his cauſe, againſt all and every defection whatever; but Mr. Welch and his party found out a way to get rid of ſuch officers as they feared moſt oppoſition from: For orders were given to Rathillet, Haugh-head, Carmichael, and Mr. Smith, to go to Glaſgow, to meet with Mr. King and captain Paton; and they obeyed. When at Glaſgow, Mr. King and captain Paton led them out of the town, as they apprehended, to preach ſomewhere without the town; but at laſt, upon inquiry where they were going, it was anſwered (according to orders ſent privately to Mr. King and captain Paton), That they were to go and diſperſe a meeting of the enemy at Campſie; but upon going there, they found no ſuch thing, which made them believe it was only a ſtratagem to get free of Mr. King and the reſt of the faithful officers; upon which they returned.

The faithful officers were Mr. Hamilton, general Hackſton of Rathillet, Hall of Haugh-head, captain Paton in Meadow-head, John Balfour of Kinloch, Mr. Walter Smith, William Carmichael, William Cleland, James Henderſon, and Robert Fleming. Their miniſters were Meſſrs. Donald Cargil, Thomas Douglas, John Kid, and John King; for Mr. Richard Cameron was then in Holland. Henry Hall of Haugh-head, John Paton in Meadow-head, William Carmichael, and Andrew Turnbull, were ruling elders of the church of Scotland.

Thus the proteſting party continued to ſtruggle with the Eraſtian party (in which contending captain Paton had no ſmall ſhare) until that fatal day June 22d, when they were broke, and made to flee before the enemy. The captain, at this time, was made a major; and ſome accounts bear, that

that the day preceding, he was made a colonel. An author*, when writing upon that affair, ſays, That he ſuppoſes John Paton, Robert Fleming, James Henderſon and William Cleland were choſen to be colonels of regiments; however, as he did not enjoy this place long, we find him ſtill afterward continued in the character of captain John Paton.

After the defeat at Bothwel-bridge, captain Paton made the beſt of his way homeward; and having had a fine horſe, with all manner of furniture from the ſheriff of Ayr, upon the way he gave him to one to take home to his maſter, but being robbed of all its fine mounting, by an old intelligencer (of the ſame name as was ſuppoſed), which very much ſurpriſed the ſheriff when he received the horſe, and the captain when he got notice thereof. This was a moſt baſe and ſhameful action, deſigning to ſtain the character of this honeſt and good man.

The ſufferers were now expoſed to new hardſhips, and none more than captain Paton, who was not only declared rebel by order of proclamation, but alſo a round ſum offered for his head, which made him be more hotly purſued, and that even in his moſt ſecret lurking places. In which time, a little after Bothwel, he had another moſt remarkable eſcape and deliverance from his blood-thirſty enemies, which fell out in this manner.——

The captain, with a few more, being one night quartered in the fore-mentioned houſe of Lochgoin†, with James Howie (who was one of his fellow ſufferers), at which time one captain Ingles, with a party, lay at the dean of Kilmarnock's, who ſent out parties on all hands, to ſee what they could apprehend; and that night, a party, being out in

* Wilſon's hiſtory of Bothwel-bridge, page 41.

† This houſe and family was always a harbour and ſuccour to our late ſufferers both gentlemen, miniſters and private Chriſtians; for which, after this and their non conformity to prelacy, they were not only harraſſed, pilaged and plundered to the number of ten or twelve times during that period, but alſo both the ſaid James Howie the poſſeſſor, and John Howie his ſon, was by virtue of a proclamation, May 5th, 1689, declared rebels, their names inſerted in the fugitive-roll, and put up on the pariſh church-doors, whereby they were expoſed to cloſe hiding, in which they eſcaped many imminent dangers, and yet were ſo happy as to ſurvive the revolution at laſt, yet never acceded to the revolution church, &c. But the ſaid James Howie, when dying, Nov. 1691, emitted a latter-will or teſtimony, wherein he not only gave good and ſatisfying evidence of his own well-being, and ſaving intereſt in Jeſus Chriſt, but alſo gave a moſt faithful teſtimony to Scotland's covenanted work of reformation, and that in all the parts and periods thereof.

in queſt of ſome of the ſufferers, came to Meadow-head, and from thence went to another remote place in the muirs of Finwick, called Croilburn, but finding nothing there, they went next to Lochgoin, as apprehending they would not miſs their deſign there; and that they might come upon this place more ſecurely, they ſent about five men, with one ſerjeant Rae, by another way whereby the main body could not come ſo well up undiſcovered.

The ſufferers had watched all night (which was very ſtormy) by turns, and about day-break the captain, on account of his aſthmatical diſorder, went to the far end of the houſe for ſome reſt. In the mean while, one George Woodburn went out to ſee if he could obſerve any thing (but it ſeems he looked not very ſurely), and going to ſecret duty inſtead of this, from which he was but a little time returned, until on a ſudden, ere they were aware, ſerjeant Rae came to the inner door of the houſe, and cried out, Dogs, he had found them now. The four men took to the ſpence—— James and John Howie happened to be then in the byre, among the cattle. The wife of the houſe, one Iſabel Howie, ſeeing none but the ſerjeant, cried to them to take the hills, and not be killed in the houſe. She took hold of Rae, as he was coming boldly forward to the door of the place in which they were, and ran him backward out of the outer door of the houſe, giving him ſuch a haſty turn as made him ly on the ground. In the mean while, the captain, being alarmed, got up, put on his ſhoes (though not very haſtily,) and they got all out; by which time the reſt of the party was up. The ſerjeant fired his gun at them, which one John Kirkland anſwered by the like with his. The bullet paſſed ſo near the ſerjeant, that it took off the knot of hair on the ſide of his head. The whole crew being now alarmed, the captain and the reſt took the way for Egleſham muirs; and they followed Two of the men ran with the captain, and other two ſtayed by turns and fired back on the enemy, the enemy firing on them likewiſe; but by reaſon of ſome wetneſs their guns had got, in coming through the water, they were not ſo ready to fire, which helped the others to eſcape.

After they had purſued them ſome time, John Kirkland turned about, and ſtooped down on his knee, and aimed ſo well, that he ſhot a highland ſerjeant through the thigh, which made the front ſtill ſtoop as they came forward, till they were again commanded to run. By this time the ſufferers had got ſome ground, and, being come to the muirs of Egleſham, the four men went to the height in

view of the enemy, and cauſed the captain (who was old and not able to run) take another way by himſelf. At laſt he got a mare upon the field, and took the liberty to mount her a little, that he might be more ſuddenly out of their reach. But ere he was aware, a party of dragoons going for Newmills was at hand, and what was more obſerveable, he wanted his ſhoes (having caſt them off before, and was riding on the beaſts bare back), but he paſſed by them very ſlowly, and got off undiſcovered; and at length gave the mare her liberty (which returned home) and went unto another of his lurking-places. All this happened on a Monday morning, and on the morrow theſe perſecutors returned, and plundered the houſe, drove off their cattle and left almoſt nothing remaining†.

About this time the captain met with another deliverance. For, he having a child removed by death, the incumbent of the pariſh, knowing the time when the corpſe was to be interrred, gave notice to a party of ſoldiers at Kilmarnock, to come up and take him at the burial of his child. But ſome perſons preſent at the burial, perſuaded him to return back in caſe the enemy ſhould come upon them at the church-yard, which he accordingly did (when he was but a little diſtant from the church).

He was alſo a great ſuccourer of thoſe ſufferers himſelf, in ſo far as his circumſtances could admit, ſeveral of his fellow-companions in the tribulation and patience of Jeſus Chriſt, reſorting at certain times to him: Such as worthy David Hackſton of Rathillet, Balfour of Kinloch, and Mr. Donald Cargil; and it is ſaid, That Mr. Cargil diſpenſed the ſacrament of baptiſm to twenty-two children in his barn at Meadow-head, ſometime after the engagement at Bothwel-bridge‡.

But, being now near the end of his race and weary pilgrimage, about the beginning of Aug. 1684. he came to the houſe of one Robert Howie in Floack, in the pariſh of Mearns (formerly one of his hiding places) where he was, by five ſoldiers, apprehended before ever he or any in the houſe were aware. He had no arms, yet the indwellers there offered him their aſſiſtance, if he wanted it. Indeed they were in a condition to have reſcued him, yea, he himſelf, once in a day, was in caſe to have extricated himſelf from

† In the time of this, or another plunder ſhortly after this, ſome of the ſoldiers burnt the Bible in the fire in a moſt audacious manner.

‡ This ſeems to have been when he made a tour through Ayrſhire to Galloway: a little after they were ſurprized by the enemy on a faſt day, near Loudon hill, upon May 5th 1681.

from double that number. But he ſaid, It would bring them to further trouble, *&c.* and as for himſelf, he was now become weary of his life, being ſo hunted from place to place, and being now well ſtricken in years, his hidings became the more irkſome; and he was not afraid to die, for he knew well, that, whenever he fell into their hands, this would be the caſe, and he had got time to think thereon for many years; and for his intereſt in Chriſt, of that he was ſure. They took him to Kilmarnock, but knew not who he was (taking him for ſome old miniſter or other) till they came to a place on the high-way, called Moor-yeat, where the good man of that place, ſeeing him in theſe circumſtances, ſaid, Alas! captain Paton, are you there! And then to their joy, they knew who they had got into their hands. He was carried from Kilmarnock (where his eldeſt daughter, being about 14 years of age, got acceſs to ſee him) to Ayr, and then back to Glaſgow, and ſoon after to Edinburgh.

It is reported as a fact, that general Dalziel met him here, and took him in his arms, ſaying, John, I am both "glad and ſorry to ſee you. If I had met you on the way "before you came hither I ſhould have ſet you at liber-"ty: But now it is too late. But be not afraid, I will write "to his majeſty for your life." The captain replied, You "will not be heard." Dalziel ſaid, Will I not! If he does "not grant me the life of one man, I ſhall never draw a "ſword for him again." And it is ſaid, That, having ſpoken ſome time together, a man came and ſaid to the captain, You are a rebel to the king. To whom he replied, Friend, I have done more for the king than perhaps thou haſt done. Dalziel ſaid, Yes, John, that is true, (perhaps he meant at Worceſter). And ſtruck the man on the head with his cane till he ſtaggered, ſaying, He would learn him other manners than to uſe ſuch a priſoner ſo. After this and more reaſoning, the captain thanked him for his courteſy, and they parted.

His trial was not long delayed. I find (ſays a hiſtorian†) that April 16th, the council ordered a reward of 20 pounds ſterling to Cornet Lewis Lauder, for apprehending John Paton who had been a notorious rebel theſe 18 years. He was brought before the juſticiary, and indicted for being with the rebels at Glaſgow, Bothwel, *&c.* The advocate, *ex ſuperabundanti*, paſſed his being at Pentland, and inſiſted on his being at Bothwel. The lords found his libel

† M'. Wodrow's hiſtory, Vol. II.

relevant, and for probation they refer to his own confeſſion before the council: John Paton in Meadow-head in Finwick, that he was taken in the pariſh of Mearns, in the houſe of Robert Howie in Floack, and that he haunted ordinarily in the fields and muirs, confeſſes that he was moved by the country people to go out in the year 1666, commanded a party at Pentland, confeſſes that he joined with the rebels at Glaſgow, about eight days before the engagement, commanded a party at Bothwel, *&c.* The aſſize had no more to cognize upon, but his own confeſſion, yet brought him in guilty. The Lords condemned him to be hanged at the graſs-market of Edinburgh on Wedneſday the 23d of April. But, by other accounts he was charged before the council for being a rebel ſince the year 1640; his being an oppoſer of Montroſe; his being at Mauchlin muir, *&c.*

He was prevailed on to petition the council, upon which he was reſpited to the 30th, and from that to May 9th, when he ſuffered according to his ſentence. And no doubt Dalziel was as good as his word.——For it is ſaid that he obtained a reprieve for him from the king; but that coming to the hands of biſhop Paterſon, was kept up by him, till he was executed, which enraged the general not a little. It ſeems that they had a mind to ſpare him, but as he obſerved in his laſt ſpeech, the prelates put an effectual ſtop to that. In the laſt eight days that he lived, he got a room by himſelf, that he might more conveniently prepare for death, which was a favour at that time granted him above many others.

What his conduct or deportment at the place of execution was, we are now at a loſs to know, only we muſt believe it was ſuch as well became ſuch a valiant ſervant and ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt, an evidence of which we have in his laſt ſpeech and dying teſtimony wherein among other things he ſays, "You are come here to look on me a dying man, and you need not expect that I ſhall ſay much, "for I was never a great orator or eloquent of tongue, "though I may ſay as much to the commendation of God "in Chriſt Jeſus, as ever a poor ſinner had to ſay, *&c.*— "I bleſs the Lord I am not come here as a thief or murderer, and I am free of the blood of all men and hate "bloodſhed directly or indirectly, and now I am a poor "ſinner; and never could merit any thing but wrath: "and I have no righteouſneſs of my own, all is Jeſus "Chriſt's and his alone. Now as to my interrogations I "was not clear to deny Pentland or Bothwel. The coun-

"cil

"cil aſked me if I acknowledged authority; I ſaid, All "authority according to the word of God. They charg- "ed me with many things as if I had been a rebel ſince "the year 1640, at Montroſe's taking, and at Mauchlin- "muir. Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they "do." In the next place he adheres to the ſcriptures, the covenants and the whole of the work of reformation, and then ſays, "Now, I leave my teſtimony as a dying man a- "gainſt that horrid uſurpation of our Lord's prerogative "and crown-rights, I mean that ſupremacy eſtabliſhed by "law in theſe lands, which is a manifeſt uſurpation of his "crown, for he is given by the Father to be head to the "church, Col. i. 18, *&c.*" And further, he addreſſed himſelf in a few words to two or three ſorts of people, exhorting them to be diligent in the exerciſe of duty, and then in the laſt place comes to ſalute all his friends in Chriſt, whether priſoned, baniſhed, widows, the fatherleſs, wandering and caſt out for Chriſt's ſake and the goſpel's. He forgave all his enemies in theſe words, "Now as to my per- "ſecutors, I forgive all of them, inſtigators, reproachers, "ſoldiers, private council, juſticiaries, apprehenders, in "what they have done to me, but what they have done in "deſpite againſt the image of God in me, who am a poor "thing, without that, it is not mine to forgive them, but "I wiſh they may ſeek forgiveneſs of him who hath it to "give, and would do no more wickedly." Then he leaves his wife and ſix ſmall children on the Lord, takes his leave of worldly enjoyments, and concludes, ſaying, "Farewel, "ſweet ſcriptures, preaching, praying, reading, ſinging, "and all duties. Welcome Father, Son and Holy Spirit, "I deſire to commit my ſoul to thee in well-doing: Lord, "receive my ſpirit *."

Thus another gallant ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt came to his end, the actions of whoſe life and demeanour at death, do fully indicate that he was of no rugged diſpoſition (as has been by ſome aſſerted of theſe our late ſufferers) but rather of a meek, judicious and Chriſtian converſation, tempered with true zeal and faithfulneſs for the cauſe and intereſt of Zion's King and Lord. He was of a middle ſtature (as accounts bear) large and robuſt, ſomewhat fair of complexion, with large eye-brows. But what enhanced him more was courage and magnanimity of mind, which accompanied him upon every emergent occaſion; and though his extraction

* The reader may conſult his laſt ſpeech, which is at full in the cloud of witneſſes.

tion was but mean, it might be truly ſaid of him, That he lived a hero and died a martyr.

The Life of JOHN NISBET *of Hardhill.*

JOHN NISBET born about the year 1627, was ſon to James Niſbet, and lineally deſcended from one Murdoch Niſbet in Hardhill, who about 1500, joined thoſe called the Lollards of Kyle; but, a perſecution being raiſed againſt them, he fled over ſeas, and took a copy of the new Teſtament in writing. Some time after, he returned home, digged a vault in the bottom of his own houſe, unto which he retired, ſerving God, reading his new book, and inſtructing ſuch as had acceſs to him. But to return,

John Niſbet, being ſomewhat advanced in years, and one who had the advantage of a tall, ſtrong, well-built body, and of a bold, daring, public ſpirit, went abroad and joined in the military, which was of great uſe to him afterwards. Having ſpent ſome time in foreign countries, he returned to Scotland, and ſwore the covenants when king Charles at his coronation ſwore them at Scoon in 1650. Then, having left the military, he came home and married one Margaret Law, who proved an equal, true and kind yoke-fellow to him all the days of her life, and by whom he had ſeveral children, three of whom ſurvived himſelf, *viz.* Hugh, James and Alexander.

In the month of Dec. 1683, ſhe died on the 8th day of her ſickneſs, and was buried in Stone-houſe church-yard, This behoved to be done in the night, becauſe it might not be known, neither would any do it but ſuch as might not appear in the day-time. The curate having knowledge of it, threatened to take the corpſe up, burn it or caſt it to the dogs; but ſome of the perſecuted party ſent him a letter, aſſuring him, That if he touched theſe graves they would burn him and his family, and all he had;—ſo he forbare.

He early applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, which, through the grace of God, was ſo effectual, that he not only became at laſt one well acquainted with the moſt intereſting parts of practical religion, but alſo he attained no ſmall degree of knowledge in points of principle, which proved of unſpeakable advantage to him in all that occurred

curred to him in the after-part of his life, in maintaining the teſtimony of that day.

He married and took up the Hardhill in the pariſh of Loudon, in which ſtation he behaved with much diſcretion and prudence. For no ſooner did prelacy and Eraſtianiſm appear on the field, in oppoſition to our antient and laudable form of church-government, at the reſtoration of Charles II. than he took part with the preſbyterian ſide. And having *anno* 1664, got a child baptized by one of the ejected miniſters (as they were then called), the incumbent or curate of the pariſh was ſo enraged, that he declared his reſolution from the pulpit, to excommunicate him the next Lord's day. But behold the Lord's hand interpoſed here; for, before that day came, the curate was landed in eternity.

This gentleman, being always active for religion, and a great encourager of field-meetings, was, with the reſt of Chriſt's faithful witneſſes, obliged to go without the camp bearing his reproach. When that faithful remnant aſſembled together, and renewed the covenant at Lanerk 1666. his conſcience ſummoned him out to join them in that particular circumſtance, which being known, and he threatned for ſuch an action, he reſolved to follow theſe perſecuted people, and ſo kept with them in arms till their defeat upon the 28th of Nov. at Pentland hills, at which fight he behaved with great courage and reſolution. He fought till he was ſo wounded, that he was ſtripped for dead among the ſlain, and yet ſuch was the providence of God, that (having more work for him to accompliſh) he was preſerved.

He had eſpouſed Chriſt's cauſe by deliberate choice, and was indeed of an excellent ſpirit; and, as Solomon ſays, *more excellent than his neighbour.* His natural temper was likewiſe noble and generous: As he was travelling through a muir on a ſnowy day, one of his old neighbours (who was ſeeking ſheep) met him, and cried out, "O Hardhill, "are you yet alive! I was told, you was going in a pil"grim's habit, and that your bairns were begging, and yet "I ſee you look as well as ever." Then taking out a rix-dollar, he offered it to him. John, ſeeing this, took out a ducat, and offered it to him, ſaying, "I will have none of "yours, but will give you if you pleaſe; for you may ſee "that nothing is wanting to him that fears the Lord, and "I would never have thought that you (calling him by his "name) would have gone ſo far with the enemies of God, "as to ſell your conſcience to ſave your gear, *&c.* Take

"warning

"warning, H. go home and mourn for that, and all your "other ſins, before God; for, if mercy do not prevent, "you will certainly periſh." The poor man thanked him, put up his money, and went home.

After this remarkable eſcape he returned home, where probably he continued (not without enduring many hardſhips) till the year 1679, that by his fame for courage, wiſdom and reſolution among the ſufferers, when that party who were aſſembled near Loudon-hill to hear the goſpel, June 1ſt, came in view of an engagement with Claverhouſe (who attacked them that day at Drumclog), Hardhill, not being preſent, was ſent for by one Woodborn in the mains of Loudon, to come in all haſte to their aſſiſtance. But before they got half-way they heard the platoons of the engagement, and yet they rode with ſuch alacrity, that they juſt came up as the firing was over. Upon their approach, Hardhill (for ſo he was commonly called) cried to them to jump the ditch, and get over upon the enemy ſword in hand. Which they did with ſo great reſolution and ſucceſs, that in a little they obtained a complete victory over the enemy, wherein Hardhill had a ſhare, by his vigorous activity in the latter end of that ſkirmiſh.

The ſuffering party, knowing now that they were fully expoſed to the rage and reſentment of their bloody perſecuting foes, reſolved to abide together. And for that purpoſe ſent a party to Glaſgow in purſuit of the enemy, among whom Hardhill was one. After which he continued with them and was of no ſmall advantage to the honeſt party, till that fatal day June 22d, that they fled and fell before the enemy at Bothwel-bridge. Here, ſays Wodrow, he was a captain, if I miſtake not. And being ſent with his party along with thoſe who defended the bridge, he fought with great gallantry, and ſtood as long as any man would ſtand by him, and then made his retreat juſt in time, and through the goodneſs of God, he eſcaped from their hands at this time alſo.

After Bothwel, he was denounced a rebel, and a large reward offered to ſuch as could apprehend him. At which time the enemy ſeized all that he had, ſtripped his wife and four children of all, turning them out of doors, whereby he was reduced as one of thoſe mentioned Hebrews xi. 38. *They wandered about in deſarts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth*, &c. Thus he lived for near the ſpace of five years, ſuffering all manner of hardſhips, not accepting deliverance, that he might preſerve to himſelf the free enjoyment of the goſpel, faithfully preached in the

the fields. And being a man of a public ſpirit, a great obſerver of fellowſhip meetings (alas, a duty now too much neglected !) and very ſtaunch upon points of teſtimony, and become very popular among the more faithful part of our ſufferers, and was by them often employed as one of their commiſſioners to their general meetings, which they had erected ſome years before this, that they might the better underſtand the mind of one another in carrying on a teſtimony in that broken ſtate.

One thing very remarkable was—The Sabbath night (being that day eight days before he was taken) as he and four more were travelling, it being very dark, no wind, but a thick ſmall rain : no moon, for that was not her ſeaſon ; behold, ſuddenly the clouds clave aſunder, toward eaſt and weſt, over their heads, and a light ſprang out beyond that of the ſun, which laſted above the ſpace of two minutes. They heard a noiſe, and were much amazed, ſaying one to another, What may that mean ? but he ſpoke none, only uttering three deep groans, one of them aſked him, What it might mean ? He ſaid, " We know not well at preſent, " but within a little we ſhall know better : yet we have a " *more ſure word of prophecy*, unto which we would do well " to take heed :" And then he groaned again, ſaying, " As " for me, I am ready to live or to die for him, as he in his " providence ſhall call me to it, and bear me through in " it ; and although I have ſuffered much from prelates and " falſe friends theſe 21 years, yet now I would not for a " thouſand worlds I had done otherwiſe ; and if the Lord " ſpare me, I will be more zealous for his precious truths, " and if not, I am ready to ſeal his cauſe with my blood ; " for I have longed for it theſe 16 years, and it may be I " will ere long get it to do. Welcome be his will, and if " he will help me through with it, I ſhall praiſe him to all " eternity." Which made them all wonder, he being a very reſerved man ; for although he was a ſtrict obſerver of the Sabbath, a great examiner of the ſcripture, and a great wreſtler in prayer, yet he was ſo reſerved as to his own caſe and ſoul's concernment, that few knew how it was with him as to that, until he came to priſon.

All this and more could not eſcape the knowledge of the managers, as is evident from Earlſton's anſwers before the council 1683, and we find that one of the articles that John Richmond ſuffered for, at the croſs of Glaſgow, March 19th 1684, was his being in company with John Niſbet. This made the ſearch after him and other ſufferers more deſperate. Whereupon in the month of Novem-

ber 1683, having retired amongſt other of his lurking places, unto a certain houſe called Midland, in the pariſh of Fenwick, where were aſſembled for prayer and other religious exerciſes (on a Saturday's night) other three of his faithful brethren, *viz.* Peter Gemmel, a younger brother of the houſe of Horſe-hill in the ſame pariſh, George Woodburn, a brother of the Woodburns in the Muirs of Loudon, and one John Ferguſhill from Tarbolton. Upon notice that lieutenant Niſbet, and a party of col. Buchan's dragoons were out in queſt of the wanderers (as they were ſometimes called) they reſolved on the Sabbath morning to depart. But old John Ferguſhill, not being able to go by reaſon of ſome infirmities, they were obliged to return back with him, after they had gone a little way from the houſe; and were, the ſame day, apprehended. The way and manner of which, with his anſwers both at Ayr, and before the council at Edinburgh, as they ſtand in an old manuſcript given under his own hand, while he was their priſoner, is as follows:

"Firſt when the enemy came within ſight of the houſe, we ſeeing no way of eſcape, John Ferguſhill went to the far end of the houſe, and the other two and I followed. And ere we were well at the far end of the houſe, ſome of the enemy were in the houſe. And then in a little after they came and put in their horſes, and went to and fro in the houſe for more than an hour, and we four ſtill at the far end of the houſe: And we reſolved with one another to keep cloſe till they ſhould come juſt on us; and if it ſhould have pleaſed the Lord to have hid us there, we reſolved not to have owned them; but if they found us out, we thought to fight, ſaying one to another, It was death at length. They got all out of the houſe, and had their horſes drawn forth. But in a little time came back *, tittling one to another, and at laſt cried for a candle to ſearch the houſe with; and came within a yard of us with a light burning in their hand. According to our former reſolution

* Here it was commonly ſaid, that after the enemy went off at the firſt, they met with two perſons one of whom told them, They were good ſeekers but ill finders; or ſomewhat to that purpoſe, which made them return. It has alſo been ſaid, that one of theſe men confeſſed this at his death. However this be, people could not help obſerving that not many years ago three of the offspring of the other perſon blamed loſt their their lives by fire near the ſame place where theſe three gallant martyrs were killed. Whether it had any reference to that, God knoweth, I ſhall not, can not determine. Only we may ſay, *The Lord is known by the judgment he executeth*, Pſal. ix. 16.

reſolution, we did reſiſt them, having only three ſhot, and one of them miſgiving, and they fired above twenty-four ſhot at us, and when we had nothing elſe, we clubbed our guns, till two of them were quite broke, and then went in grips with ſome of them; and when they ſaw they could not prevail, they cried, All to go out and fire the houſe. Upon which we went out after them, and I received ſix wounds in the going out. After which, they getting notice what I was, ſome of themſelves cried out to ſpare my life, for the council had offered 3000 merks for me. So they brought me towards the end of the yard, and tied my hands behind my back, (having ſhot the other three to death). He that commanded them, ſcoffingly aſked me, What I thought of myſelf now? I ſmiled and ſaid, I had full contentment with my lot, but thought that I was at a loſs that I was yet in time and my brethren in eternity. At which he ſwore he had reſerved my life for a farther judgment to me. When we were going towards Kilmarnock, he (the lieutenant, who was a couſin of his own) called for me, and he and I went before the reſt, and diſcourſed ſoberly about ſeveral things. I was free in telling him what I held to be ſin, and what I held to be duty; and when we came to Kilmarnock tolbooth, he cauſed ſlack my arms a little, and inquired if I deſired my wounds dreſſed: and at the deſire of ſome friends in the town, he cauſed bring in ſtraw and ſome cloaths for my brother John Gemmel * and me to lie upon, but would not ſuffer us to caſt off our

* This John Gemmel was brother to the martyr, and being lying of a fever in a houſe in the ſame pariſh, called Derwholling, he was that day apprehended by ſome of the ſame party, together with the goodman of the houſe Thomas Wylie, and his ſon William Wylie for reſet. They were all taken to Ayr, where the ſaid Thomas Wylie died. While in Ayr, it is ſaid, this John Gemmel dreamed one night that he ſhould be baniſhed, and his fellow-ſufferer Hardhill ſhould be hanged: which accordingly came to paſs.—They were taken to Edinburgh and examined, and the foreſaid William Wylie was required to take the oath of allegiance, but refuſed. They ordered him to take the teſt. This he refuſed alſo. They aſked his reaſons. He ſaid, He had taken more oaths already than he had well kept, and if there ſhould come a change of government, where ſhould he then? Biſhop Paterſon's brother came, and clapping his hands on his ſhoulder ſaid, Thomas, as ſure as God is in the heavens, you'll never ſee a change of government. But in this he proved a falſe prophet. However, he and John Gemmel were, with eleven more baniſhed to Barbadoes, and ſold for ſlaves there, where they continued for about three years, and at laſt purchaſed their liberty and returned home at the Revolution. The firſt known perſon they ſaw, after their landing at Irvine, was lieutenant Niſbet, by whom they had been apprehended; and of whom ſee more in the appendix.

cloaths. On Monday, on the way to Ayr, he raged againſt me, and ſaid that I had the blood of the three men on my head that were killed yeſterday; and that I was guilty of all, and the cauſe of all the troubles that were come on the poor barony of Cunningham firſt and laſt. But when we came near the town, he called me out from the reſt, and ſoberly aſked me, What he ſhould ſay to the ſuperior officers in my behalf? I told him, That if the Lord would keep me from wronging truth, I was at a point already in what he put me to, as to ſuffering. When we firſt entered the tolbooth of Ayr, there came two and aſked ſome things at me, but they were to little purpoſe. Then I was taken out with a guard and brought before Buchan. He aſked me, 1*ſt*, If I was at that conventicle? I told him, I looked upon it as my duty. 2*dly*, How many armed were there? I told him, I went to hear the goſpel preached, and not to take up the account of what men were there. 3*dly*, Where away went they, *&c.*? I told him it was more than I could tell. 4*thly*, Do you own the king? I told him, while he owned the way and work of God, I thought myſelf bound both to own and fight for him, but when he quitted the way of God, I thought I was obliged to quit him. 5*thly*, Will ye own the duke of York as king? I told him, I would not; for it was both againſt my principles and the laws of the nation. 6*thly*, Was you clear to join with Argyle? I ſaid, No. He held me long, and ſpake of many things. We had the muſters through hands, popery, prelacy, preſbyterianiſm, malignants, defenſive and offenſive arms, there being none in the room but him and I. I thought it remarkable, that all the time from ſabbath and to this preſent, I had and have as much peace and quietneſs of my mind, as ever in my life. O help me to praiſe him! for he alone did it. Now, my dear friends and acquaintance, ceaſe not to pray for me while I am in the body, for I may ſay I fear nothing, but that, thro' weakneſs, I wrong truth. And my laſt advice is, that ye be more diligent in following Chriſtian duties. Alas! that I was not more ſincere, zealous and forward for his work and cauſe in my day.—Ceaſe to be jealous one of another, and only let ſelf-examination be more ſtudied, and this, through his bleſſing, ſhall open a door to more of a Chriſtian ſoul-exerciſe; and more of a ſoul-exerciſe, through his bleſſing, would keep away vain jangling, that does no way profit, but gives way to Satan and his temptations, *&c.*

"When I came to Edinburgh, I was the firſt night kept in the guard. The next night I was brought into their

council

council-houſe, where were preſent Drummond (*viz.* Perth) Linlithgow and one Paterſon, together with ſome others. They firſt ſaid to me, that they looked upon me as one acquainted with all that was done amongſt theſe rebellious perſons, therefore the lords of his majeſty's privy council would take it as a great favour that I would be free in telling them what I knew, that might moſt conduce to the peace and ſecurity of the nation. I told them, That when I came to particulars, I ſhould ſpeak nothing but truth, for I was more afraid to lie than to die, but I hoped they would be ſo much chriſtians as not to bid me tell any thing that would burden my conſcience. Then they began thus; (1.) What did ye in your meetings? I told them, We only ſung a part of a pſalm, read a part of the ſcripture, and prayed time about. (2.) Why call ye them fellowſhip and ſociety-meetings? *A.* I wonder why you aſk ſuch queſtions, for theſe meetings were called ſo when our church was in her power. (3.) Were there any ſuch meetings at that time? *A.* There were in ſome places of the land. (4.) Did the miniſters of the place meet with them in theſe? *A.* Sometimes they did, and ſometimes they did not. (5.) What mean you by your general meeting, and what do you do at them? While I was thinking what to anſwer, one of themſelves told them more diſtinctly than I could have done, and jeeringly ſaid, looking to me, When they have done, then they deſtribute their collections. I held my peace all the time. (6.) Where keep ye theſe meetings? *A.* In the wildeſt muirs we can think off. (7.) Will ye own the king's authority? *A.* No. (8.) What is your reaſon? you own the ſcriptures and your own confeſſion of faith? *A.* That I do with all my heart. (6.) Why do ye not own the king's authority (naming ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture, and that in the 23d chapter of the confeſſion)? *A.* There is a vaſt difference, for he being a Roman catholic, and I being not only brought up in the preſbyterian principles from my youth, but alſo ſworn againſt popery. (10.) What is that to you though he be popiſh, he is not bidding you be a papiſt, nor hindring you to live in your own religion? *A.* The contrary does appear, for we have not liberty to hear a goſpel-preaching, but we are taken, killed and put to the hardeſt of ſufferings. They ſaid, It was not ſo, for we might have the goſpel, if our wild principles would ſuffer us to hear it. I ſaid, They might ſay ſo, but the contrary was well known through the land, for ye baniſhed away our faithful miniſters, and thruſt in ſuch as live rather like profligates than like miniſters; ſo that

poor

poor things neither can nor dare join with them. (11.) Are ye clear to join with Argyle? *A.* No. Then one of them ſaid, Ye will have no king but Mr. James Renwick; and aſked, If I converſed with any other miniſter upon the field than Mr. Renwick? I told them, I converſed with no other:——And a number of other things that were to little purpoſe.

"Sirs, this is a true hint of any material thing that paſſed betwixt them and me. As for their drinking of healths, never one of them ſpoke of it to me, neither did ever any of them bid me pray for their king; but they ſaid, That they knew I was that much of a chriſtian, that I would pray for all men. I told them, I was bound to pray for all; but prayer being inſtituted by a holy God, who was the hearer of prayer, no chriſtian could pray when every profligate did bid them, and it was no advantage to their cauſe to ſuffer ſuch a thing.

"How it may be afterwards with me, I cannot poſitively ſay, for he is a free Sovereign, and may come and go as he pleaſeth. But this I ſay and can affirm, that he has not quarreled with me ſince I was priſoner, but has always waited on to ſupply me with all conſolation and ſtrength, as my neceſſity required; and now when I cannot lay down my own head nor lift it without help, yet of all the caſes that ever I was, I had never more contentment. I can now give the croſs of Chriſt a noble commendation. It was always ſweet and pleaſant, but never ſo ſweet and pleaſant as now. Under all my wanderings, and all my toilings, a priſon was ſtill ſo terrifying to me, that I could never have been ſo ſure as I would have been. But immediately at my taking, he ſo ſhined on me, and ever ſince that, he and his croſs are to me far beyond whatever he was before. Therefore let none ſcare or ſtand at a diſtance from their duty for fear of the croſs, for now I can ſay from experience, that it is as eaſy, yea, and more ſweet, to ly in priſon in irons, than it is to be at liberty. But I muſt forbear at preſent."

Upon the 26th, he was ordered by the council to be proſecuted before the juſticiary. Accordingly on the 30th he was before the juſticiary, and arraigned, his own confeſſion being the only proof againſt him, which runs thus, "John Niſbet of Hardhill, priſoner, confeſſes, when examined before the council, That he was at Drumclog, had arms, and made uſe of them againſt the king's forces; and that he was at Glaſgow; and that he was at a field meeting within theſe two months, betwixt Egleſham and Kilbride;

&c.

&c." The which being read, he adhered to, but refuſed to ſubſcribe it. The aſſize brought him in guilty, and the lords ſentenced him to be hanged at the graſs-market, Dec. 4th, betwixt two and four in the afternoon, and his lands, goods and gear to be forfeited to the king's uſe.

It was inſerted by the council in his confeſſion, That the reaſon why he could not join with Argyle was, that one Cleland told him, that Argyle and his party were againſt all kingly government. Mr. Wodrow thinks this falſe, and that it was only foiſted in by the clerk of the council, it not being the firſt time that things of this nature had been done by them. But he behoves to have been in a miſtake here, for in one of Hardhill's papers, in manuſcript, left behind him in way of teſtimony, he gives this as the firſt reaſon for his not joining with Argyle, and the ſecond was to the ſame purpoſe with what Mr. Wodrow has obſerved, *viz.* becauſe the ſocieties could not eſpouſe his declaration, as the ſtate of the quarrel was not concerted according to the ancient plea of the Scottiſh covenanters, and becauſe it opened a door to a ſinful confederacy.

His ſentence was accordingly executed, and he appeared upon the ſcaffold with a great deal of courage and chriſtian compoſure, and died in much aſſurance, and with a joy which none of his perſecutors could intermeddle with. It was affirmed by ſome, who were preſent at his execution, that the ſcaffold or gibbet gave way and came down, which made ſome preſent flatter themſelves, that by ſome laws in being, he had won his life (as they uſed to ſay in ſuch caſes). But behold a diſappointment here, for he behoved not to eſcape ſo (for to this end he was born). Immediately all was reared up, and the martyr executed.

In his laſt teſtimony, which is inſerted in the cloud of witneſſes, after a recital of many choice ſcripture texts, which had been comforting and ſtrengthening to him in the houſe of his pilgrimage, he comes among other things in point of teſtimony, to ſay, "Now, my dear friends in "Chriſt, I have alway ſince the public reſolutioners were "for bringing in the malignants and their intereſt, thought "it my duty to join with the Lord's people, in witneſſing "againſt theſe ſinful courſes, and now ſee clearly that it "has ended in nothing leſs than the making us captains, "that we may return to Egypt by the open doors, that are "made wide to bring in popery, and ſet up idolatry in the "Lord's covenanted land, to defile it. Wherefore it is "the unqueſtionable and indiſpenſible duty of all who have "any love to God and to his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to witneſs

faith-

" faithfully, conſtantly and conſcientiouſly againſt all that " the enemies have done or are doing to the overthrow of " the glorious work of reformation, and baniſhing Chriſt " out of theſe lands, by robbing him of his crown rights. " ——And however it be, that many, both miniſters and " profeſſors, are turning their back upon Chriſt and his " cauſe, reproaching and caſting dirt upon you and the " teſtimony of the day. Yet let not this weaken your " hands, for I aſſure you it will not be long to the fourth " watch, and then he will come in garments dyed in blood, " to raiſe up ſaviours in mount Zion, and to judge the " mount of Eſau; and then the cauſe of Jacob and Joſeph " ſhall be for fire, and the malignants, prelates and pa- " piſts, ſhall be for ſtubble; the flame thereof ſhall be " great: But my generation work being done with my time, " I go to him who loved me, and waſhed me from all my " ſins."

Then he goes on declaring, that he adhered to the ſcripture, confeſſion of faith, catechiſms larger and ſhorter, and all the pieces of reformation attained to in Scotland from 1638, to 1649, with all the proteſtations, declarations, *&c.* given by the faithful ſince that time; owns all their appearances in arms, at Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwel, Airſmoſs, *&c.* againſt God's ſtated enemies, and the enemies of the goſpel, and kingly government, as appointed and emitted in the word of God, they entering covenant ways and with covenant qualifications. And withal adds, " But I " am perſuaded, Scotland's covenanted God will cut off " the name of Stuart, becauſe they have ſtated themſelves " againſt religion, reformation, and the thriving of Chriſt's " kingdom and kingly government in theſe lands; and al- " though men idolize them ſo much now, yet ere long " there ſhall none of them be to tyrannize in covenanted " Britain any more."

Then he proceeds in proteſting againſt popery, prelacy, the granters and accepters of the indulgence, and exhorting the people of God to forbear contention and cenſuring one another; to keep up their ſweet fellowſhip and ſociety-meetings, with which he had been much comforted:—— And concludes, bidding farewel to all his dear fellow-ſufferers, to his children, chriſtian friends, ſweet Bible, and to his wanderings, and contendings for truth. Welcomes death, the city of his God, the bleſſed company of angels, and the ſpirits of juſt men; but above all, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt:——Into whoſe hands he commits his ſpirit. Amen.

After

After he wrote his laſt ſpeech, he was taken out immediately to the council, and from that to the place of execution. All the way thither he had his eyes lifted up to heaven. He ſeemed to rejoice, and his face ſhined viſibly. He ſpoke but little till he came to the ſcaffold. When he came there, he jumped upon it and cried out, My ſoul doth "magnify the Lord, my ſoul doth magnify the Lord. I "have longed theſe 16 years to ſeal the precious cauſe and "intereſt of precious Chriſt with my blood, who hath an"ſwered and granted my requeſt, and has left me no more "to do but to come here and pour out my laſt prayer, — "ſing forth my laſt praiſes of him in time on this ſweet "and deſirable ſcaffold, mount that ladder, and then I "ſhall get home to my father's houſe, ſee, enjoy, ſerve and "ſing forth the praiſes of my glorious Redeemer for ever, "world without end." Then he reſumed the heads of his laſt teſtimony to the truth, and enlarged on what he owned and diſowned, but the drums being beat, little could be heard. Only with difficulty he was heard to ſay, "The co"venanted God of Scotland hath a dreadful ſtorm of wrath "provided, which he will ſurely pour out ſuddenly and "unexpectedly, like a thunderbolt, upon theſe covenan"ted lands, for their perfidy, treachery, and apoſtacy, and "then men ſhall ſay, they have got well away that got a "ſcaffold for Chriſt." He exhorted all to make uſe of "Chriſt for a hiding place; for blood, blood, ſhall be the "judgment of theſe lands." He ſang the firſt ſix verſes of the 34th pſalm, and read the 8th of the Romans, and prayed divinely with great preſence of mind and very loud. Then went up the ladder rejoicing and praiſing the Lord, which all evidently ſaw: And ſo ended the race which he had run with faith and patience upon the 4th of Dec. 1685. in the 58th year of his age.

He was a man of ſtrong memory, good judgment, and much given to ſelf-denial. It is ſaid of him, that, under his hidings in a cave, near or about his own houſe, he wrote out all the new teſtament; which probably (according to ſome accounts) might be a tranſcription of an old copy, which one of his anceſtors is ſaid to have copied out in the time of popery, when the ſcriptures were not permitted to be read in the vulgar language.

Hardhill was always a man very particular upon the teſtimony of the day, which made ſome compliers cenſure him as one too harſh and rugged in point of principle; but this muſt be altogether groundleſs: For in one of the forementioned manuſcripts, he lets fall theſe words, "Now as

" for misreports, that were so much spread of me, I de-
" clare, as a dying person going out of time to eternity,
" that the Lord never suffered me in the least to incline to
" follow any of those persons who were drawn away to
" follow erroneous principles. Only I thought it still my
" duty, to be tender of them, as they had souls, wondring
" always wherefore I was right in any measure, and they
" got leave to fall in such a manner. I could never endure
" to hear one creature rail and cry out against another,
" knowing we are all alike by nature." And afterwards when speaking of Argyle's declaration, he farther says, " Let all beware of refusing to join with ministers or pro-
" fessors, upon account of personal infirmities, which is
" ready to raise prejudice among persons. But it shall
" be found a walking contrary to the word of God, and
" so contrary to God himself, to join either with ministers
" or professors, that hold it lawful to meddle with sinful
" things; for the holy scriptures allow of no such thing.
" He is a holy God, and all that name the name of God
" must depart from evil."

There were also twenty-six steps of defection drawn up by him (yet in manuscript) wherein he is most explicit in proving from clear scripture proofs the sinfulness of the land's apostacy from God, both nationally and personally, from the public resolutions to the time of his death in the year 1685. He was by some thought too severe in his design of killing the prisoners at Drumclog. But in this he was not altogether to blame, for the enemies word was No quarters, and the sufferers were the same; and we find it grieved Mr. Hamilton very much, when he beheld some of them spared, after the Lord had delivered them into their hand. *Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us*, &c. Psalm cxxxvii. 8. Yea Hardhill himself seems to have had clear grounds and motives for this, in one of the above mentioned steps of defection, with which we shall conclude this narrative.

" *Fifteenthly*, As there has been rash, envious and car-
" nal executing of justice on his and the church's enemies,
" so he has also been provoked to reject, cast off, and take
" the power out of his people's hand, for being so sparing
" of them, when he brought forth and gave a commission
" to execute on them that vengeance due unto them, as it
" is Psalm cxlix. 9. For as justice ought to be executed in
" such and such a way and manner as aforesaid; so it
" ought to be fully executed without sparing, as is clear
" from Joshua vii. 24. &c. For sparing the life of the e-
" nemy,

" nemy, and fleeing upon the ſpoil, 1 Sam. xv. 18. Saul " is ſharply rebuked, and though he excuſed himſelf, yet " for that very thing he is rejected from being king. Let " the practice of Drumclog be remembered and mourned " for. If there was not a deep ignorance, reaſon might " teach this; for what maſter, having ſervants and putting " them to do his work, would take ſuch a ſlight at his ſer- " vants hands, as to do a part of his work, and come and " ſay to the maſter, That it is not needful to do the reſt; " when the not doing of it would be diſhonourable to the " maſter, and hurtful to the whole family. Therefore was " the wrath of the Lord againſt his people, inſomuch that " he abhorred his inheritance, and hiding his face from " his people, making them afraid at the ſhaking of a leaf, " and to flee when none purſueth, being a ſcorn and a hiſ- " ſing to enemies and fear to ſome who deſire to befriend " his cauſe. And, O lay to heart and mourn for what has " been done to provoke him to anger, in not ſeeking the " truth to execute judgment, and therefore he has not par- " doned. *Behold! for your iniquities have you ſold yourſelves,* " *and for your tranſgreſſions is your mother put away,* Iſa. " l. 1.; *&c*"

The Life of Mr. ALEXANDER PEDEN.

MR. ALEXANDER PEDEN was born in the pa- riſh of Sorn in the ſhire of Air. After he had paſt his courſes of learning at the univerſity, he was, for ſome time, employed to be ſchool-maſter, precentor and ſeſſion clerk to Mr. John Guthrie, miniſter of the goſpel then at Tarbolton*. When he was about to enter into the miniſtry, he was accuſed by a young woman, as being the father of a child, which ſhe was with. But of this aſper- ſion he was fully cleared, by the confeſſion of the real fa- ther. The woman, after ſuffering many calamities, put an end to her own life, in the very ſame place where Mr. Peden had ſpent 24 hours ſeeking the divine direction, while he was embarraſſed with that affair.

A little before the reſtoration, he was ſettled miniſter at New Glenluce in Galloway, where he continued for about

* According to Mr. Wodrow he was ſometime alſo precentor at Finwick. See the Hiſtory, Vol. I. page 443.

the ſpace of three years, until he was among others thruſt out by the violence and tyranny of theſe times. When he was about to depart from that pariſh, he lectured upon Acts xx. from the ſeventh verſe to the end, and preached in the forenoon from theſe words in the 31ſt verſe, *Therefore watch, and remember, that for the ſpace of three years I ceaſed not to warn every man*, &c. aſſerting that he had declared unto them the whole counſel of God, and had kept back nothing, profeſſing he was free from the blood of all ſouls. In the afternoon, he preached from the 32d verſe, *And now, brethren, I commend you to the word of his grace*, &c. which occaſioned a weeping day in that church. He many times requeſted them to be ſilent, but they ſorrowed moſt of all when he told them, they ſhould never ſee his face in that pulpit again. He continued till night, and when he cloſed the pulpit door, he knocked three times very hard on it, with his Bible, ſaying three times over, I arreſt thee, in my Maſter's name, that none ever enter thee, but ſuch as come in by the door, as I have done. Accordingly never did curate or indulged enter that pulpit, until the revolution, that one of the preſbyterian perſuaſion opened it.

About the beginning of the year 1666, a proclamation was emitted by the council againſt him (and ſeveral of the ejected miniſters); wherein he was charged with holding conventicles, preaching and baptizing children at the Ralſtoun in Kilmarnock pariſh in October laſt, and another in Caſtlehill in Craigy pariſh, where he baptized 25 children. But upon his non-appearance at this citation, he was next year declared a rebel, and forfeited in both life and fortune*.

After this, he joined with that faithful party, which, in the ſame year, was broke at Pentland hills; and with them he came the length of Clyde, where he had a melancholy view of their end, and parted with them there. Afterward, when one of his friends ſaid to him, Sir, You did well that left them, ſeeing you was perſuaded that they would fall and flee before the enemy, he was offended, and ſaid, Glory, glory to God, that he ſent me not to hell immediately, For I ſhould have ſtayed with them, though I ſhould have been all cut in pieces.

In the ſame year he met with a very remarkable deliverance. For he, Mr. Welch and the laird of Gler-over, riding together, they met a party of the enemy's horſe, whom there was no eviting. The laird fainted, fearing they

* Wodrow's Hiſtory, Vol. I. page 235.

they ſhould be taken. Mr. Peden, ſeeing this, ſaid, Keep up your courage and confidence, for God hath laid an arreſt on theſe men, that they ſhall do us no harm. When they met, they were courteous, and aſked the way. Mr. Peden went off the way, and ſhewed them the ford of the water of Titt. When he returned, the laird ſaid, Why did you go? you might have let the lad go with them. No, ſaid he, they might have aſked queſtions of the lad, which might have diſcovered us; but as for me, I knew they would be like Egyptian dogs; they could not move a tongue againſt me, my time not being yet come, *&c.*

He paſſed his time ſometimes in Scotland and ſometimes in Ireland †, until June 1673. that he was by Major Cockburn taken in the houſe of Hugh Ferguſon of Knockdew in Carrick, who conſtrained him to ſtay all night. Mr. Peden told them it would be a dear night's quarters to them both, accordingly they were both carried priſoners to Edinburgh. There the ſaid Hugh was fined in 1000 merks for reſet, harbour and converſe with him. Some time after his examination he was ſent priſoner to the baſs one ſabbath morning. Being about the public worſhip of God, a young girl, about the age of fourteen years, came to the chamber door mocking with loud laughter. He ſaid, Poor thing, thou laugheſt and mockeſt at the worſhip of God, but ere long God ſhall write ſuch a ſudden and ſurpriſing judgment on thee, that ſhall ſtay thy laughing, *&c.* Very ſhortly after that, as ſhe was walking on the rock, a blaſt of wind ſwept her off to the ſea, where ſhe was loſt.

Another day as he was walking on the rock, ſome ſoldiars were paſſing by, and one of them cried, the devil take him. He ſaid, Fy, fy! poor man, thou knoweſt not what thou art ſaying; but thou ſhalt repent that. At which he ſtood aſtoniſhed, and went to the guard diſtracted, crying out for Mr. Peden, ſaying, The devil would immediately come and take him away. Mr. Peden came, and ſpoke to and prayed for him, and next morning came to him again and found him in his right mind, under deep convictions of great guilt. The guard being to change, they commanded him to his arms, but he refuſed; and ſaid, He would lift no arms againſt Jeſus Chriſt, his cauſe and people; I have done that too long. The governor threatened him with death to-morrow by ten o-clock. He confidently ſaid,

† Walker, in his eighth additional paſſage, *&c.* ſays, That he was in Ireland in the year 1670.; but of this we have no farther ac-

ſaid, three times over, That though he ſhould tear him in pieces, he ſhould never lift arms that way. About three days after, the governor put him forth of the garriſon, ſetting him aſhore. And he, having a wife and children, took a houſe in Eaſt Lothian, where he became a ſingular chriſtian.

He was brought from the Baſs to Edinburgh, and ſentence of baniſhment paſſed upon him in Dec. 1678. with other 60 priſoners for the ſame cauſe, to go to America, never to be ſeen again in Scotland, under pain of death. After this ſentence was paſt, he often ſaid, That that ſhip was not yet built that ſhould take him or theſe priſoners to Virginia, or any other of the Engliſh plantations in America. When they were on ſhipboard in the road of Leith, there was a report that the enemies were to ſend down thumbkins to keep them in order; on which they were much diſcouraged. He went above deck and ſaid, Why are ye ſo diſcouraged; you need not fear, there will neither thumbkins nor bootkins come here; lift up your hearts, for the day of your redemption draweth near: If we were once at London, we will all be ſet at liberty, *&c.* In their voyage thither, they had the opportunity of commanding the ſhip and eſcaping, but would not adventure upon it without his advice. He ſaid, Let all alone, for the Lord will ſet all at liberty in a way more conducive to his own glory and our own ſafety. Accordingly when they arrived, the ſkipper who received them at Leith, being to carry them no farther, delivered them to another to carry them to Virginia, to whom they were repreſented as thieves and robbers. But when he came to ſee them, and found they were all grave ſober Chriſtians, baniſhed for preſbyterian principles, he ſaid, He would ſail the ſeas with none ſuch. In this confuſion, that the one ſkipper would not receive them, and the other would keep them no longer for being expenſive to him, they were ſet at liberty. Some, ſays the ſkipper, got compliments from friends in London. Others aſſure us, That they got off through means of the Lord Shafteſbury, who was always friendly to the preſbyterians. However it is certain that they were all liberated at Graveſend, without any bond or impoſition whatever. And in their way homeward the Engliſh ſhewed them no ſmall degrees of kindneſs.

After they were ſet at liberty, Mr. Peden ſtayed in London and other places of England until June 1679, that he came to Scotland; and that diſmal day, the 22d of that month, when the Lord's people fell and fled before their enemies

enemies at Bothwel-bridge, he was 40 miles diſtant (being near the border), where he kept himſelf retired until the middle of the day, that ſome friends ſaid to him, Sir, the people are waiting for ſermon, (it being the Lord's day). To whom he ſaid, Let the people go to their prayers; for me, I neither can nor will preach any this day; for our friends are fallen and fled before the enemy at Hamilton, and they are haſhing and hagging them down, and their blood is running down like water.

Shortly after this ſtroke at Bothwel-bridge, he went to Ireland, but did not ſtay long at that time. For in the year 1680, being near Mauchlin in the ſhire of Ayr, one Robert Brown, in Corſehouſe in Loudon pariſh, and one Hugh Pinaneve, factor to the earl of Loudon, ſtabling their horſes in that houſe where he was, went to a fair in Mauchlin, and in the afternoon, when they came to take their horſes, they got ſome drink; in the taking of which the ſaid Hugh broke out into railing againſt our ſufferers, particularly againſt Mr. Cameron, who was lately, before that, ſlain at Air's-moſs. Mr. Peden, being in another room overhearing all, was ſo grieved that he came to the chamber-door and ſaid to him, Sir, hold your peace; ere twelve o'clock you ſhall know what for a man Mr. Cameron was: God ſhall puniſh that blaſphemous mouth of yours in ſuch a manner, that you ſhall be ſet up for a beacon to all ſuch railing Rabſhakehs. Robert Brown, knowing Mr. Peden, haſtened to his horſe, being perſuaded that his word would not fall to the ground; and fearing alſo that ſome miſchief might befal him in the ſaid Hugh's company, he haſtened home to his own houſe, and the ſaid Hugh to the earl's; and caſting off his boots, he was ſtruck with a ſudden ſickneſs and pain through his body, with his mouth wide open, and his tongue hanging out in a fearful manner. They ſent for the ſaid Robert to take ſome blood from him, but all in vain; for he died before midnight.

After this, in the year 1682, he married that ſingular chriſtian John Brown, at his own houſe in Prieſthall (in the pariſh of Moorkirk in Kyle) upon one Iſabel Weir. After marriage, he ſaid to the bride Iſabel, You have got a good man to be your huſband, but you will not enjoy him long; prize his company, and keep linen by you to be his winding-ſheet, for ye will need it when ye are not looking for it, and it will be a bloody one. Which ſadly came to paſs in the beginning of May 1685.

In

In the ſame year 1682, he went to Ireland again, and coming to the houſe of William Steel in Glenwhary in the county of Antrim, he enquired at Mrs. Steel, if ſhe wanted a ſervant for threſhing of victuals. She ſaid, They did, and aſked what his wages were a-day and a-week. He ſaid, The common rate was a common rule. To which ſhe aſſented. At night he was put to bed in the barn with the ſervant lad, and that night he ſpent in prayer and groaning. To-morrow he threſhed with the lad, and the next night he ſpent in the ſame way. The ſecond day the lad ſaid to his miſtreſs, This man ſleeps none, but groans and prays all night; I can get no ſleep with him; he threſhes very well and not ſparing himſelf, though I think he hath not been uſed to it, &c.; and when I put the barn in order, he goes to ſuch a place and prays for the afflicted church of Scotland, and names ſo many people in the furnace, &c. He wrought the ſecond day; his miſtreſs watched and overheard him praying, as the lad had ſaid. At night ſhe deſired her huſband to enquire if he was a miniſter: which he did, and deſired him to be free with him, and he ſhould not only be no enemy to him but a friend. Mr. Peden ſaid, he was not aſhamed of his office, and gave an account of his circumſtances. But he was no more ſet to work, or to lie with the lad. He ſtaid ſome conſiderable time in that place, and was a bleſſed inſtrument in the converſion of ſome, and the civilizing of others, &c. There was a ſervant laſs in that houſe, whom he could not look upon but with frowns; and at laſt he ſaid to the ſaid William Steel and his wife, Put her away, for ſhe will be a ſtain to your family; ſhe is with child, and will murder it, and will be puniſhed for the ſame. Which accordingly came to paſs; for which ſhe was burnt at Craigfergus; the uſual puniſhment of malefactors in that country.

In the year 1684, being in the houſe of John Slowan in the pariſh of Conert, in the ſame country of Antrim, about 10 o'clock at night ſitting by the fireſide, diſcourſing with ſome honeſt people, he ſtarted to his feet, and ſaid, Flee off, Sandy, and hide yourſelf, for col. —— is coming to this houſe to apprehend you, and I adviſe you all to do the like, for they will be here within an hour. Which came to paſs. When they had made a moſt inquiſitive ſearch without and within the houſe, and went round the thorn buſh where he was lying praying, they went off without their prey. He came in and ſaid, And has this gentleman given poor Sandy ſuch a fright, and other poor things; for this night's work, God ſhall give him ſuch a blow within

in a few days, that all the phyſicians on earth ſhall not be able to cure. Which likewiſe came to paſs; for he ſoon died in great miſery, vermin iſſuing from all the pores of his body, with ſuch a nauſeous ſmell that none could enter the room where he lay.

At another time, when he was in the ſame pariſh, one David Cuningham, miniſter in the meeting-houſe there, one Sabbath-day broke out into very bitter reflections upon Mr. Peden. One Mr. Vernon, one of Mr. Cuningham's elders, being much offended thereat, told Mr. Peden on Monday what he had ſaid Mr. Peden, taking a turn in his garden, came back and charged him to go tell Mr. Cuningham from him, That before Saturday's night he ſhould be as free of a meeting-houſe as he was. Which accordingly came to paſs, for he got a charge that ſame week not to enter his meeting-houſe under pain of death.

One time travelling alone in Ireland, being a dark miſt, and night approaching, he was obliged to go to a houſe belonging to a quaker, where he begged the favour of his roof all night. The quaker ſaid, Thou art a ſtranger, thou art very welcome, and ſhalt be kindly entertained, but I cannot wait upon thee, for I am going to the meeting. Mr. Peden ſaid, I will go along. The quaker ſaid, Thou mayeſt if thou pleaſeſt, but thou muſt not trouble us. He ſaid, I ſhall be civil. When they came to the meeting (as their cuſtom was) they ſat for ſome time ſilent, ſome with their faces to the wall, and ſome covered; and, there being a void in the loft above, there came down the appearance of a raven, and ſat on one man's head, who roſe up and ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, that the foam flew from his mouth. It went to a ſecond, and he did ſo likewiſe, Mr. Peden, ſitting next the landlord, ſaid, Do you not ſee? You will not deny yon afterward. He anſwered, Thou promiſed to be ſilent. From a ſecond it went to a third man's head, who did as the former two. When they diſmiſſed, on the way home, Mr. Peden ſaid to his landlord, I always thought there was devilry amongſt you, but I never thought that he had appeared viſibly till now I have ſeen it. O! for the Lord's ſake, quit this way, and flee to the Lord Jeſus, in whom there is redemption thro' his blood, even the forgiveneſs of all your iniquities. The poor man fell a-weeping and ſaid, I perceive that God hath ſent you to my houſe, and put it in your heart to go along with me, and permitted the devil to appear viſibly among us this night. I never ſaw the like before; let me have the help of your prayers, for I reſolve, through the Lord's grace, to follow

this way no longer. After this he became a ſingular Chriſtian; and when dying, bleſſed the Lord that in mercy he ſent the man of God to his houſe.

Before he left Ireland, he preached in ſeveral places, particularly one time near the fore-mentioned Mr. Vernon's houſe in 1685, where he had made a moſt clear diſcovery of the many hardſhips his fellow-ſufferers were then undergoing in Scotland; and of the death of king Charles, the news of which came not to Ireland till twenty-four hours thereafter.

After this he longed to be out of Ireland; what through the fearful apprehenſion of that diſmal rebellion that broke out there about four years after, and what from a deſire he had to take part with the ſufferings of Scotland. And before his departure from thence, he baptized a child to one John Maxwel a Glaſgow-man (who had fled over from the perſecution) which was all the drink-money (as he expreſſed it) that he had to leave in Ireland.

After he and twenty Scots ſufferers came aboard, he went above deck, and prayed, (there not being then the leaſt wind) where he made a rehearſal of times and places when and where the Lord had heard and helped them in the day of their diſtreſs, and now they were in a great ſtrait. Waving his hand to the weſt (from whence he deſired the wind) he ſaid, Lord, give us a loof-full of wind; fill the ſails, Lord, and give us a freſh gale, and let us have a ſwift and ſafe paſſage over to the bloody land, come of us what will. When he began to pray, the ſails were hanging all ſtraight down, but ere he ended they were all blown full, and they got a very ſwift and ſafe paſſage over. In the morning, after they landed, he lectured ere they parted, on a brae ſide; in which he had ſome awful threatenings againſt Scotland, ſaying, The time was coming, that they might travel many miles in Galloway, Nithſdale, Ayr and Clydeſdale, and not ſee a reeking houſe or hear a cock crow; and further added, My ſoul trembles to think what will become of the indulged, backſlidden and upſitten miniſters of Scotland; as the Lord lives, none of them ſhall ever be honoured to put a right pin in the Lord's tabernacle, nor aſſert Chriſt's kingly prerogative as Head and King of his church.

After his arrival in Scotland, in the beginning of the year 1685, he met with ſeveral remarkable deliverances from the enemy. One time fleeing from them on horſeback, he was obliged to ride a water where he was in eminent danger. After he got out, he cried, Lads, do not follow

follow me, for I aſſure you, ye want my boat, and ſo will drown; and conſider where your landing will be, *&c.*—which affrighted them from entering the water. At another time, being alſo hard purſued, he was forced to take a bog and a moſs before him. One of the dragoons, being more forward than the reſt, run himſelf into that dangerous bog, where he and the horſe were never ſeen more.

About this time he preached one Sabbath night in a ſheep-houſe (the hazard of the time affording no better). That night he lectured upon Amos vii. 8. *And I will ſet a plumb-line in the midſt of my people the houſe of Iſrael*, &c. In this lecture he ſaid, I'll tell you good news—Our Lord will take a feather out of Antichriſt's wing, which ſhall bring down the duke of York, and baniſh him out of theſe kingdoms——And there ſhall never a man of the houſe of Stuart ſit upon the throne of Britain after the duke of York, whoſe reign is now ſhort; for their lechery, treachery, tyranny, and ſhedding the precious blood of the Lord's people.—But oh! black, black! will the days be that will come upon Ireland! that they ſhall travel forty miles, and not ſee a reeking houſe or hear a cock crow, *&c.* When ended, he and thoſe with him lay down in the ſheep-houſe, and got ſome ſleep; and early next morning went up a burn-ſide and ſtayed long. When he came back, he ſung the 32d pſalm from the 7th verſe to the end; and then repeated that verſe,

Thou art my hiding-place, thou ſhalt
from trouble keep me free;
Thou with ſongs of deliverance
about ſhalt compaſs me.

Saying theſe and the following are ſweet lines which I got at the burnſide this morning, and will get more to-morrow; and ſo will get daily proviſion.——He was never behind any who put their truſt in him, and we will go on in his ſtrength, making mention of his righteouſneſs, and of his only. He met with another remarkable deliverance, for the enemy coming upon him, and ſome others, they were purſued by both horſe and foot a conſiderable way. At laſt, getting ſome little height between them and the enemy, he ſtood ſtill and ſaid, Let us pray here; for if the Lord hear not our prayers and ſave us, we are all dead men, *&c.* Then he began, ſaying, Lord, it is thy enemy's day, hour and power, they may not be idle: But haſt thou no other work for them, but to ſend them after us? ſend them after them to whom thou wilt give ſtrength to flee, for our ſtrength is gone. Twine them about the hill, Lord,

and caſt the lap of thy cloke over old Sandy and thir poor things, and ſave us this one time; and we'll keep it in remembrance, and tell it to the commendation of thy goodneſs, pity and compaſſion, what thou didſt for us at ſuch a time. And in this he was heard; for a cloud of miſt interveened immediately betwixt them; and in the mean time a poſt came to the enemy to go in queſt of Mr. Renwick and a great company with him.

At this time it was ſeldom that Mr. Peden could be prevailed on to preach; frequently anſwering and adviſing people to pray much, ſaying, It was praying folk that would get through the ſtorm; they would yet get preaching, both meikle and good, but not much good of it, until judgment was poured out to lay the land deſolate, *&c.*

In the ſame year 1685, being in Carrick, John Clark of Muirbrook, being with him, ſaid, Sir, what think ye of this time? Is it not a dark and melancholy day? Can there be a more diſcouraging time than this? He ſaid, Yes, John, this is a dark diſcouraging time, but there will be a darker time than this; theſe ſilly graceleſs creatures the curates ſhall go down, and after them ſhall ariſe a party called preſbyterians, but having little more but the name, and theſe ſhall as really as Chriſt was crucified without the gates of Jeruſalem on mount Calvary bodily, I ſay, they ſhall as really crucify Chriſt in his cauſe and intereſt in Scotland, and ſhall lay him in his grave, and his friends ſhall give him his winding-ſheet, and he ſhall ly as one buried for a conſiderable time; O then, John, there ſhall be darkneſs and dark days, ſuch as the poor church of Scotland never ſaw the like, nor ever ſhall ſee if once they were over: yea, John, this ſhall be ſo dark that if a poor thing would go between the eaſt ſea-bank and the weſt ſea-bank, ſeeking a miniſter to whom they would communicate their caſe, or tell them the mind of the Lord concerning the time, he ſhall not find one. John aſked, Where the teſtimony ſhould be then? He anſwered, In the hands of a few, who ſhould be deſpiſed and undervalued of all*, but eſpecially by theſe miniſters who buried Chriſt; but after that he ſhall get up upon them, and at the crack of his winding-ſheet

* In an old copy there are theſe words. "In the hands of a few, "who ſhall have neither magiſtrate nor miniſter among them, who "ſhall be ſore deſpiſed and undervalued of all, &c." Whether this alteration proceeds from different informations or from partiality is hard to determine, only it is affirmed that the author of theſe paſſages was then amongſt that party who had neither magiſtrate nor miniſter at that time; Or at leaſt was not in full communion with any party, if it was not thoſe adhering to Mr. Hepburn.

ſheet as many of them as are alive, who were at his burial, ſhall be diſtracted and mad with fear, not knowing what to do; then, John, there ſhall be brave days ſuch as the church of Scotland never ſaw the like, but I ſhall not ſee them, but you may.

About this time as he was preaching in the day-time, in the pariſh of Girvin, and being in the fields, one David Maſon, then a profeſſor, came in haſte trampling upon the people, to be near him. At which he ſaid, There comes the devil's rattle-bag; we do not want him here. After this, the ſaid David became officer and informer in that bounds, running through rattling and ſummoning the people to their unhappy courts for non-conformity, at which he and his got the name of the devil's rattle-bag, ——Since the revolution, he complained to his miniſter, that he and his family got that name.——The miniſter ſaid, Ye weel deſerved it, and he was an honeſt man that gave you it; you and yours muſt enjoy it; there is no help for that.

It is very remarkable, that being ſick, and the landlord where he ſtayed, being afraid to keep him in his houſe (the enemy being then in ſearch of hiding people), made him a bed among the ſtanding corn; at which time a great rain fell out, inſomuch that the waters were raiſed, and yet not one drop to be obſerved within ten feet of his bed, while he lay in that field.

Much about the ſame time he came to Garfield, in the pariſh of Mauchlin, to the houſe of one Matthew Hog (a ſmith to trade). He went to his barn, but thought himſelf not ſafe there, foot and horſe of the enemy ſearching for wanderers (as they were then called). He deſired the favour of his loft, being an old waſte houſe two ſtory high. This he refuſed. He then ſaid, Weel, weel, poor man, you will not let me have the ſhelter of your roof, but that ſame houſe will be your judgment and ruin yet. Some time after this, the gable of that houſe fell and killed both him and his ſon.

His laſt ſermon was preached in the Collimwood at the water of Air, a ſhort time before his death. In the preface before this ſermon, he ſaid, There are four or five things I have to tell you this night; and the *1ſt* is, A bloody ſword, a bloody ſword, a bloody ſword for thee, O Scotland, that ſhall pierce the hearts of many. *2dly*, Many miles ſhall ye travel and ſee nothing but deſolation and ruinous waſtes in thee, O Scotland. *3dly*, The fertileſt places in Scotland ſhall be as waſte as the mountains. *4thly*, The

The women with child ſhall be ript up and daſhed in pieces. And *5thly*, Many a conventicle has God had in thee, O Scotland, but ere long God will make a conventicle that will make Scotland tremble. Many a preaching hath God beſtowed on thee, but ere long God's judgment ſhall be as frequent as theſe precious meetings were, wherein he ſent forth his faithful ſervants to give faithful warning of the hazard of thy apoſtacy from God, in breaking, burning and burying his covenant, perſecuting, ſlighting and contemning the goſpel, ſhedding the precious blood of his ſaints and ſervants. God ſent forth a Welwood, a Kid, a King, a Cameron, a Cargil and others to preach to thee, but ere long God ſhall preach to thee by fire and a bloody ſword. God will let none of theſe mens words fall to the ground, that he ſent forth with a commiſſion to preach theſe things in his name, *&c.* In the ſermon he further ſaid, That a few years after his death there would be a wonderful alteration of affairs in Britain and Ireland, and Scotland's perſecution ſhould ceaſe; upon which every one would believe the deliverance was come, and conſequently would fall fatally ſecure; but you will be all very far miſtaken, for both England and Scotland will be ſcourged by foreigners, and a ſet of unhappy men in theſe lands taking part with them, before any of you can pretend to be happy, or get a thorough deliverance, which will be more ſevere chaſtiſement than any other they have met with, or can come under, if once that were over.

After much wandering from place to place, through Kyle, Carrick and Galloway (his death drawing near), he came to his brother's houſe, in the pariſh of the Sorn, where he was born, where he cauſed dig a cave, with a willow buſh covering the mouth thereof, near to his brother's houſe. The enemy got notice, and ſearched the houſe narrowly ſeveral times, but him they found not. While in this cave, he ſaid to ſome friends*, *1ſt*, That God would make Scotland a deſolation. *2dly*, There would be a remnant in the land, whom God would ſpare and hide. *3dly*, They would be in holes and caves of the earth, and be ſupplied with meat and drink; and when they came out of their holes, they would not have freedom to walk for ſtumbling on dead corpſes. And *4thly*, A ſtone cut out of the mountain would come down, and God would be avenged on the great ones of the earth, and the inhabitants of the land for their

* The foreſaid old copy ſays, This was within two hours of his death.

their wickedneſs; and then the church would come forth with a bonny bairn-time at her back of young ones; and he wiſhed that the Lord's people might be hid in their caves as if they were not in the world, for nothing would do until God appeared with his judgments, *&c.*; and withal gave them this ſign, That if he be but once buried, they might be in doubt, but if oftener than once, they might be perſuaded that all he had ſaid would come to paſs, and earneſtly deſired them to take his corpſe out to Airs-moſs, and bury him beſide Richie (meaning Mr. Richard Cameron) that he might have reſt in his grave, for he had got little during his life. But he ſaid, bury him where they would, he would be lifted again; but the man that would firſt put hands to his corpſe, four things would befal him, 1*ſt*, He would get a great fall from a houſe. 2*dly*, He would fall in adultery. 3*dly*, In theft, and for that he ſhould leave the land. 4*thly*, Make a melancholy end abroad for murder. All which came to paſs. This man was one Murdoch, a maſon to trade, but then in the military ſervice, being the very firſt man who put hands to his corpſe.

Mr. Peden had for ſome time been too credulous in believing the obliquous miſrepreſentations of ſome falſe brethren concerning Mr. James Renwick, whereby he was much alienated from him; which exceedingly grieved Mr. Renwick, ſtumbled ſome of his followers, and confirmed ſome of his adverſaries, who boaſted that now Mr. Peden was turned his enemy†. But now, when dying, he ſent for him, who came to him in all haſte, and found him lying in very low circumſtances. When Mr. Renwick came in, he raiſed himſelf upon his elbow, with his head on his hand, and ſaid, Are you the Mr. James Renwick there is ſo much noiſe about? He anſwered, Father, my name is James Renwick, but I have given the world no ground to make any noiſe about me, for I have eſpouſed no new principles or practices, but what our reformers and covenanters maintained, *&c.* He cauſed him ſit down and give him an account of his converſion, principles and call to the miniſtry. All which Mr. Renwick did in a moſt diſtinct manner. When ended, Mr. Peden ſaid, Sir, You have anſwered me to my ſoul's ſatisfaction; I am very ſorry that I ſhould have believed any ſuch ill reports of you, which not only quenched my love to, and marred my ſympathy with you, but made me expreſs myſelf ſo bitterly againſt you, for which I have

† Renwick's life wrote by Mr. Shields, page 99.

I have ſadly ſmarted. But, Sir, ere you go, you muſt pray me, for I am old and going to leave the world. Which he did with more than ordinary enlargement. When ended, he took him by the hand and drew him to him, and kiſſed him, ſaying, Sir, I find you a faithful ſervant to your Maſter; go on in a ſingle dependence upon the Lord, and ye will get honeſtly through, and clear off the ſtage, when many others who hold their heads high will ly in the mire and make foul hands and garments. And then prayed that the Lord might ſpirit, ſtrengthen, ſupport and comfort him in all duties and difficulties*.

A little before his death he ſaid, Ye will all be diſpleaſed where I will be buried at laſt, but I diſcharge you all to lift my corpſe again. At laſt one morning early he left the cave and came to his brother's door. His brother's wife ſaid, Where are you going, the enemy will be here? He ſaid, I know that. Alas! Sir (ſaid ſhe), what will become of you, ye muſt go back to the cave again. He ſaid, I have done with that, for it is diſcovered; but there is no matter; for within forty-eight hours I will be beyond the reach of all the devil's temptations, and his inſtruments in hell and on earth, and they ſhall trouble me no more. About three hours after that he entered the houſe, the enemy came, found him not in the cave, ſearched the barn narrowly, caſting the unthreſhen corn, ſearched the houſe, ſtabbing the beds, but entered not into the place where he lay. After a weary pilgrimage, within forty eight hours he became an inhabitant of that land, where the weary are at reſt, being then paſt ſixty years of age.

He was buried in the laird of Affleck's iſle; but a troop of dragoons came and lifted his corpſe, and carried it† two miles, to Cumnock gallows-foot (after he had been forty days in the grave) where he lies buried beſide other martyrs.

Thus died Mr. Alexander Peden ſo much famed for his ſingular piety, zeal and faithfulneſs, and indefatigableneſs in the duty of prayer; but eſpecially who exceeded all we have

* Some have doubted of the certainty of this interview; however, there is no ſeeming improbability in it, nor does it make any thing to the diſparagement of either Mr. Peden, or Mr. Renwick.

† After this (ſays Patrick Walker) that troop of dragoons came to quarter in Cambuſnethen, two of them were quartered in the houſe of James Gray (one of his acquaintance) and being frighted in their ſleep, they ſtarted up and clapped their hands, crying, Peden, Peden. Theſe two dragoons affirmed, That out of their curioſity they opened his coffin to ſee his corps, and yet they had no ſmell, though he had been forty days dead.

have heard of in latter times, for that gift of foreſeeing and foretelling future events, both with reſpect to the church and nation of Scotland and Ireland, and particular perſons and families, ſeveral of which are already accompliſhed. A gentleman of late, when ſpeaking in his writings of Mr. Peden, ſays, Abundance of this good man's predictions are well known to be already come to paſs*. And although theſe things are now made to ſtoop or yield to the force of ridicule and the ſarcaſms of the profane, and faſhions of an atheiſtical age and generation, yet we muſt believe and conclude with the Spirit of God, that the ſecrets of the Lord both have been, are, and will be with them who fear his name.

There are ſome few of Mr. Peden's ſermons in print, eſpecially two preached at Glenluce *anno* 1682. the one from Matth. xxi. 38. and the other from Luke xxiv. 21.; which prophetical ſermons, though in a homely ſtile, are of a moſt zealous and ſpiritual ſtrain; now reprinted in a late collection of ſermons. As for thoſe papers handed about under Mr. Peden's name, anent Mr. James Renwick and his followers, they are, with good reaſon, looked upon as altogether ſpurious.

* John Ker of Kerſland, in his memoirs, page 8. where he adds, that when ſome people were going to join Argyle in 1685, Mr. Peden after a ſhort ejaculation, bid them ſtop, for Argyle was fallen a ſacrifice that minute. Some taking out their watches marked the time, which accordingly anſwered his being taken.

The Life of Mr. JOHN BLACKADDER.

MR. JOHN BLACKADDER was a lineal deſcendent, and the only repreſentative of the houſe of Fullarlan. After he had undergone his courſes of claſſical learning, he was ordained miniſter of the goſpel at Traquair near Dumfries, where he continued faithfully to diſcharge the truſt committed unto his charge, until he was with many others of his faithful brethren thruſt out by that act commonly called, the druken act of Glaſgow, in the year 1662.—At that time, a party came from Dumfries to ſeize him; but he was gone out of the way. But his wife and children (to whom the ſoldiers were extremely rude) were forced to retire to Barndennoch in Glencairn pariſh.

But there he and his numerous family † met with further troubles: for in the year 1665, a party of Sir James Turner's men came in queſt of him; but happily he and his wife were at Edinburgh. However with great fury and terrible oaths and execrations in the middle of the night they turned out the children from their beds, cauſed one of them to hold the candle till they ſearched his book and papers, and took what they liſted. They ſtabbed the beds with their ſwords, and threatened to roaſt the children on the fire, and cauſed one of them to run near half a mile in a dark night in his ſhirt.

After this he went and preached in the fields, where he had numerous meetings, particularly at the hill of Beeth in Fife in the year 1670. He had been before this, by the council's letter, put to the horn; and after this, came weſt about the year 1675, and preached in the pariſh of Kilbride and other places. The ſame year being in the Cow-hill in Mr. Livingſton pariſh, he went out in the evening (being in the month of Auguſt) unto a retired place. When he came in again, he ſeemed ſomewhat melancholy. Being aſked by ſome friends, what was the reaſon? He ſaid he was afraid of a contagious miſt that ſhould go through the land in many places that night, which might have ſad effects, and death to follow; and as a mean he deſired them to keep doors and windows as cloſe as poſſible, and notice where it ſtood thickeſt and longeſt: which they did; which was upon a little town called the Craigs, wherein was but a few families; and within four months after that, thirty corpſes went out of that place: great dearth and ſcarcity followed for three years ſpace after. Mr. Blackadder was in his judgment againſt the indulgence, and preached ſometimes with Mr. John Dickſon, they being both of one ſentiment. He continued under ſeveral hardſhips until the year 1678, that he went over to Mr. M'-Ward in Holland. Having continued ſometime there, and then returned home, he was about Edinburgh in the time of Bothwel‡; and, after that, was of no ſmall uſe to the pri-

† Amongſt the branches of this numerous family, were Mr. Adam Blackadder, who was firſt impriſoned in Stirling at ſeventeen years of age, and afterwards in Blackneſs, in the year 1684, for waiting on his father John Blackadder, who came over with Argyle 1685, and was apprehended, but afterwards ſet at liberty; and that religious gentleman Colonel Blackadder ſometime governor of Stirling caſtle ſince the revolution. Whither that Dr. William Blackadder mentioned in hiſtory was that Mr. Blackadder who was at Bothwel, or if he was ſon to Mr. John Blackadder and brother to theabove mentioned, I cannot ſay at preſent.

‡ It was one Mr. William Blackadder that was at Bothwel.

priſoners in diſſwading them from taking the bond, and other compliances; which he did by letters.

After he had endured a ſeries of hardſhips, and ſurmounted a number of difficulties, he came to diſcharge his laſt public work at a moor ſide, at the new houſe in the pariſh of Livingſton, March 28th, 1681. He lectured upon Micah iv. chapter from the 9th verſe; where he aſſerted, "That the nearer the delivery, our pains and ſhowers would come thicker and ſorer upon us; and that we had been in the fields; but ere we were delivered, we would go down to Babylon; that either popery would overſpread the land, or elſe would be at the breaking in upon us, like an inundation of water." He preached upon 1 Theſſ. iii. 3. And, amongſt other things deſired people to take good heed what miniſters they heard, and what advice they followed: and, praying, he ſaid, he was as clear and willing to hold up the bleſt ſtandard of the goſpel, as ever, and bleſſed the Lord he was free of every bond and impoſition; and ſaid, "The Lord rebuke, give repentance and forgiveneſs to theſe miniſters who perſuaded the poor priſoners to take the bond; for their periſhing at ſea was more ſhaking to him than ſome thouſands of them that had been ſlain in the fields." He went in to Edinburgh, and being got notice of by major Johnſton, he was by him apprehended upon the 6th of April following, and brought firſt to general Dalziel, then to the guard, and then before a committee of council, conſiſting of the chancellor, general, advocate, and biſhop Paterſon. The chancellor aſked, if he had excommunicated the king, or was at Torwood? He anſwered, he was not there theſe four years. Chan. But do ye approve of what was done there? Anſw. I am not free to declare my inward ſentiments of things and perſons; and therefore I humbly beg to be excuſed ‡; You may form a libel againſt me, and I ſhall endeavour to anſwer it as I can. Chan. But we hear you keep conventicles ſince the indemnity. Anſw. I am a miniſter of the goſpel, though unworthy, and under the ſtricteſt obligation to exerciſe my miniſtry as I ſhall be anſwerable at the great day. I did and do ſtill count it my duty to exerciſe my miniſtry as I am

‡ A hiſtorian ſays, that Mr. Blackadder was as free to have declared his diſapprobation of what was done there, as he was of his not being there.—But whether it be not a ſlur thrown upon the memory of this worthy man, to inſinuate that he ſhould ſuffer ſuch hardſhips and ſo many years impriſonment meerly out of ill nature, when he was free to have declared what would have ſatisfied them, muſt be left with the reader.

called thereunto. Chan. But you have preached in the fields, that is to ſay, on moors and hill ſides. I ſhall not aſk you, if ye have preached in houſes, though there is no liberty even for that. Anſw. I place no caſe of conſcience, nor make any difference between preaching in houſes and in the fields, but as it may beſt ſerve the conveniency of the hearers; nor know I any reſtriction as to either in the word. My commiſſion reaches to houſes and fields, within and without doors. Chan. We doubt, you know and have ſeen the laws diſcharging ſuch preaching. Anſw. I have, and I am ſorry that ever any laws were made againſt preaching the goſpel. Chan. Not againſt the goſpel, but againſt preaching rebellion.—The chancellor aſked, if he kept conventicles in Fife? which he did not deny.—He was carried to the guard. The council ſat in the afternoon; but he was not again called before them; but without a firſt hearing, was ſentenced to go to the Baſs. Accordingly, April 7th, he was carried thither, when on the way, at Fiſher's-row there happened to be a gathering of people, the captain, apprehending it might be for his reſcue, told Mr. Blackadder, if they attempted any thing of this kind, he would inſtantly ſhoot him through the head: He told the captain he knew nothing of any ſuch deſign.

He continued there, till the end of this year 1685, when he contracted a rheumatiſm from the air of the place. A motion was made for his liberation on bail on this account; but it never took effect; and ſo he entered into the joy of his Lord about the beginning of the year 1686: and as the intereſt of Chriſt always lay near his heart through his life, ſo amongſt his laſt words he ſaid, "The Lord would yet "ariſe, and defend his own cauſe in ſpite of all his enemies." Thus died Mr. John Blackadder, a pious man, and a powerful preacher. There are ſeveral well vouched inſtances of the Lord's countenancing his miniſtry, while in the fields, and of the remarkable ſucceſs of his ſermons, (which were not ſo low and flat but the pious learned might admire them, nor ſo learned but the plaineſt capacity might underſtand them). In a word, he was poſſeſſed of many ſingular virtues. His going through ſo many eminent dangers with ſuch undaunted courage, was remarkable, and his love to God and his church exemplary.

I have only ſeen two of his many pathetick ſermons, which are very extenſive upon the ſufferings of Chriſt from Iſa. liii. 11. *He ſhall ſee of the travail of his ſoul and ſhall be ſatisfied*, &c.—The reader will find them in a ſmall collection of ſermons lately publiſhed.

The

The Life of Mr. JAMES RENWICK.

MR. JAMES RENWICK was born in the pariſh of Glencairn in Nithſdale, Feb. 15, 1662. His parents though not rich, yet were exemplary for piety. His father Andrew Renwick (a weaver to trade) and his mother Elizabeth Corſan, had ſeveral children before Mr. James, who died young; for which when his mother was pouring forth her motherly grief, her huſband uſed to comfort her with declaring, that he was well ſatisfied to have children, whether they lived or died, young or old, providing they might be heirs of glory. But with this ſhe could not attain to be ſatisfied, but had it for her exerciſe to ſeek a child from the Lord, that might not only be an heir of glory, but might live to ſerve him in his generation: whereupon when Mr James was born, ſhe took it as an anſwer of prayer, and reputed herſelf under manifold engagements to dedicate him to the Lord, who ſatisfied her with very early evidences of his accepting that return of his own gift, and confirmed the ſame with very remarkable appearances of his gracious dealings with the child. For, by the time he was two years of age, he was obſerved to be aiming at prayer even in the cradle and about it, wherewith his mother conceived ſuch expectations and hopes, that the Lord would be with him, and do good by him, *&c.* ſo that all the reproaches he ſuſtained, difficulties and dangers that afterwards he underwent, to his dying day, never moved her in the leaſt, from the confidence that the Lord would carry him through, and off the ſtage in ſome honourable way for his own glory. His father alſo, before his death, (which was Feb. 1, 1679.) obtained the ſame perſuaſion, that his time in the world would be but ſhort, but that the Lord would make ſome eminent uſe of him.

After he had learned to read the Bible, about 6 years old, the Lord gave him ſome ſproutings of gracious preparations, training him in his way, exerciſing him with doubts and debates above childiſh apprehenſion, about the Maker of all things, how all things were made, and for what end; and with ſtrange ſuppoſitions of ſo many inviſible worlds above and beneath, with which he was tranſported into a train of muſing, and continued in this exerciſe for about the ſpace of two years, until he, by prayer and meditation

on

on the hiſtory of the creation, came to a thorough belief that God made all things, and that all which he made was very good. And yet after he came to more maturity, he relapſed to a deeper labyrinth of darkneſs about theſe foundation truths, and was ſo aſſaulted with temptations of atheiſm, that being in the fields and looking to the mountains, he ſaid, "If theſe were all devouring furnaces of burning "brimſtone, he would be content to go through them all, "if ſo be he could be aſſured there was a God." Out of which he emerged through grace into the ſweet ſerenity of a ſettled perſuaſion of the being of a God, and of his intereſt in him.

From his younger years he made much conſcience of obeying his parents, whoſe order (if they had ſpoken of putting him to any trade) he would no way decline, yet his inclination was conſtant for his book, until providence propitiouſly furniſhed him with means of greater proficiency at Edinburgh, by many, who were ſo enamoured of his hopeful diſpoſition, that they earneſtly promoted his education; and when he was ready for the univerſity, they encouraged him in attending gentlemen's ſons for the improvement of their ſtudies and his own both; which conſorting of youths, as it is uſually accompanied with various temptations to youthful vanity, ſo it inticed him, with others, to ſpend too much of his time in gaming and recreations. Then it was, for no other part of his time can be inſtanced, when ſome, who knew him not (for theſe were only his traducers), took occaſion from this extravagance, to reproach him with profanity and flagitiouſneſs, which his nature ever abhorred, and diſdained the very ſuſpicion thereof. When his time at the college drew near an end, he demonſtrated ſuch a tenderneſs of offending God, *&c.* that, upon his refuſal of the oath of allegiance then tendered, he was denied his ſhare of the public ſolemnity of laureation with the reſt of the candidates; but received it privately at Edinburgh. After which he continued his ſtudies, attending on the then private and perſecuted meetings for goſpel-ordinances for a time.

But upon a deplorable diſcovery of the unfaithfulneſs of the generality, even of non-conformiſt miniſters, he was again for ſome time time plunged in the deeps of darkneſs; doubting what ſhould be the end of ſuch backſliding courſes, until, upon a more inquiſitive ſearch after ſuch miniſters as were freeſt from theſe defections, he found more light, and his knowledge of the iniquity of theſe courſes was augmented and his zeal increaſed. And being more

confirmed

confirmed, when he beheld how ſignally the faithful miniſters were owned of the Lord, and carried off the ſtage with great ſtedfaſtneſs, faith and patience, eſpecially after the death of that faithful miniſter and martyr, Mr. Donald Cargil (at whoſe execution he was preſent July 27, 1681.), he was ſo commoved, that he determined to embark with theſe witneſſes in that cauſe for which they ſuffered: and he was afterward ſo ſtrengthened and eſtabliſhed in that reſolution, getting inſtruction about theſe things in and from the word, ſo ſealed with a ſtrong hand upon his ſoul, that all the temptations, tribulations, oppoſitions and contradictions he met with from all hands to the day of his death, could never ſhake his mind to the leaſt doubt concerning them.

Accordingly in this perſuaſion, upon grounds of ſcripture and reaſon, *&c.* in Oct. 1681, he came to a meeting with ſome of theſe faithful witneſſes of Chriſt, and conferring about the teſtimonies of ſome other martyrs lately executed (which he was very earneſt always to gather and keep on record), he refreſhed them greatly by a diſcourſe ſhewing how much he was grieved and offended with thoſe who heard the curates, pleaded for ceſs-paying, and defended the owning of the tyrant's authority, *&c.* and how ſad it was to him that none were giving a formal teſtimony againſt theſe things; and in the end, added, "That he "would think it a great eaſe to his mind, to know and be "engaged with a remnant that would ſingly proſecute and "propagate the teſtimony againſt the corruptions of the "times to the ſucceeding generations, and would deſire "nothing more than to be helped to be ſerviceable to "them."

At his very firſt coming amongſt them, he could not but be taken notice of; for, while ſome were ſpeaking of removing of the bodies of the martyrs lately executed at the Gallowlee, Mr. Renwick was very forward to promote it, and active to aſſiſt therein, and when the ſerious and ſincere ſeekers of God who were interſperſed up and down the land, and adhered to the teſtimony, as Meſſrs. Cameron and Cargil left it, towards the end of that year 1681, began to ſettle a correſpondence in general, for preſerving union, underſtanding one another's minds, and preventing declenſions to right or left hand extremes. In the firſt of which (the duke of York holding a parliament at Edinburgh), they agreed upon emitting that declaration publiſhed at Lanerk Jan. 12, 1682, wherein Mr. Renwick was employed proclaiming it, but had no hand in the penning thereof,

thereof, otherwiſe it might have been more conſiderately worded than what it was; for, though he approved of the matter of it, yet he always acknowledged there were ſome expreſſions therein ſomewhat unadviſed.

After publiſhing this declaration, the next general meeting, finding themſelves reproached and informed againſt both at home and abroad in foreign churches (as if they had fallen from the principles of the church of Scotland), thought it expedient to ſend the laird of Earlſtoun to the United Provinces to vindicate themſelves from theſe reproaches, and to crave that ſympathy which they could not obtain from their own countrymen. Which at length, thro' mercy, proved ſo encouraging to them, that a door was opened to provide for a ſucceſſion of faithful miniſters, by ſending ſome to be fitted for the work of the miniſtry there. Accordingly Mr. Renwick, with ſome others, went thither. His comrades were ready and ſailed before, which made him impatiently haſte to follow. Yet, at his departure, to a comrade, he affirmed, "Though they were gone before him, as they did not depart together, ſo he ſaw ſomething ſhould fall out, which ſhould obſtruct their coming home together alſo." Which was verified by the falling off of Mr. Flint (however forward at that time) unto a contrary courſe of defection.

When he went over, he was ſettled at the univerſity of Groningen, where he plied his ſtudies ſo hard, and with ſuch proficiency, that (upon the neceſſities of his friends in Scotland longing for his labours, and his own ardent deſire to be at the work) in a ſhort time he was ready for ordination.—To precipitate which, his dear friend Mr. Robert Hamilton, (who merited ſo much of thoſe who reaped the benefit of Mr. Renwick's labours afterward) applied to one Mr. Brakel, a godly Dutch miniſter, who was much delighted at firſt with the motion, and adviſed it ſhould be done at Embden; but this could not be obtained, becauſe the principal man there who was to have the management of the affair was in his judgment Cocceian, *&c.* Whereupon Mr. Hamilton ſolicited the claſſes of Groningen to undertake it; which they willingly promiſed to do; and calling for the teſtimonial of Mr. Renwick and the reſt who went over at that time, Mr. Renwick's was produced (being providentially in readineſs when the others were a-wanting) and though in a rude dreſs, was ſuſtained. The claſſes being conveened, they were called in and had an open harangue, wherein open teſtimony was given againſt all the forms and corruptions of their church: whereat they were

were ſo far from being offended, that after a ſolemn and ſerious conſideration of their cauſe, they declared it was the Lord's cauſe, and coſt what it would, though all the kings of the earth were againſt it, they would go through with it. They all three ſhould have paſſed together, but upon ſome diſcontents ariſing, the other two were retarded. It was the cuſtom of the place, that every one that paſſes, muſt pay twenty guilders for the uſe of the church, but they jointly declared that they would be at all the charges themſelves.

But the next difficulty was, that being told it was impoſſible for any to paſs without ſubſcribing their catechiſm, *&c.* and obſerving that their forms and corruptions are therein juſtified, Mr. Renwick reſolutely anſwered, He would do no ſuch thing, being engaged by ſolemn covenant to the contrary. This was like to ſpoil all, but at length they condeſcended that he ſubſcribe the confeſſion and catechiſm of the church of Scotland, a practice never before heard of in that land; which was accepted. The day of ordination being come, Mr. Renwick was called in a very reſpectful way. After ſpending ſome time in prayer, the examination began, which laſted from ten in the morning, to two o'clock in the afternoon. Then

His friends, who were attending in the church, were called in (amongſt whom was his honoured friend Mr. Hamilton, and another elder of the church of Scotland *), to be witneſs to the laying on of the hands; which, after the exhortation, they performed with prayer, the whole meeting melting in tears; and thereafter he had a diſcourſe to the claſſes. With this ſolemnity the claſſes were ſo much affected, that at dinner (to which he and his friends were invited) the preſes declared the great ſatisfaction all the brethren had in Mr. Renwick, that they thought the whole time he was before them, he was ſo filled with the Spirit of God, that his face ſeemed to ſhine, and that they had never ſeen nor found ſo much of the Lord's Spirit accompanying any work as that, *&c.* But no ſooner were theſe difficulties over, than others of a more diſagreeable aſpect began to ariſe, which if they had appeared but one day ſooner might have ſtopped the ordination, at leaſt for a time. But the very next day, Mr. Brakel told them, That a formed libel was coming from the Scottiſh miniſters at Rotterdam, containing heavy accuſations againſt the poor ſociety people in Scotland, *&c.* which they behoved either

* See this in his teſtimonials from the claſſes, which are inſerted in his life at large, page 25, &c.

to vindicate, or elſe the ordination muſt be ſtopped, but this being too late as to Mr. Renwick, it came to nothing at laſt.

After his ordination, he had a moſt longing deſire to improve his talent for the poor perſecuted people in Scotland, who were his brethren; and having received large teſtimonials of his ordination and learning (particularly in the Hebrew and Greek tongue) from the claſſes, and finding a ſhip ready to ſail, he embarked at the Brill; but waiting ſome days upon a wind, he was ſo diſcouraged by ſome profane paſſengers preſſing the king's health, &c. that he was forced to leave that veſſel, and take another bound for Ireland. A ſea ſtorm compelled them to put in to Rye harbour in England, about the time when there was ſo much noiſe of the Rye-houſe plot, which created him no ſmall danger; but, after many perils at ſea, he arrived ſafe at Dublin, where he had many conflicts with the miniſters there, anent their defections and indifference; and yet in ſuch a gaining and goſpel-way, that he left convictions on their ſpirits of his being a pious and zealous youth, which procured him a ſpeedy paſſage to Scotland. In which paſſage he had conſiderable dangers and a proſpect of more, as not knowing how or where he ſhould come to land, all ports being then ſo ſtrictly obſerved, and the ſkipper refuſing to let him go till his name be given up. But yet at laſt he was prevailed on to give him a caſt to the ſhore, where he began his weary and uncertain wanderings (which continued with him till he was apprehended) thro' an unknown wilderneſs, amongſt unknown people, it being ſome time before he could meet with any of the ſocieties.

In Sept. 1683. he commenced his miniſterial work in Scotland, taking up the teſtimony of the ſtandard of Chriſt, where it was fixed, and had fallen at the removal of the former witneſſes Meſſrs. Cameron and Cargil, which in the ſtrength of his Maſter he undertook to proſecute and maintain againſt oppoſition from all hands, which ſeemed inſupportable to ſenſe and reaſon.

In the midſt of which difficulties, he was received by a poor perſecuted people, who had loſt all that worldly enjoyment they had, for the ſake of the goſpel. His firſt public meeting was in a moſs at Darmead, where for their information and his own vindication, he thought it expedient not only to let them know how he was called to the miniſtry, and what he adhered to, but beſides to unboſom himſelf about the then puzzling queſtions of the time, particularly

ticularly concerning miniſters, defections, *&c.*—ſhewing, whom he could not join with, and his reaſons for ſo doing; and in the end told them, on what grounds he ſtood, and reſolved to ſtand upon; which he reſolved (the Lord aſſiſting him) to ſeal with his blood.

After this the father of lies began to ſpue out a flood of reproaches to ſwallow up and bury his name and work in contempt, which was very credulouſly entertained and induſtriouſly ſpread, not only by profane, but even by many profeſſors, *&c.* Some ſaying, he had excommunicated all the miniſters in Scotland, and ſome after they were dead; whereas he only gave reaſons why he could not keep communion with ſome in the preſent circumſtances. Others ſaid, That he was no preſbyterian, and that his deſign was only to propagate ſchiſm. But the truth was, he was a profeſſed witneſs againſt all the defections of preſbyterians from any part of their covenanted work of reformation, *&c.* Again, other miniſters alleged he was ſectarian, independent or anabaptiſt, or they knew not what. But when he had ſometimes occaſion to be among them, in and about Newcaſtle and Northumberland *, they were as much offended as any, at his faithful freedom in diſcovering the evils of their way, and declared that they never met with ſuch ſevere dealing from any preſbyterian before him.

But the general out-cry was, that he had no miſſion at all. Others ſlandering him, that he came only by chance, at a throw of the dice; with many other calumnies, refuted by the foregoing relation.

On the other hand, ſome gave out that he and his followers maintained the murdering principles of the delirious and deteſtable blaſphemies of Gib; all which ſhameleſs and ſenſeleſs fictions he ever oppoſed and abhorred. Yea ſome miniſters, more ſeemingly ſerious in their eſſays to prepoſſeſs the people againſt him, ſaid, "That they had ſought and got the mind of the Lord in it, that his labours ſhould never profit the church of Scotland, nor any ſoul in it, *&c.*" aſſuring themſelves he would break, and bring to nothing, him and them that followed him ere it were long; comparing them to Jannes and Jambres, who withſtood Moſes. All which reproaches he was remarkably ſupported under, and went on in his Maſter's buſineſs, while he had any work for him to do.

In the mean while, by the noiſe that went through the country concerning him, the council got notice; and there-

* This ſeems to have been when he made a haſty journey thither in the year 1684 and 1686. See his letters page 94, and 136.

upon, being enraged at the report of his preaching in the fields, they raiſed a hotter and more cruel perſecution againſt him than can be inſtanced ever to be againſt any one man in the nation; nay, than ever the moſt notorious murderer was purſued with. For, having publicly proclaimed him a traitor, rebel, *&c.* they proceeded to purſue his followers with all the rigour that helliſh fury and malice could ſuggeſt or invent; and yet the more they oppoſed, the more they grew and increaſed.

In 1684, his difficulties from enemies, and diſcouragements from friends oppoſite to him, and manifold vexations from all hands, began to increaſe more and more; and yet all the while he would not intermit one day's preaching, but was ſtill inceſſant and undaunted in his work; which made the miniſters inform againſt him, as if he had intruded upon other men's labours; alledging, that when another miniſter had appointed to preach in a place, he unexpectedly came and preached in the ſame pariſh, and for that purpoſe inſtanced one time near Paiſley; whereas he went upon a call from ſeverals in that bounds, without knowing then whether there was ſuch a miniſter in that country. It is confeſſed, that he hath ſometimes taken the churches to preach in, when either the weather, inſtant hazard at the time, or reſpect to ſecreſy or ſafety did exclude from every other place. But, could this be called intruſion, to creep into the church for one night, when they could not ſtand, nor durſt they be ſeen without.

This year, in proſecution of a cruel informa'ion, the ſoldiers became more vigilant in their indefatigable diligence to ſeek and hunt after him; and from whom he had many remarkable deliverances: particularly in the month of July, as he was going to a meeting, a country man, ſeeing him wearied, gave him a horſe for ſome miles to ride on, they were ſurprized with lieutenant Dundaſs and a party of dragoons. The two men with him were taken and pitifully wounded. He eſcaped their hands, and went up Dungavel hill, but was ſo cloſely followed (they being ſo near that they fired at him all the time), that he was forced to leave the horſe (loſing thereby his cloak-bag with many papers) and ſeeing no other refuge, he was fain to run, in their ſight, towards a heap of ſtones, where, for a little moment getting out of their ſight, he found a hollow place into which he crept; and committing himſelf by earneſt ejaculation to God, in ſubmiſſion to live or die; and alſo believing, that he ſhould yet be reſerved for greater work, that part of ſcripture often coming into his mind,

Pſalm

Pſalm vi. 8. *Depart from me all ye workers of iniquity*, together with theſe words, Pſalm xci. 11. *For he ſhall give his angels charge*, &c. In the mean time, the enemy ſearched up and down the hill, yet were reſtrained from looking into that place where he was. Many ſuch ſore and deſperate chaces he and thoſe with him met; ſome continuing whole nights and days, without intermiſſion, in the wildeſt places of the country, for many miles together, without ſo much as a poſſibility of eſcaping the ſight of thoſe who purſued them.

This year Sept. 24. letters of intercommuning were iſſued out againſt him, commanding all to give him no reſet or ſupply, nor furniſh him with meat, drink, houſe, harbour or any thing uſeful to him; requiring all ſheriffs *&c.* to apprehend and commit to priſon his perſon, wherever they could find him; by virtue of which the ſufferers were reduced unto incredible ſtraits, not only in being murdered, but by hunger, cold, harraſſings, *&c.* in which perplexity, having neither a poſſibility to flee nor ability to fight, they were forced to publiſh an apologetical repreſentation of their ſentiments, ſhewing how far they might, according to the approven principles and practices, and covenant engagements of our reformers, *&c.* reſtrict and reduce into practice that privilege of extraordinary executing of judgment, on murdering beaſts of prey, profeſſing and proſecuting a daily trade of deſtroying innocents, *&c.*——When this declaration was firſt propoſed, Mr. Renwick was ſomewhat averſe to it, fearing the ſad effects it might produce; but, conſidering the neceſſity of the caſe would admit of no delay, he conſented and concurred in the publication thereof. Accordingly, it was fixed upon ſeveral market-croſſes and pariſh church-doors Nov. 8. 1684.

After the publication of this declaration, rage and reproach ſeemed to ſtrive which ſhould ſhew the greateſt violence againſt the publiſhers and owners of it. The council publiſhed a proclamation for diſcovering ſuch as own, or will not diſown it; requiring that none above the age of ſixteen travel without a paſs, and that any who could apprehend any of them ſhould have 500 merks for each perſon, and that every one ſhould take the oath of abjuration; whereby the temptation and hazard became ſo dreadful, that many were ſhot inſtantly in the fields, others, refuſing the oath were brought in, ſentenced and executed in one day, yea ſpectators at executions were required to ſay, whether theſe men ſuffered juſtly or not. All which dolorous effects and more, when Mr. Renwick with a ſad and troubled

bled heart obſerved, he was often heard to ſay, though he had peace in his end and aim by it, yet he wiſhed from his heart that declaration had never been publiſhed.

Neither was the year 1685, any thing better. For it became now the enemy's greateſt ambition and emulation, who could deſtroy moſt of theſe poor wandering mountain men (as they were called); and when they had ſpent all their balls, they were nothing nearer their purpoſe than when they began; for the more they were afflicted, the more they grew. *The buſh did burn but was not conſumed, becauſe the Lord was in the buſh.*

Charles II. being dead, and the duke of York, a profeſſed papiſt proclaimed in Feb. 1685. Mr. Renwick could not let go this opportunity of witneſſing againſt that uſurpation of a papiſt upon the government of the nation, and his deſign of overturning the covenanted work of reformation, and introducing popery. Accordingly he and about 200 men went to Sanquhar May 28. 1685. and publiſhed that declaration, afterward called the Sanquhar declaration.

In the mean time the earl of Argyle's expedition taking place, Mr. Renwick was much ſolicited to join with them. He expreſſed the eſteem he had of his honeſt and laudable intention, and ſpoke very favourably of him, declaring his willingneſs to concur if the quarrel and declaration were rightly ſtated, but becauſe it was not concerted according to the ancient plea of our Scottiſh covenants, *&c.* he could not agree with them; which created unto him a new ſeries of trouble and reproach, and that from all hands, and from none more than the indulged.

In the year 1686. Mr. Renwick was conſtrained to be more public and explicit in his teſtimony againſt the deſigns and defections of the time; wherein he met with more contradictions and oppoſition from all hands and more diſcouraging and diſtracting treatment, even from ſome who once followed him; and was much troubled with letters of accuſation againſt him from many hands. One of the miniſters that came over with Argyle, wrote a very vindictive letter * againſt him, which letter he anſwered at large. He alſo was traduced both at home and abroad by one Alexander Gordon, who ſometimes joined with that ſuffering party. But by none more than one Robert Cathcart in Carrick, who wrote a moſt ſcurrilous libel againſt him; from which

* See his letters and the anſwers, with the reaſoning on Cathcart's affair at large from page 84 to 97.

which Mr. Renwick vindicated himſelf in the plaineſt terms. But this not ſatisfying the ſaid Robert Cathcart, he did, in the name of his friends in Carrick and the ſhire of Wigton (though without the knowledge of the half of them), take a proteſt againſt Mr. Renwick's preaching or converſing within their juriſdiction; giving him occaſion with David to complain, *They ſpeak vanity, their heart gathereth iniquity*, &c; *yea mine own familiar friend in whom I truſted, hath lift up his heel againſt me.*

Notwithſtanding of all former obloquies he ſuſtained from all ſorts of oppoſers, he had one faithful and fervent wreſtler on his ſide, Mr. Alexander Peden; and yet a little before his death, theſe reproachers ſo far prevailed with him as to inſtigate him to a declared oppoſition againſt Mr. Renwick, which not only contributed to grieve him much, but was alſo an occaſion of ſtumbling to many * others of the well affected, and to the confirmation of his oppoſers. Yet nevertheleſs he proceeded in his progreſs through the country, preaching, catechizing and baptizing; travelling through Galloway, where he was rencountered with a moſt inſolent proteſtation given in againſt him by the profeſſors between Dee and Cree, ſubſcribed by one Hutchiſon, which paper he read over at a public meeting in that bounds (after a lecture upon Pſalm xv. and a ſermon from Song ii. 2.), giving the people to know what was done in their name, with ſeveral animadverſions thereon, as that which overturned ſeveral pieces of our valuable reformation; exhorting them, if there were any there who concurred therein, that they would ſpeedily retract their hand from ſuch an iniquity, &c†.

Shortly after this, while his work was increaſing daily on his hand, and his difficulties multiplying, the Lord made his burthen lighter by the help of Mr. David Houſton from Ireland, and Mr. Alexander Shields, who joined with him, all in one accord, witneſſing againſt the ſins of the time; which as it was very refreſhing to him, and ſatisfied his longing deſires and endeavours, ſo it furniſhed him withal to anſwer thoſe who ſaid, That he neither deſired to join with another miniſter, nor ſo much as to meet with

* Mr. Peden on his death bed ſent for him, and after ſome conference owned he had been miſinformed anent him; exhorted him to go forward, and he would be carried honeſtly through; aſked his forgiveneſs, and deſired him to pray with him before he departed: all which Mr. Renwick did with great cheerfulneſs. See Walker's remarks of the life of Mr. Peden.

† See his letter to Earlſton, page 163.

with any other for joining. The firſt being already confuted, and as for the other, it is well known how far he travelled both in Scotland and England to meet with miniſters for a coaleſcence, who ſuperciliouſly refuſed. He once ſent a friend on that purpoſe to a miniſter of great note in Glendale in Northumberland, but he peremptorily refuſed. At another time, in the ſame country, before that he happened to be in a much reſpected gentlewoman's houſe, where providentially Dr. Rule came to viſit, whom Mr. James, in another room, overheard diſcharging her by many arguments to entertain or countenance Mr. Renwick, if he ſhould come that way; whereupon he ſent for the doctor, letting him know that the ſame perſon was in the houſe, and that he deſired to diſcourſe with him on that head, but this he refuſed.

After this one informed againſt him to the Holland miniſters, who returned back with Mr. Brackel's advice to Mr. Renwick and others; but as it reliſhed of a goſpel ſpirit, not like that of his informers, it was no way offenſive to him. Mr. Roelman, another famous Dutch divine, and a great ſympathizer once with Mr. Renwick and that afflicted party, by their informations, turned alſo his enemy, which was more weighty to him, that ſuch a great man ſhould be ſo credulous; but all theſe things never moved him, being fully reſolved to ſuffer this and more for the cauſe of Chriſt.

In 1687, a proclamation was iſſued out Feb. 12. tolerating the moderate preſbyterians to meet in their private houſes to hear the indulged miniſters, while the field meetings ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour of law, *&c.* A ſecond proclamation was given June 28. allowing all to ſerve God in their own way, in any houſe, *&c.* A third was emitted Oct. 5. declaring that all preachers and hearers at any meeting in the open fields ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity that law will allow, *&c.* and that all diſſenting miniſters who preach in houſes ſhould teach nothing that ſhould alienate the heart of the people from the government; and that the privy counſellors, ſheriffs, *&c.* ſhould be acquainted with the places ſet apart for their preaching, *ect.* This proclamation it ſeems was granted as an anſwer to an addreſs for the toleration given in, in name of all the preſbyterian miniſters July 21. 1687.

Whereupon Mr. Renwick found it his duty not only to declare againſt the granters, but alſo againſt the accepters of this toleration; warning alſo the people of the hazard of their ſucceſſion to it, *&c.* At which the indulged were

ſo

ſo incenſed, that no ſooner was their meeting well ſettled, than they began to ſhew their teeth at him, calling him an intruder, a jeſuit, a white devil, going through the land carrying the devil's white flag; that he had done more hurt to the church of Scotland, than its enemies had done theſe twenty years, *etc.*: As alſo ſpreading papers through the country, as given under his hand, to render him odious; which in truth were nothing elſe than forgeries, wherein they only diſcovered their own treachery.

Yet all this could not move him, even when his enemies were ſhooting their arrows at him; being not only the butt of the wicked, but the ſcorn of profeſſors alſo, who were at their eaſe; and a man much wondered at every way; yet ſtill he continued at his work, his inward man increaſing more and more, when his outward man was much decaying; and his zeal for fulfilling his miniſtry, and finiſhing his teſtimony ſtill increaſing the more, the leſs peace and accommodation he could find in the world; at the ſame time becoming ſo weak, that he could not mount or ſit on horſeback; ſo that he behoved to be carried to the place of preaching, and never in the leaſt complained of any diſtemper in the time thereof.

In the mean while, the perſecution againſt him being ſo furious, that in leſs than five months after the toleration, fifteen moſt deſperate ſearches were made for him: To encourage which a proclamation was made Oct. 18. wherein a reward of 100 pounds ſterling was offered to any who could bring in the perſons of him, and ſome others, either dead or alive.

In the beginning of the year 1688, being now drawing near the period of his courſe, he ran very faſt, and wrought very hard both as a chriſtian and as a miniſter: And having for ſome time had a deſign to emit ſomething in way of teſtimony againſt both the granters and accepters of the toleration, that might afterward ſtand on record. He went toward Edinburgh, and on his way at Peebles he eſcaped very narrowly being apprehended. When at Edinburgh he longed and could have no reſt till he got that which he, with the concurrence of ſome others, had drawn up in form delivered; and upon inquiry, hearing that there was to be no preſbytery or ſynod of tolerated miniſters for ſome time, he went to a miniſter of great note amongſt them*, whom he heard was moderator, and delivered a proteſtation into his hands; and then, upon ſome

* Mr. Hugh Kennedy then moderator.

reaſons, emitted it in publie as his teſtimony againſt the toleration †.

From thence he went to Fife, and preached ſome ſabbaths: and, upon the 29th of January, preached his laſt ſermon at Borrowſtonneſs. Then returned to Edinburgh, and lodged in a friend's houſe in the Caſtle hill, who dealt in uncuſtomed goods; and wanting his wonted circumſpection (his time being come), one John Juſtice, a waiter, diſcovered the houſe that very night; and hearing him praying in the family, ſuſpected who it was, attacked the houſe next morning Feb. 1. and pretending to ſearch for uncuſtomed goods, they got entrance; and, when Mr. Renwick came to the door, Mr. Juſtice challenged him in theſe words, My life for it this is Mr. Renwick.——After which he went to the ſtreet crying for aſſiſtance to carry the dog Renwick to the guard.

In the mean time, Mr. James and other two friends eſſayed to make their eſcape at another door, but were repelled by the waiters. Whereupon he diſcharged a piſtol which made the aſſailants give way; but as he paſſed thro' them, one with a long ſtaff hit him on the breaſt, which doubtleſs diſabled him from running. Running down the Caſtle-wynd toward the head of the Cowgate, having loſt his hat, he was taken notice of, and ſeized by a fellow on the ſtreet, while the other two eſcaped.

He was taken to the guard, and there kept ſome time. One Graham, captain of the guard, ſeeing him of a little ſtature and comely youthful countenance, cried, What! is this the boy Renwick that the nation hath been ſo much troubled with. At the ſame time one bailie Charters, coming in, with great inſolency accuſed him with bawdy houſes, which he replied to with deſerved diſdain. Then he was carried before a quorum of the council; and when Graham delivered him off his hand, he was heard ſay, Now I have given Renwick up to the preſbyterians, let them do with him what they pleaſe. What paſſed here could not be learned.

He was committed cloſe priſoner and laid in irons, where aſſoon as he was left alone he betook himſelf to prayer to his God, making a free offer of his life to him, requeſting for through-bearing grace, and that his enemies might be reſtrained from torturing his body; all which requeſts were

† This teſtimony was again of late republiſhed by ſome friends to the ſame cauſe.

were ſignally granted, and by him thankfully acknowledged before his execution.

Before he received his indictment, he was taken before the chancellor, into the viſcount of Tarbet's lodging, and there examined concerning his owning the authority of James VII. the ceſs, and carrying arms at field-meetings; and delivered himſelf with ſuch freedom and boldneſs as aſtoniſhed all preſent. The reaſon why he was interrogated anent the ceſs was, a pocket-book found about him, in which were the notes of two ſermons he had preached on theſe points which he owned. There were alſo ſome capitals in the ſame book, and becauſe the committee was urgent to know theſe names, partly to avoid torture, and knowing they could render the perſons no more obnoxious, he ingenuouſly declared the truth of the matter.——Which ingenuity did much allay their rage againſt him; and being aſked by the chancellor, What perſuaſion he was of? He anſwered, Of the proteſtant preſbyterian perſuaſion. Again, How it came to paſs he differed then ſo much from other preſbyterians, who had accepted of the toleration, and owned the king's authority; and what he thought of them? He anſwered, He was a preſbyterian, and adhered to the old preſbyterian principles (which all were obliged by the covenant to maintain), and were once generally profeſſed and maintained by the nation from 1640, to 1660, from which they had apoſtatized for a little liberty (they knew not how long), as you yourſelves (ſaid he) have done for a little honour. The chancellor replied, and the reſt applauded, That they believed, that theſe were the preſbyterian principles, and that all preſbyterians would own them as well as he, if they had but the courage, *etc.* However on Feb. 3. he received his indictment upon the three foreſaid heads, *viz.* diſowning the king's authority, the unlawfulneſs of paying the ceſs, and the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms. All which he was to anſwer on the 8th of February. To the indictment was added a liſt of forty-five, out of which the jury was to be choſen, and a liſt of the witneſſes to be brought againſt him; which are too tedious here to inſert.

After receiving his indictment, his mother got acceſs to ſee him, to whom he ſpoke many ſavoury words. And on Sabbath Feb. 5. he regretted that now he muſt leave his poor flock; and declared, "That if it were his choice, he "could not think on it without terror, to enter again into "and venture upon that conflict with a body of ſin and "death; yet if he were again to go and preach in the field,

" he durſt not vary in the leaſt nor flinch one hair-breadth " from the teſtimony, but would look on himſelf as oblig- " ed to uſe the ſame freedom and faithfulneſs as he had " done before." And in a letter on Feb. 6. he deſired that the perſons, whoſe names were decyphered, might be acquainted with it, and concludes, " I deſire none may be " troubled on my behalf, but rather rejoice with him, who, " with hope and joy, is waiting for his coronation-hour." Another time his mother aſked him, How he was? He anſwered, He was well, but that ſince his laſt examination he could ſcarcely pray. At which ſhe looked on him with an affrighted countenance, and he told her, He could hardly pray, being ſo taken up with praiſing, and raviſhed with the joy of the Lord. When his mother was expreſſing her fear of fainting, ſaying, How ſhall I look upon that head and thoſe hands ſet up among the reſt on the port of the city, *etc!* He ſmiled, telling her, She ſhould not ſee that, for (ſaid he) I have offered my life unto the Lord, and " have fought that he may bind them up, and I am per- " ſuaded that they ſhall not be permitted to torture my " body, nor touch one hair of my head farther." He was at firſt much afraid of the tortures, but now, having obtained a perſuaſion that theſe ſhould not be his trials, thro' grace he was helped to ſay, " That the terror of them was " ſo removed, that he would rather chooſe to be caſt into " a chaldron of burning oil, than do any thing that might " wrong truth." When ſome other friends were permitted to ſee him, he exhorted them to make ſure their peace with God, and to ſtudy ſtedfaſtneſs in his ways; and when they regretted their loſs of him, he ſaid, " They had more " need to thank the Lord, that he ſhould now be taken a- " way from theſe reproaches † which had broken his heart, " and which could not be otherwiſe wiped of, even though " he ſhould get his life, without yielding in the leaſt."

Monday Feb. 8. he appeared before the juſticiary, and when his indictment was read, the juſtice-clerk aſked him, If he adhered to his former confeſſion, and acknowledged all that was in the libel? He anſwered, " All except where " it is ſaid I have caſt off all fear of God; that I deny; for " it is becauſe I fear to offend God, and violate his law, " that I am here ſtanding ready to be condemned." Then he was interrogate, If he owned authority, and James VII. to

† For beſides theſe reproaches already noticed, with many others, he and his followers were charged as men of anarchical, murdering and bloody principles, which makes it the leſs wonder that their ſucceſſors ſhould be ſtill charged with the ſame.

to be his lawful ſovereign? He anſwered, I own all autho-
"rity that hath its preſcriptions and limitations from the
"word of God, but cannot own this uſurper as lawful
"king, ſeeing both by the word of God, ſuch an one is
"incapable to bear rule, and likewiſe by the ancient laws
"of the kingdom, which admit none to the crown of
"Scotland, until he ſwear to defend the Proteſtant reli-
"gion; which a man of his profeſſion could not do."—
They urged, Could he deny him to be king? Was he not the late king's brother? Had the late king any children lawfully begotten? Was he not declared to be his ſucceſſor by act of parliament! He anſwered, "He was no queſ-
"tion king *de facto*, but not *de jure*; that he was brother
"to the other king, he knew nothing to the contrary;
"what children the other had he knew not; but from the
"word of God, that ought to be the rule of all laws, or
"from the ancient laws of the kingdom, it could not be
"ſhewen that he had or ever could have any right." The next queſtion was, If he owned and had taught it to be unlawful to pay ceſſes and taxations to his majeſty? He anſwered, "For the preſent ceſs enacted for the preſent uſur-
"per, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is
"oppreſſive to the ſubject, for the maintenance of tyran-
"ny, and becauſe it is impoſed for ſuppreſſing the goſpel.
"Would it have been thought lawful for the Jews in the
"days of Nebuchadnezzar to have brought every one a
"coal to augment the flame of the furnace to devour the
"three children, if ſo they had been required by that ty-
"rant, *&c.*?"

Next they moved the queſtion, If he owned he had taught his hearers to come armed to their meetings, and in caſe of oppoſition to reſiſt? He anſwered, It were incon-
"ſiſtent with reaſon and religion both to do otherwiſe;
"you yourſelves would do it in the like circumſtances. I
"own that I taught them to carry arms to defend them-
"ſelves, and reſiſt your unjuſt violence." Further they aſked if he owned the note-book and the two ſermons written therein, and that he had preached them? He ſaid, If
"ye have added nothing I will own it, and am ready to
"ſeal all the truths contained therein with my blood."—
All his confeſſion being read over, he was required to ſubſcribe it. He ſaid, "He would not do it, ſince he looked
"on it as a partial owning of their authority." After refuſing ſeveral times, he ſaid, "With proteſtation I will
"ſubſcribe the paper as it is my teſtimony, but not in obe-
"dience to you."

Then

Then the aſſizers were called in by fives and ſworn, againſt whom he objected nothing; but proteſted, "That none might ſit on his aſſize, that profeſſed Proteſtant or Preſbyterian principles, or an adherence to the covenanted work of reformation *." He was brought in guilty, and ſentence paſſed, That he ſhould be executed in the graſs-market on the Friday following. Lord Linlithgow juſtice-general aſked, If he deſired longer time? He anſwered, It "was all one to him, if it was protracted, it was welcome; "if it was ſhortened, it was welcome; his Maſter's time was "the beſt:"—Then he was returned to priſon. Without his knowledge, and againſt his will, yea, after open refuſing to the advocate to deſire it, he was reprieved to the 17th day; which gave occaſion to ſeverals to renew their reproaches.

Though none who ſuffered in the former part of this diſmal period, ſpoke with more fortitude, freedom and boldneſs than Mr. Renwick, yet none were treated with ſo much moderation. The lenity of the juſticiary was much admired beyond their ordinary; for they admitted him to ſay what he pleaſed without threatening and interruption, even though he gave none of them the title of lord, but Linlithgow, who was a nobleman by birth. And though his friends (which was not uſual after ſentence) were denied acceſs, yet both papiſts and epiſcopals were permitted to ſee

* And it is to be remarked, that many of the Jury were profeſſors, and eminent in the tolerated meetings; while others, even of the malignants, choſe rather to run the hazard of the penalty, as the laird of Torrence, who compeared not, and Somerville chamberlain of Douglas, who, though when he appeared, yet when he ſaw Mr. Renwick turn about, and direct his ſpeech to them, he ran away, ſaying, He trembled to think to take away the life of ſuch a pious like man, though they ſhould take his whole eſtate. The liſt of the Aſſizers is as follows:

James Hume of Kimmergen.
John Hume of Nine wells.
John Martin clerk to the manufactory.
Alexander Martin ſometimes clerk of ——
Robert Halyburton merchant.
Thomas Laurie merchant.
Archibald Johnſton merchant.
Thomas Wylie merchant.
James Hamilton vintner.
William Cockburn merchant.
James Hamilton jun. ſtationer.
Robert Currie ſtationer.
Joſeph Young merchant.
John Cuningham merchant in Glaſgow.
Ninian Banantine of Kaims, chancellor.

ſee him. Biſhop Paterſon often viſited him, nay he ſought another reprieve for him; which would eaſily have been granted, had he only petitioned for it. The biſhop aſked him, Think you none can be ſaved but thoſe of your principles? He anſwered, "I never ſaid nor thought that none "could be ſaved, except they were of theſe principles; but "theſe are truths which I ſuffer for, and which I have not "raſhly concluded on, but deliberately and of a long time "have been confirmed that they are ſufficient points to "ſuffer for." The biſhop took his leave, declaring his ſorrow for his being ſo tenacious, and ſaid, "It had been "a great loſs he had been of ſuch principles, for he was a "pretty lad." Again, the night before he ſuffered, he ſent to him, to ſignify his readineſs to ſerve him to the utmoſt of his power. Mr. Renwick thanked him for his courteſy, but knew nothing he could do, or that he could deſire.

Mr. M'Naught, one of the curates, made him a viſit in his canonical habit, which Mr. Renwick did not like. The curate among other things aſked his opinion concerning the toleration, and thoſe that accepted it. Mr. Renwick declared that he was againſt the toleration, but as for them that embraced it, he judged them to be godly men. The curate leaving him, commended him for one of great gravity and ingenuity, *&c.* Dalrymple the king's advocate came alſo to viſit him, and declared that he was ſorry for his death, and that it ſhould fall out in his ſhort time. Several popiſh prieſts and gentlemen of the guard, with ſome of the tolerated miniſters, were permitted to converſe with him. The prieſt at leaving him was overheard ſaying, He was a moſt obſtinate heretic, for he had uſed ſuch freedom with them as it became a proverb in the tolbooth at the time; Begone (ſaid they), as Mr. Renwick ſaid to the prieſts.

Several petitions were wrote from ſeveral hands, of the moſt favourable ſtrain that could be invented, and ſent him to ſubſcribe, but all in vain; yea, it was offered to him, if he would but let a drop of ink fall on a bit of paper, it would ſatisfy; but he would not. In the mean time, he was kept ſo cloſe that he could get nothing wrote. His begun teſtimony which he was writing was taken from him, and pen and ink removed. However he got a ſhort paper wrote the night before, which is to be found in the cloud of witneſſes, as his laſt ſpeech and teſtimony.

On Tueſday the 14th, he was brought before the council on account of the informatory vindication, but what paſſed there cannot be learned, farther than their ſignifying

ing

ing how much kindneſs they had ſhewn him, in that they had reprieved him without his ſupplication; a thing never done before. He anſwered with extraordinary cheerfulneſs, rejoicing that he was counted worthy to ſuffer ſhame for the name of his Maſter. A friend, aſking him, how he was?—He ſaid, Very well, and he would be better within three days. He told his mother, That the laſt execution he was witneſs to was Robert Gray's, and that he had a ſtrong impreſſion in his mind that he ſhould be the next; and often ſaid, He ſaw need for his ſuffering at this time; and that he was perſuaded his death would do more good than his life for many years could have done. Being aſked, what he thought God would do with the remnant behind him? He anſwered, It would be well with them, for God would not forſake nor caſt off his inheritance.

On the day of his execution, the chief jailor begged that at the place of execution, he would not mention the cauſes of his death, and would forbear all reflections. Mr. Renwick told him, That what God would give him to ſpeak, that he would ſpeak, and nothing leſs. The jailor told him, that he might ſtill have his life, if he would but ſign that petition which he offered him. He anſwered, That he never read in ſcripture or in hiſtory, where martyrs petitioned for their lives, when called to ſuffer for truth, though they might require them not to take their life, and remonſtrate the wickedneſs of murdering them; but in the preſent circumſtance he judged it would be found a receding from truth, and a declining from a teſtimony for Chriſt.

His mother and ſiſters, having obtained leave to ſee him, after ſome refreſhment, in returning thanks, he ſaid, "O "Lord, thou haſt brought me within two hours of eter- "nity, and this is no matter of terror to me, more than "if I were to ly down in a bed of roſes; nay, thro' grace, "to thy praiſe, I may ſay, I never had the fear of death "ſince I came to this priſon; but from the place where I "was taken, I could have gone very compoſedly to the "ſcaffold. O! how can I contain this, to be within two "hours of the crown of glory." He exhorted them much "to prepare for death, for it is (ſaid he) the king of ter- "rors, though not to me now, as it was ſometimes in my "hidings; but now let us be glad and rejoice, for the "marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made "herſelf ready. Would ever I have thought that the fear "of ſuffering and of death could be ſo taken from me!

"But

"But what ſhall I ſay to it? It is the doing of the Lord, "and marvellous in our eyes.—I have many times coun- "ted the coſt of following Chriſt, but never thought it "would be ſo eaſy; and now who knows the honour and "happineſs of that? *He that confeſſeth me before men, him "will I confeſs before the Father.*" He ſaid many times, "Now I am near the end of time, I deſire to bleſs the "Lord, it is an expreſly ſweet and ſatisfying peace to me, "that he hath kept me from complying with enemies in "the leaſt." Perceiving his mother weep, he exhorted her "to remember that they who loved any thing better than "Chriſt were not worthy of him. If ye love me, rejoice "that I am going to my Father, to obtain the enjoyment "of what eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, *&c.*" Then he went to prayer, wherein he run out much in praiſe, and pleaded much in behalf of the ſuffering remnant, that the Lord would raiſe up witneſſes that might tranſmit the teſtimony to ſucceeding generations, and that the Lord would not leave Scotland, aſſerting with great confidence of hope, that he was ſtrengthened in the hope of it, that the Lord would be gracious to Scotland.

At length, hearing the drums beat for the guard, he fell into a tranſport, ſaying, Yonder the welcome warning to my marriage; the bridegroom is coming; I am ready, I am ready. Then taking his leave of his mother and ſiſters, he intreated them not to be diſcouraged, for ere all were done, they ſhould ſee matter of praiſe in that day's work. He was taken to the low council-houſe (as was uſual) where after his ſentence was read, they deſired him to ſpeak what he had to ſay there. He ſaid. "I have no- "thing to ſay to you, but that which is written in Jer. "xxiv. 14, 15. *As for me, behold I am in your hand,* &c." He was told that the drums would beat at the ſcaffold all the time, and therefore they deſired him to pray there; but he refuſed, and declared he would not be limited in what he would ſay, and that he had premeditated nothing, but would ſpeak what was given him. They offered him any miniſter to be with him; but he anſwered, If I would "have had any of them for my counſellors or comforters, "I ſhould not have been here this day. I require none "with me but this one man;" meaning the friend that was waiting upon him.

He went from thence to the ſcaffold with great cheerfulneſs, as one in a tranſport of triumphant joy, and had the greateſt croud of ſpectators that has perhaps been ſeen at any execution; but little was heard on account of the

beating of the drums all the time without intermiſſion, from his firſt aſcending the ſcaffold until he was caſt over. Yet from the friends and others, permitted to attend him, there were ſome of his laſt words collected, which were as follows.

When he went firſt unto the ſcaffold, ſome forbade him to ſpeak any thing, becauſe the people could not hear; which he took no notice of. There was a curate ſtanding at the ſide of the ſcaffold, who, tempting him, ſaid, Own our king and we ſhall pray for you. He anſwered, I will have none of your prayers; I am come here to bear my teſtimony againſt you and ſuch as you are. The curate ſaid, Own our king and pray for him, whatever you ſay againſt us.—He replied, "I will diſcourſe no more with you. "I am within a little to appear before him, who is King "of kings and Lord of lords, who ſhall pour ſhame, con- "tempt and confuſion upon all the kings of earth, who "have not ruled for him."

Then he ſang Pſalm ciii. read Rev. xix.: then prayed, commending his ſoul to God through the Redeemer, and his cauſe to be vindicated in his own time, and appealed to the Lord if this was not the moſt joyful day he ever ſaw in the world; a day that he had much longed for. He inſiſted much in bleſſing the Lord in honouring him with the crown of martyrdom, an honour which the angels were not privileged with, being incapable of laying down their lives for their princely Maſter. He complained of being diſturbed in worſhipping God; but, ſaid he, I ſhall be above theſe clouds; then ſhall I enjoy thee, and glorify thee, without interruption or intermiſſion for ever. Prayer being ended, he ſpoke to the people much to the purpoſe of his written teſtimony, whereof ſomewhat was remembered to this effect:

"SPECTATORS, I am come here this day to lay down "my life for adhering to the truths of Chriſt, for which "I am neither afraid nor aſhamed to ſuffer. Nay I bleſs "the Lord that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled "me to ſuffer any thing for him; and I deſire to praiſe "his grace that he hath not only kept me from the groſs "pollutions of the time, but alſo from the many ordinary "pollutions of children; and for ſuch as I have been ſtain- "ed with, he hath waſhed and cleanſed me from them in "his own blood. I am this day to lay down my life for "theſe three things: (1.) For diſowning the uſurpation "and tyranny of James duke of York. (2.) For preach-

"ing

" ing that it was unlawful to pay the ceſs expreſly exacted " for bearing down the goſpel. (3.) For teaching, that it " was lawful for people to carry arms for defending them- " ſelves in their meeting for the perſecuted goſpel-ordinan- " ces. I think a teſtimony for theſe is worth many lives, " and if I had ten thouſand I would think it little enough to " lay them all down for the ſame.

" Dear friends, I die a Preſbyterian Proteſtant; I own " the word of God as the rule of faith and manners; I " own the Confeſſion of Faith, larger and ſhorter Cate- " chiſms, Sum of ſaving knowledge, Directory for public " and family Worſhip, Covenants national and ſolemn " League, Acts of general aſſemblies, and all the faithful " contendings that have been for the covenanted reforma- " tion. I leave my teſtimony approving the preaching in " the fields, and the defending the ſame by arms. I adjoin " my teſtimony to all theſe truths that have been ſealed by " bloodſhed, either on ſcaffold, field or ſeas, for the cauſe " of Chriſt. I leave my teſtimony againſt popery, prela- " cy, Eraſtianiſm, *&c.* againſt all profanity, and every thing " contrary to ſound doctrine and the power of godlineſs, " particularly againſt all uſurpations and encroachments " made upon Chriſt's right, the Prince of the kings of the " earth, who alone muſt bear the glory of ruling in his " own kingdom the church, and in particular againſt this ab- " ſolute power, uſurped by this uſurper, that belongs to " no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of Je- " hovah; and againſt his toleration, flowing from this ab- " ſolute power."

Here he was ordered to have done.——He anſwered, I have near done; and then ſaid, " Ye that are the people " of God, do not weary to maintain the teſtimony of the " day in your ſtations and places; and, whatever ye do, " make ſure an intereſt in Chriſt, for there is a ſtorm com- " ing, that ſhall try your foundation. Scotland muſt be " rid of Scotland before the delivery come; and you that " are ſtrangers to God, break off your ſins by repentance, " elſe I will be a ſad witneſs againſt you in the day of the " Lord."

Here they made him deſiſt, and go up the ladder, where he prayed and ſaid, " Lord, I die in the faith that thou " wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the " blood of thy witneſſes the ſeed of thy church, and re- " turn again and be glorious in our land.——And now, " Lord, I am ready; the bride, the Lamb's wife, hath " made herſelf ready." The napkin being tied about his

face, he ſaid to his friend attending, "Farewel; be diligent in duty, make your peace with God through Chriſt. "There is a great trial coming. As to the remnant I leave, "I have committed them to God. Tell them from me, "not to weary nor be diſcouraged in maintaining the teſtimony, and the Lord will provide you teachers and miniſters, and when he comes, he will make theſe deſpiſed "truths glorious in the earth," He was turned over with theſe words in his mouth, Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed me, Lord God of truth.

Thus died the faithful, pious, and zealous Mr. James Renwick on the third day over the 26th year of his age, a young man and a young miniſter, but a ripe Chriſtian and renowned martyr of Chriſt, for whoſe ſake he loved not his life dear unto the death, by whoſe blood and the word of his teſtimony he overcame, and thus got above all ſnares and ſorrows, and to the conviction of many that formerly reproached him was as ſignally vindicated of, as he was in his life ſhamefully reproached with all the aſperſions, obloquies and calumnies, that were caſt upon him for proſecuting that teſtimony for truth, which now he ſealed with his blood, in ſuch a treaſure of patience, meekneſs, humility, conſtancy, courage, burning love and blazing zeal, as did very much confound enemies, convince neutrals, confirm halters, comfort friends, and aſtoniſh all.

He was of ſtature ſomewhat low, of a fair complexion, and, like another young David, of a ruddy and beautiful countenance. Moſt men ſpoke well of him after he was dead; even his murderers, as well as others, ſaid, They thought he went to heaven. Malignants generally ſaid, He died a Preſbyterian. The viſcount of Tarbet (one of the counſellors), one day in company, when ſpeaking of him, ſaid, "That he was one of the ſtiffeſt maintainers of "his principles that ever came before them. Others we "uſed always to cauſe one time or other to waver, but him "we could never move.—Where we left him, there we "found him. We could never make him yield or vary in "the leaſt. He was the man we have ſeen moſt plainly "and pertinaciouſly adhering to the old way of Preſbyte-"rian government, who, if he had lived in Knox's days, "would not have died by any laws then in being." He was the laſt that on a ſcaffold ſealed his teſtimony for religion, liberty, and the covenanted work of reformation in Scotland.

Beſides what hand Mr. Renwick had in the informatory vindication, and the forementioned teſtimony againſt the toleration

toleration (both of which have long ago been publiſhed), there was alſo of late, by ſome well wiſhers to the ſame cauſe and teſtimony, publiſhed a collection of very valuable prefaces, lectures and ſermons of his, in two volumes; as alſo another collection of very choice letters, wrote by him from July 8. 1682, to the day of his death, Feb. 17. 1688. There is alſo a treatiſe of his upon the admiſſion of ruling elders, which the reader will find affixed to his life and vindication of his teſtimony wrote by Mr. Shields.

Wherefore ſeeing we alſo are compaſſed about with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes, &c.—*Theſe are they which came out of great tribulations, and have waſhed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.—I ſaw, under the altar, the ſouls of them that were ſlain for the word of God, and for the teſtimony which they held: and they cried with a loud voice, ſaying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, doſt thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth—Here is the patience of the ſaints, here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jeſus.*—Heb. xii. 1. Rev. vii. 14. and vi. 9, &c. xiv. 2.

N. B. In Scotland during theſe twenty eight years perſecution, according to calculation, above 18000 people ſuffered death, or the outmoſt hardſhips and extremities; whereof 1700 were baniſhed to the plantations, beſides 750 baniſhed to the northern iſlands, of theſe 200 were executed. Thoſe who ſuffered by impriſonment, confinement and other cruelties of this nature, were computed at or above 3600, including the 800 laſt mentioned, and 55 who were panneled to be executed when apprehended. Thoſe killed in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes or on ſurpriſe, and thoſe who died of their wounds on ſuch occaſions were reckoned to be 680. Thoſe who went to voluntary baniſhment to other countries, &c. were calculated at 7000. About 498 were murdered in cold blood without proceſs of law, beſide 262 who were by form of law executed. But the number of thoſe who periſhed through cold, hunger and other diſtreſſes, contracted in their flight to the mountains, and ſometimes even in the article of death murdered by the bloody ſoldiers, cannot be well calculated, but will certainly make up the number above ſpecified. And yet like the Lord's church and people of old, while in Egypt, the more they were oppreſſed the more they grew, the blood of the martyrs being always the ſeed of the church. Yea to the honour of truth, and the praiſe of that God whom they ſerved, they were ſo far from being ſpent, waſted or eradicated, that at the revolution they could raiſe a regiment in one day without beat of drum, the ancient motto of the church of Scotland being verified now as evidently as ever, *Behold the buſh burned with fire, and the buſh was not conſumed.*

See a more full account of theſe ſufferings in the memoirs of the church of Scotland, from page 290 to 295.

The

The Life of Mr. ALEXANDER MONCRIEF.

IN virtue of an act of the general aſſembly 1642. appointing a liſt of ſix able men for the planting of vacant churches, Mr. Moncrief was pitched upon for the church of Skunie in Fife; and upon Sept. 26. 1643, was received there with great contentment.

After which he had an active hand in carrying on the work of reformation at that time; and was nominated in the commiſſion for the affairs of the kirk. In the years 1650 and 1651, he made no ſmall appearance among theſe called proteſtors; and had a particular hand in the weſtern remonſtrance, and the cauſes of God's wrath, which were drawn up about that time.

During Cromwel's uſurpation, he ſuffered much on account of his loyalty, in praying for the king. Upon account of which his houſe was often ſearched, and rifled by the Engliſh, and he obliged to hide himſelf. Upon the Sabbath he had ſpies ſet upon him, and was cloſely watched where he went after preaching. He was frequently purſued, and one time a party of horſe came after him, yet by a ſpecial providence (though attacked once and again by them) he got clear of them. Yet a little after he was feized by them in a neighbouring congregation and impriſoned ſome time *.

After he was liberated, he was pitched upon as a perſon of great courage and magnanimity to preſent the proteſtation and teſtimony † againſt the toleration, and the errors and ſectaries that then prevailed in church and ſtate, given in Oct. 1658, to general Monk, drawn up and ſigned by himſelf, Meſſrs. Rutherford, James Guthrie and many others. This he did with the greateſt firmneſs, for which he

* Wodrow's hiſtory, Vol. I. page 71, &c.

† In this teſtimony among other things they ſay, "We do profeſs our diſſatisfaction that the civil powers ſhould take upon them to preſcribe public humiliation and thankſgiving, with the cauſes and diets thereof, to all the miniſters and members of this church, as being contrary to the well warranted privileges and conſtant practice of the church itſelf, and in its own nature introductory to greater encroachments, and putting into the hands of the civil powers the modelling of the public worſhip of God, a thing moſt properly eccleſiaſtic, &c."

he was expoſed unto new extremities, but what return he had for all his faithfulneſs and loyalty to the king comes immediately to be diſcovered.

For no ſooner was the king reſtored and ſettled in his dominions, than this worthy and good man was involved in a new ſeries of ſufferings. For, being aſſembled at Edinburgh, with Mr. James Guthrie and eight others of his brethren in Aug. 1660, where they drew up that humble ſupplication and addreſs to the king, commonly called, The paper of the 23d of Auguſt, they were all impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh, except Mr. Hay of Craignethen, who eſcaped.

He continued under confinement until July 12. 1661, that he had his indictment and charge, much about the ſame time with Mr. James Guthrie, which runs upon his having a ſhare in the remonſtrance, and in forming the cauſes of God's wrath. Refuſing to retract any thing in them, he was brought before the parliament ſeveral times, and their proſecution for his life was ſo hot, that the earl of Athol, and others in parliament particularly intereſted and concerned in this good man and his wife, being importuned by her to appear for him in parliament, dealt with her to endeavour to prevail with him to recede from ſome of his principles, otherwiſe, they told her, it was impoſſible to ſave his life. This excellent woman anſwered, "That they all knew ſhe was happy in a good huſband, "and ſhe had a great affection for him, and many chil- "dren; yet ſhe knew him to be ſo ſtedfaſt to his princi- "ples, where his conſcience was concerned, that nobody "needed deal with him on that head; for her part, before "ſhe would contribute any thing that would break his "peace with his Maſter, ſhe would rather chuſe to receive "his head at the croſs." About the ſame time, two ladies of the firſt quality were pleaſed ſo far to concern themſelves in his caſe, as to provide a compliment in plate (which was not unuſual at that time), and ſend it to the advocate's lady. Afterward they went and viſited her on his behalf, but were told by her it was impoſſible to ſave his life, and the compliment was again returned.

Yet it was ſo over-ruled in providence, that Mr. Moncrief being much reſpected, and his hardſhips almoſt univerſally regreted, upon account of his eminent piety, integrity and uprightneſs, ſeverals of all ranks, and different perſuaſions, and unknown to him, began to make application, and interpoſe for him, ſo that the ſpirit of ſome of his moſt violent perſecutors began to abate, his proceſs lin-

gred,

gred, till, after a tedious impriſonment, he fell ſick and obtained the favour of confinement in Edinburgh.——The parliament paſſed this ſentence upon him, "That he, the "ſaid Mr. Alexander Moncrief, be for ever incapable of "exerciſing any public truſt, civil or eccleſiaſtic, within "the kingdom, until, in the next ſeſſion of parliament, "further orders be taken concerning him, and diſcharge "him in the mean time to go to his pariſh." And all this for owning before them his acceſſion to the remonſtrance and cauſes of God's wrath.

After this ſentence, when living peaceably ſome eight or nine miles from his own pariſh, people began to reſort to him, and hear him preach, whereupon, under a moſt ſevere ſtorm in the middle of winter, by virtue of an act made againſt him, he was charged to remove twenty miles from his houſe and charge, and ſeven or eight from a biſhop's ſeat or royal burgh; and was with his family forced from his houſe, and obliged to wander in that great ſtorm; and yet when he had removed to a place at a competent diſtance, even then he got a ſecond charge to remove further, till he was obliged to go to a remote place in the Highlands, where his God who had all along countenanced and ſupported him wonderfully in his troubles, honoured him to be inſtrumental in the converſion of many.

The perſecution ſomewhat abating, he brought his family to Perth, for the education of his children, where he continued preaching the goſpel. A few at firſt, but afterwards a great many, attended his miniſtry. Being again informed againſt, a party of the horſe-guards were ſent to apprehend him, but he eſcaped, though his houſe was narrowly ſearched. This forced him from his family, and he was obliged to lurk a good while after this.

At length he came with his family to Edinburgh, where he preached the goſpel many years under a ſeries of perſecution. He was intercommuned in the year 1675, and his houſe, and many other places in and about the city, were narrowly ſearched for him, yet he was always marvelouſly hid, of which many inſtances might be given. When he went to the country, many a time parties of the guard were ſent in queſt of him, and ſometimes he would meet them in his return, and paſs through the midſt of them unknown. When he was one time lodged in a remote part of the ſuburbs of Edinburgh, a captain, with a party, ſearched every houſe and chamber of the cloſs, but never entered into the houſe he was in, though the door was open.

Again,

Again, when he was lurking in a private family without the walls of Edinburgh, a party was ſent to apprehend him. Providentially he had gone out to walk by the houſe; the party, obſerving him by his gravity to be a miniſter, ſaid one to another, That may be the man we are ſeeking.—— Nay, ſaid another, he would not be walking there. Again, when he was advertiſed that the ſoldiers were coming to ſearch for him in his own houſe, he lingered till another miniſter came to him, and ſaid, Sir, you muſt ſurely have a protection from heaven, that you are ſo ſecure here, when the town is in ſuch diſorder, and a general ſearch to be made. Immediately he went off, and in a little after Mr. Moncrief went out; and was not well down ſtairs before the guard came up and ſearched his houſe. He took a ſhort turn in the ſtreet, and came back juſt as the guard went off.

But the perſecution growing ſtill worſe, he was obliged to diſperſe his family for ſome time. He was ſolicited, when in theſe circumſtances, to leave the kingdom, and had an ample call to Londonderry in Ireland, yet he always declined to leave his native country, and, in his pleaſant way, uſed to ſay, He would ſuffer where he had ſinned, and eſſay to keep poſſeſſion of his Maſter's houſe, till he ſhould come again. He had a ſore ſickneſs about the beginning of June 1680. In which time he uttered many heavenly expreſſions. But he recovered and continued in this the houſe of his pilgrimage until harveſt 1688, when he died, and got above all ſin and ſorrow, after he had endured a great fight of affliction to obtain a crown of eternal life.

He was mighty in prayer, and had ſome very remarkable and ſtrange returns thereof. His memory was ſavoury a long time after his death. Many could bear witneſs, that God was with him of a truth. He left many ſeals of his miniſtry in Fife, and was a moſt faithful and painful miniſter. His ſufferings are a little hinted at in the fulfilling of the ſcripture, though neither he nor his perſecutors are mentioned there. The relation runs thus:

"The firſt relates to a conſiderable family in this country, who made it their buſineſs to trouble and perſecute the miniſter of that pariſh, an eminently holy and faithful man, yea, upon account of his faithfulneſs, the old laird of that houſe did purſue him, out of malice, with a falſe libel before the ſynod, either to get him broken and put out of the pariſh, or at leaſt to cruſh his ſpirit and weaken him in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, but did there meet with a diſappointment,

pointment, the Lord clearing the innocence of his ſervant, and the malice of the other. At which time that gentleman, while he went to the ſtable where his horſes were, being then at the ſynod on that account, was in the place ſtricken with ſickneſs, forced to haſten home, and take his bed; and there ſeized with horror of conſcience, which made him often cry, intreating moſt earneſtly for his miniſter, whom he had thus perſecuted, and often ſaid, Oh! to ſee his face; and told his friends, that if he would not come to him, they ſhould carry him to his houſe. But his lady did out of malice, in a moſt rude and violent way, hinder the miniſter's acceſs to him, and thus that poor gentleman in great horror and anguiſh died.

After his death his lady ſtill purſued the quarrel with no leſs malice, until ſhe alſo fell ſick, and had much terror upon her conſcience, crying out for the miniſter, who was providentially abſent, ſo that ſhe was denied in that which ſhe kept back from her huſband; but he came to her before her death, and ſhe confeſſed, with much bitterneſs, her wrong to him. After this, a young man, who had been their chaplain, and engaged by them to appear as a witneſs againſt that godly man, was ſo terrified in his conſcience, that he could get no reſt till he went to the next ſynod, to acknowledge that horrid ſin, in bearing falſe witneſs againſt his miniſter; but being by ſome kept from a public appearance, he went to another part of the country, where it is reported he died diſtracted.

Laſt of all the young laird, who ſucceeded in that eſtate, would needs purſue the quarrel, and finding more acceſs through the change of the times, did ſo endeavour with ſome who were in power, that an order was paſſed for baniſhing him out of that pariſh; and although he was then otherwiſe accuſed upon account of the public cauſe, yet it was known, the violent perſecution of that gentleman was the main cauſe of that ſentence, as thoſe who had a hand in paſſing it did confeſs; for he had ſolemnly ſworn, that if he lived there, that miniſter ſhould not be in that place. Returning to his houſe a few days after, and boaſting how he had kept his word, and got his miniſter caſt out of his pariſh, he was ſuddenly ſtruck by the Lord with a high fever, which plucked him away in the very ſtrength of his years." Fulfilling of the ſcriptures, page 428.

The

The Life of Mr. ANGUS MACBEAN.

MR. ANGUS MACBEAN was born about the year 1656. After he had ſpent ſome time at the grammar-ſchool with good proficiency, he went to the univerſity of Aberdeen; where he began to diſtinguiſh himſelf, no leſs for his great regard to practical religion (altho' he was yet of the epiſcopal perſuaſion), than for his extraordinary parts and abilities in learning.

About this time the biſhops, having found their miſtake in ſending men of little learning and leſs religion to the ſouth and weſt parts of Scotland, where the people were much diſaffected to them, applied to the profeſſors of divinity to name ſome of the greateſt abilities to be ſent to theſe parts. Accordingly profeſſor Minzies ſingled out Mr. MacBean from amongſt all his ſtudents, to be ſent to the town of Ayr; but he did not continue long there, having got a call to be miniſter of Inverneſs, which he accepted of, and was there admitted Dec. 29, 1683; and here he proved a very pathetic and zealous preacher, and one of the moſt eſteemed of that way. He uſually once a-week lectured on a large portion of ſcripture, which was not the cuſtom then in that apoſtate and degenerate age.

But notwithſtanding of his being in the higheſt eſteem among the prevailing party, the conſtancy ſhewn by the ſufferers for the cauſe of truth, and the cruelty uſed toward them, made ſuch deep impreſſions on his mind, as could never afterward be rooted out or effaced. As a native conſequence of the toleration granted by the duke of York, the maſs was openly ſet up in the caſtle of Inverneſs, againſt which Mr. MacBean preached publicly, and warned the people of the imminent danger the nation was then in. At which the prieſt was ſo incenſed, that he ſent Mr. MacBean a letter, challenging him to a public diſpute. This letter he received in a crowd on the weekly market, where he uſually walked with ſome conſtables to prevent common ſwearing. He went to a ſhop, and there wrote ſuch an anſwer to the prieſt, as determined him to ſend him no more challenges. The report of this having ſpread, ſome of king James's officers (being there) entered into a reſolution to go to church next Lord's day, and to take him

out of the pulpit in caſe he uttered ought againſt that way. Of this he was informed late on Saturday, and by ſome friends was importuned to abſtain from ſaying any thing that might exaſperate them. But he preached next day on Col. i. 18. and proved, that Chriſt was the ſole King and Head of his church, in oppoſition to the uſurpation of both popery and Eraſtianiſm; whereupon the officers got all up to execute their deſign, which the good man did not obſerve till he turned himſelf about (for they ſat in a loft on the left ſide of the pulpit). Then he ſaid with an authority that put them out of countenance, For theſe things I am become the ſong of drunkards. On which they all ſat down, for it was when drinking, that they had formed that wicked deſign. From the popiſh controverſy, he was led to a more ſerious inquiry into the merits of what was then the real controverſy; and after ſerious wreſtling with God, and earneſt prayer for light and direction from him, in which he ſpent ſeveral nights in his garden, he at length determined fully to declare for the truth, whatever might be the conſequence: And accordingly in June 1687, he declined to ſit in the preſbytery, but continued to preach. In Auguſt, the preſbytery were informed not only that he abſented wilfully, but that he diſowned the government of the church by arch-biſhops, biſhops, *&c.* and appointed a committee to converſe with him. Who, having done ſo, at a ſubſequent diet, reported that Mr. MacBean declared plainly to them that he had no freedom to meet with them in their judicatories any more; that it was over the belly of convictions that he had entered into the miniſtry under biſhops; and that theſe convictions were returning with greater force upon his conſcience, ſo that he could not overcome them; that he was convinced preſbytery was the only government God owned in theſe nations; that he was fully determined to make all the ſatisfaction he could to the preſbyterians; to preach for them and in their favours; and that though he ſhould be diſpenſed with by biſhop and preſbytery from keeping their meetings, he could not promiſe that, in his preaching, he would not give ground of miſconſtruction to thoſe that owned prelacy. At the ſame time his colleague Mr. Gilbert Marſhal farther reported, That Mr. MacBean, both in his public lectures and ſermons, did ſo reflect upen the government of the church, as was like to make a ſchiſm at Inverneſs; and therefore he had cauſed cite him to that meeting, to anſwer for his reproachful doctrine that could not be endured. Mr. MacBean did not appear before them, nevertheleſs the magiſ-

trates

trates prevailed with the preſbytery to deſiſt from proceeding againſt him at that time. But ſhortly thereafter the preſbytery referred him to the ſynod of Murray, who appointed a committee to join with the preſbytery of Inverneſs to deal with him.

In the mean time Mr. MacBean went to church without his cannonical habit, publicly renounced prelacy, declared himſelf a preſbyterian, and as he found not freedom in the exerciſe of his charge in that place, he demitted it. He preached his farewel ſermon on Job xxxiv. 31, 32. The ſcriptures he advanced and inſiſted on, as warrants for his conduct, were Iſaiah viii. 11,—14. Jerem. xv. 18,—21. 2 Cor. vi. 16, 18. and to prove that Chriſt was ſole Head of the church, Eph. v. 23. Col. i. 18. 1 Pet. ii. 7. Next Lord's day he went to Roſs, and there, in Mr. MacGiligen's meeting-houſe, preached the truths he formerly oppoſed; and ſome times thereafter he preached at Inverneſs, till he was, by order of the council, called to Edinburgh before them.

On this ſurprizing change and alteration, a great oppoſition among the prevailing party ſoon appeared againſt him; which was the leſs to be wondered at, as he embraced every opportunity of declaring for the cauſe of truth, which they were moſt violent againſt; and therefore the preſbytery of Inverneſs ſent one of their number to inform the biſhop of Murray, then at Glaſgow, of the whole affair. But the biſhop dying at that time, the archbiſhop of St. Andrews took the affair into his cognizance, and procured an order from the council to bring him to Edinburgh. In conſequence of which he was carried ſouth in Jan. 1688. in very tempeſtuous weather, and was called before the council, where he made a bold and noble ſtand in defence of the truths he had ſo ſolemnly profeſſed. One of the queſtions aſked at him, was, If he thought the king's power was limited? To which he anſwered, He knew no power, but the Almighty's, unlimited. And though the council could not find then wherewith to attack him, anent the ſtate, yet, to pleaſe the biſhops, he muſt be impriſoned: And upon the 27th of Feb. thereafter, the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews conveened him before him and the biſhop of Murray, and five doctors and miniſters in Edinburgh, where (in the virtue of his metropolitan capacity) he depoſed him from the exerciſe of any part of his paſtoral office, and deprived him of all benefits that might accrue to him thereby, ſince the time of his wilful deſertion; with certification, if he ſhould tranſgreſs therein, the ſentence of excommu-

excommunication ſhould paſs againſt him. He was thereupon remanded back to priſon; and though the town of Inverneſs wrote, earneſtly ſoliciting him to make ſome compliance, that they might be favoured with his return, yet he valiantly withſtood their intreaties, and by his anſwer dated July 1688. he diſſwaded them from inſiſting on his return, as what he aſſured them would never happen, and condemns himſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner for his adherence to prelacy, declaring againſt it in the moſt expreſs way, as anti-ſcriptural as well as tyrannical. His confinement and the fatigue of his journey, having given ſuch a ſhock to his conſtitution, as his life was in danger, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonſtoun, and Dun. Forbes of Culloden offered a bail bond for 10,000 merks to the earl of Perth, then chancellor, that they would preſent him when called upon, providing he was ſet at liberty; but he utterly refuſed to ſet him at liberty, though he was in a very languiſhing condition in the tolbooth; where he remained till Perth run away, and that the Edinburgh mob ſet the priſoners at liberty. After this he continued in the ſuburbs of Edinburgh, till in the month of Feb. 1689. he joyfully finiſhed his courſe in the Lord, being in the 33d year of his age. Some days before, news came that the parliament of England had ſettled the crown on king William, who put an end to thoſe bloody times, and that tyrannical government.

Mr. MacBean without all doubt was a man, both pious and learned, although at firſt brought up in the prelatical perſuaſion, and when near his death frequently compared himſelf in this particular to Moſes, who from mount Piſgah ſaw the land of promiſe, but for his ſinful compliance, as he always called it, would not be allowed to enter therein, having ſome time before his death, a firm belief of the amazing deliverance which the church and nation ſoon met with, and left his mortal life rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

The Life of Mr. THOMAS HOG.

MR. THOMAS HOG was born in the beginning of the year 1628, in the burgh of Tain, in the county of Roſs. His parents were careful to give their ſon a liberal education; for which purpoſe he was early ſent to ſchool,

ſchool, and, from his commencement to the ſtudy of letters, he diſcovered an uncommon genius, and ſoon made ſuch proficiency as rendered him reſpected during his youth. He was much addicted to the harmleſs diverſions of that age, yet they did never abate his progreſs in his ſtudies, nor his deteſtation of any thing immoral or unbecoming the character of a ſcholar. He was put to the univerſity in the new town of Aberdeen, where he made great proficiency, till at laſt he was admitted maſter of arts, with the univerſal approbation of the regents of the college.

About this time, a very remarkable incident fell out, which confirmed Mr. Hog's averſion to drunkenneſs, and his belief of an over-ruling providence: For, having accompanied a merchant of Aberdeen to a ſhip in the mouth of the river Dee, who was going a voyage (being one of his acquaintance), upon his return, with two burgeſſes who had gone the ſame errand, through the importunity of one of them, they turned all aſide to take a bottle in an inn by the way. There he tarried till he thought they had drunk ſufficiently, and, finding they were not diſpoſed to go home, he laid down his ſhare of the reckoning, and was going away, but they, being averſe to part with him, and reſolute in their cups, laid hold on him to ſtay, but he, being full ſix feet high, and proportionably ſtrong and vigorous, ſoon twiſted himſelf out of their gripes, and went off; and came home to his chamber, and went to bed at his uſual hour, but, though in good health, he could get no reſt till the clock ſtruck one, when he fell aſleep, and reſted quietly till the morning, when he aroſe. At which time coming forth to his claſs, one met him weeping, and told him, That the two men he left yeſternight, after continuing a while at their cups, fell a-contending and then a-fighting, in which the one killed the other. He aſked, at what time? and being told juſt at one, he adored that providence which had both ſeaſonably diſpoſed him to leave them, and made him uneaſy whilſt the complication of ſin was thus committing.

And though Mr. Hog was adorned with theſe natural and acquired accompliſhments which conſtitute a truly amiable perſon, heightened with the luſtre of an unblameable life, yet, as he himſelf acknowledged, he remained a ſtranger to the ſaving operations of the Spirit of God till about the year 1638, when the arm of the Lord was glorioufly revealed in the revival of the work of reformation, and the influences of his grace poured out upon many through the nation: and yet ſtill his converſation was ſtrict-

ly

ly moral, and he frequented ſocieties, converſed and prayed with them, was in the diligent uſe of means, and in reference to the public ſtate of religion and reformation, was ſound, bold and reſolute; in his ſtraits acknowledging the Lord, bringing theſe his difficulties before him, to which he thought he got ſome notable returns; yet upon all theſe he himſelf declared, That if he was then in a ſtate of grace and ſalvation, he was not in that ſtate afterwards, for that the whole of the following work, which, by the Spirit and Word of God, was wrought on his heart, was founded upon a ſtrong and clear conviction of his having been at that time out of Chriſt, notwithſtanding all the forementioned lengths.

What the manner and means of his ſaving converſion were, we are at a loſs to deſcribe; only we find he was under a very deep and ſevere law-work, and that his convictions were very cloſe, particular and pointed, ſetting his ſin before him; and that during this work, which was of long continuance, whole clouds of ſin were charged home upon him without end or meaſure, ſo that he was brought well nigh to deſpair, being then chaplain to the earl of Sutherland, where the work of God flouriſhed in ſeveral ſouls about that houſe; and amongſt whom the butler was at the ſame time under the ſame law-exerciſe, and yet the one did not know of the other; notwithſtanding the counteſs (who was an eminent Chriſtian), wanted not ſome diſcerning of what was a-working with them both, and particularly with Mr. Hog; as will appear by what follows:

One time Mr. Hog, ſitting alone in his chamber in extreme anguiſh, nothing but wrath in his view, a horrible temptation was thrown in like a thunderbolt, *viz.* Why do you continue under ſuch intolerable extremity of diſtreſs? Put rather an end to a miſerable life immediately. Upon this ſuggeſtion, he reſented the temptation and the tempter with indignation; his pen-knife (at which the enemy pointed) lying well ſharpened upon the table, leſt the aſſault ſhould have been renewed, he roſe up and threw it over the window, after which he ſat down and fell a-muſing upon the intricacies of this his complicated diſtreſs, and while in the midſt of this his terrible whirlpool, the counteſs, beſides her cuſtom (though ſhe had been ever affable at table) knocked gently at the door, and invited him to go and partake with her of a preſent of ſummer fruit; he went with her, and behaved ſo, that nothing could be known concerning his former troubles. She diſcovered by

by her kind ſpeech and behaviour, that ſhe was either impreſſed with his danger, or that ſhe ſuſpected ſomewhat of the matter with him. After this entertainment he returned to his room, and found the temptation mercifully removed.

As to the manner of his relief we learn in general, that, from a conviction of actual ſin, he was carried up to the fountain-head, original ſin, and to a conviction of unbelief as the ſeat of this fountain, according to Rom. xi. 32. John iii. 16, 38. The Lord having in this manner laid a ſolid, clear and excellent foundation, he was at length bleſſed with faith's views of the glory of Chriſt in his offices and perſon; which did ſo raviſh his ſoul, as to render him moſt willing, through grace, to forego, endure, and, in his ſtrength, to adventure upon any thing in his cauſe, and for his ſake.

But the laſt and moſt conſiderable adventure, while in this family, was his being the inſtrument to convert a young gentleman of the name of Munro who frequented the houſe, and though of a ſober deportment, yet void of real religion. He took great pleaſure in Mr. Hog's company, but waſted his time with idle, frothy and uſeleſs diſcourſe. He bore with him for ſome time, but pitying his caſe, he uſed all means poſſible with him, till by divine grace he was wholly brought over from a ſtate of black nature unto a ſtate of grace; and if he had viſited Mr. Hog often before, he made many more viſits to him after this, but never gave him occaſion to impeach him, for the gentleman became eminently gracious; and for an evidence that this free dealing was bleſſed, the good man in his after-conduct did ſo excel in the virtues oppoſite to the former blemiſhes, that he was eſteemed for accomodating differences, and ſeveral gentlemen did ſubmit their conteſts to him, and acquieſced in his ſole determination.

After Mr. Hog was ſettled at Killearn, this gentleman made him a viſit; where, after their mutual endearments, the gentleman addreſſed Mr. Hog in this amazing dialect, "Sir, my courſe is nigh finiſhed, and I am upon my entrance into a ſtate of eternal reſt. The Lord hath his own way of giving the watchful Chriſtian previous warning concerning the end of the warfare, 2 Pet. i. 14.; and I, being ſo privileged, have been ſeriouſly pondering where it may be moſt convenient to breathe out my laſt, and quietly lay down this tabernacle; and ſeeing, after deliberation, I can find no place nor company ſo fit as with you, I have adventured to come and die with you." At this time the gentleman was in good health, and ate his

meat as well as ever, whereupon Mr. Hog endeavoured to divert him from theſe thoughts; but he firmly perſiſted in his perſuaſion: and accordingly in a few days he was ſeized with a fever, whereof he died.

Mr. Hog was licenſed to preach the goſpel in the 26th year of his age, and ere one year elapſed, ſeveral pariſhes were competing for him, ſome of which could have yielded him a greater living than what he ever had; but he preferred Killearn to the reſt, becauſe he underſtood that ſovereign grace was purſuing ſome elect veſſels there, and he knew that ſeveral gentlemen (eſpecially the baron of Foulis) were friends to religion there: And he was ordained miniſter in the year 1654 or 1655, with the unanimous conſent and approbation of all concerned.

Mr. Hog, being thus ſettled, he heartily applied himſelf to his work, taking heed to himſelf and his doctrine, that he might both ſave himſelf and them that heard him, caſting a good copy or example before them, in all manner of temperance and Chriſtian virtues, but more eſpecially remarkable in his public character. His concern and ſympathy with the ignorant was great, the bulk of the people of that pariſh, through the long infirmity of their former paſtor, and the interveening vacation, being neglected in their examination, became very ignorant; but he was at great pains in ſpreading catechiſms and other abſtracts among them; and, going from houſe to houſe, he prayed with, exhorted and inſtructed them in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; and his deportment was attended with as much majeſty proper to that function, as had been obſerved in any; and no wonder, for few were favoured with ſo many teſtimonies of the divine preſence, in the diſcharge of their miniſtry; as witneſs J—s N——o, E——b B——e his ſpouſe, B——a B——e her ſiſter, afterwards Mrs. S——d, Mrs. R——s, the judicious and famous John Monro of Roſs, Mr. Thomas Taylor, Mr. Angus MacBean miniſter at Inverneſs, John Bulloch his own ſervant, Chriſtian MacIntoſh a poor woman in the depths of ſoul diſtreſs; holy Mr. Roſs; Mr. John Welwood, and the ſo much famed John Monro, were either converted or confirmed by him while in this pariſh, or after his ejection, while he was ſettled at Knockgaudy in Murray; and none more particular than that inſtance of Monro of Lumlair, an heritor in that pariſh, who, upon ſome reprehenſory expreſſions by Mr. Hog, which he was at firſt dreadfully offended at, yet were made the means of his thorough converſion, ſo that he ever looked on Mr. Hog after as his beſt friend,

friend, and laid himſelf out to promote the ſucceſs of his miniſtry.

So ſoon as it pleaſed the Lord thus to bleſs his parochial labours with a gracious change wrought upon a conſiderable number of the people, he took care to join the more judicious in ſocieties for prayer and conference. Theſe he kept under his own inſpection, and did heartily concur with them; for he himſelf was much in the exerciſe of that duty, and had ſeveral notable returns thereof, of which we have ſeveral inſtances.

1*ſt*, A good woman having come to him with this ſore lamentation, that her daughter C—— L—— was diſtracted, Mr. Hog charged one or two devout perſons (for he frequently employed ſuch on extraordinary occaſions) to ſet apart a day and a night for faſting and prayer, and then join with him in prayer for the maid next day. Accordingly when this appointment was performed, ſhe recovered her ſenſes as well as before.

2*dly*, A daughter of the laird of Parks, his brother-in-law, who lodged with him, being ſeized with a high fever, and little hope of life; Mr. Hog loved the child dearly, and while he and his wife were jointly ſupplicating the Lord in prayer, acknowledging their own and the child's iniquity, the fever inſtantly left her. This paſſage was found in his own diary, which he concludes with admiration upon the goodneſs of God, to whom he aſcribes the praiſe of all.

3*dly*, In like manner, a child of the reverend Mr. Urquhart having been at the point of death, thoſe preſent preſſed Mr. Hog to pray (for he was now become ſo eſteemed that none other would in ſuch caſe do it, he being preſent) upon which he ſolemnly charged them to join with him; and having fervently wreſtled in prayer and ſupplication for ſome time, the child was reſtored to health. A like inſtance is found of a child of Kinmundy's in his own diary.

4*thly*, One David Dumbar, who lived at a diſtance, being in a frenzy, came to Mr. Hog's houſe in one of his fits Mr. Hog cauſed him to ſit down, and having adviſed with Mr. Frazer of Brae, and ſome others preſent, what could be done for the lad; ſome were for letting blood, but Mr Hog ſaid, The prelates have deprived us of money, wherewith to pay phyſicians, therefore let us employ him who cures freely, and ſo laid it on Mr. Frazer to pray, but he put it back on himſelf. So after commanding the diſtracted perſon to be ſtill, he prayed fervently for the poor

man, and he was immediately reſtored to his right mind. This is faithfully atteſted by thoſe who were eye and ear witneſſes.

5*thly*, Mr. Hog having once gone to ſee a gracious woman in great extremity of diſtreſs, both of body and mind, he prayed with and for her, uſing this remarkable expreſſion among many others, O Lord, rebuke this temptation, and we in thy name rebuke the ſame; and immediately the woman was reſtored both in body and mind. And yet notwithſtanding the Lord had honoured him in ſuch a manner, it is doubtful if any in his day more carefully guarded againſt deluſions than he did, it being his ordinary, whenever he bowed a knee, to requeſt to be ſaved from deluſions, *&c.*

But as Mr. Hog was ſent of God to be an ambaſſador of peace to ſome, ſo he was alſo a meſſenger of wrath to others. Of which we have ſeveral inſtances, but none more particular than the following, of a certain gentleman in the pariſh, who had one dead in his family, and intended to bury in the kirk; but on account of the vulgar ſuperſtition the general aſſembly had by an act diſcharged the ſame, and Mr. Hog being a ſtrenuous defender of the act of the church, the gentleman was non-pluſſed what to do; but one William Munro, a ſtrong hectoring fellow, engaged to make his way good againſt all oppoſition, and ſucceeded ſo far that the people with the corpſe were entering the church-yard when Mr. Hog got notice. He went out and ſet his back to the door through which the corpſe was to paſs, and began to reaſon with the people to convince them of their error in breaking through good order; but this had not the deſired effect, for the fellow laid violent hands on Mr. Hog to pull him from the door; but he, having the ſpirit of a man as well as of a Chriſtian, turned on his adverſary, wreſted the key out of his hand, and told the aſſailant, Were he to repel force with force, probably he would be no gainer; and then ſaid to the people, "This "man hath grieved the Spirit of the Lord, and you ſhall "ſee either his ſudden repentance or a ſingular judgment "befal him." Accordingly the poor wretch continued in his wicked courſes, and met with the foretold judgment in a few months after that. Having made a violent attack upon one, who drew out the wretch's ſword and dagger, and thruſt him through the belly, ſo that his bowels burſt out, and he died moſt miſerably.

Another inſtance of this kind fell out, while he was lecturing in the laird of Lethem's houſe in the county of

Murray

Murray. During the time of worſhip, he obſerved a ſervant laugh once and again, and after an admonition the third time, at which Mr. Hog pauſed a little, and then with an air of ſeverity ſaid, "The Spirit of God is grieved "by one in the company, for mocking at theſe great truths, "therefore I am bold to ſay, Such offers of grace ſhall be vi- "ſibly and more ſuddenly puniſhed than any here could "wiſh, &c." After they had ſupped, and retired to their apartments, a meſſage came to his chamber, telling him, that the forementioned mocker was ſeized with a ſudden ſickneſs and cried bitterly for him. Upon this Mr. Hog aroſe, quickly caſt on his gown, and came down ſtairs to ſee him without loſing a minute's time, but ere he got to him, the poor creature was dead.

Mr. Hog was in judgment on that ſide called proteſtors, and therefore was in the beginning of the year 1661. depoſed by the ſynod of Roſs, becauſe he would not decline that party judicially; and afterward when he knew he was to be put out of the charge at Killearn *anno* 1662. he had a farewell ſermon to them, where, with the apoſtle Paul, he took God and their own conſciences to witneſs that he had not ſhunned to declare the whole counſel of God to them, and added, That the ſtorm would be of a long continuance, but, after all, the ſky would clear, and he would live to ſee it, and be called to his own charge again as miniſter of Killearn, and die with them. And further ſaid, If any of you ſhall decline from that good way, and theſe truths wherein ye have been taught, and ſhall comply with the wicked deſigns now carried on, I take heaven and earth to witneſs againſt you, I take the ſtones of theſe walls I preached in, every word that was ſpoken, and every one of you to be witneſſes againſt another. With many other words he exhorted them, and his labours were not altogether in vain; for there was not a pariſh in Scotland that complied leſs with the corruptions than they did.

After his ejection, John Card, who was converted by his miniſtry, told him, That he ſhould go to Murray. Of which he had no thoughts then, but in a little the laird of Park offered him Knockgaudy near Oldearn to labour and dwell in, of which he accepted, and went thither; where he was a very uſeful inſtrument in the hand of the Lord in turning many ſouls to him, as has been already ſaid, and here finding his private miniſtry ſo bleſſed with ſucceſs, he adventured to give the ſacrament in this place, which was a bold attempt, conſidering the ſeverity of the laws at that time. But this ſolemnity being remarkably bleſſed with

the

the divine preſence and glory, the communicants returned to their habitations with unſpeakable joy, and amongſt the reſt one MacLoad who came from Roſs-ſhire, and underſtood nothing of the Engliſh language; but, Mr. Hog underſtanding the Iriſh language, he told him, That he came hither obeying the command of his exalted Redeemer, and underſtood what was preached there in the Engliſh, as well as if every word had been ſpoken in his own tongue. Which when Mr. Hog interpreted to the reſt, they were filled with wonder, and the good man was allowed to communicate, which he did with joy.

Anno 1668. he was impriſoned for the truth at Forres, upon a complaint for keeping conventicles, *&c.* and there he was wonderfully ſtrengthened and comforted, having great joy in his ſufferings. Upon his account many prayers were put up by many in Murray, and their prayers, as one ſaith of the church's prayers for Peter while in the like caſe, ſet God a-working. The effect was, That Mr. Hog, without his own knowledge or expectation, was ſet at liberty, without any conceſſions on his part.

But what was more remarkable, he was again apprehended about the beginning of the year 1676. for the ſame cauſe, and ſent to Edinburgh. He ſaid to ſome in company, I thank my God, this meſſenger was moſt welcome to me: And giving a ſcratch with his nails on the wall, he ſaid, I truſt in the living God, that before my conſcience ſhall get that much of a ſcratch, this neck (pointing to it) ſhall go for it. Accordingly when tried, he ſubmitted himſelf joyfully to a priſon, rather than bind himſelf from preaching; and was ſent to the Baſs, where by the air of the place and his cloſe confinement he fell into a bloody flux, whereof he was in great danger. A phyſician being called, gave his opinion, Unleſs he was liberated from that place, there was no hope of life. But Mr. Hog, heſitating, would not addreſs that mongrel court, at any rate. However the doctor, of his own accord, did it without his knowledge, and gave in a petition to the council, in the ſtrongeſt terms he could deviſe. The petition being read, ſome of the lords interceeded for Mr. Hog, and ſaid, That he lived more quietly, and travelled not the country ſo much as other preſbyterians did. Upon which biſhop Sharp, taking up the argument, ſaid, That the priſoner did, and was in a capacity to do, more hurt to their intereſts, ſitting in his elbow-chair, than twenty others could do by travelling from this corner of the land to the other; and if the juſtice of God was purſuing him, to take him

off

off the ſtage, the clemency of the government ſhould not interpoſe to hinder it; and it was his opinion that if there was any place in the priſon worſe than another, he ſhould be put there. Which motion, being ſeconded by the prelates, was put to vote, and carried, To the cloſeſt priſon in the Baſs; which was ſpeedily put in execution. When the keeper intimated this to Mr. Hog, he ſaid, It was as ſevere as if Satan himſelf had penned it. His ſervant William Bulloch, being with him when he carried him down to that low, naſty dungeon in the Baſs, fell a-weeping, and cried, Now, maſter, your death is unavoidable. But the good man, directing his eyes up, ſaid, Now, that men have no mercy, the Lord will ſhew himſelf merciful; from the moment of my entering this dungeon I date my recovery. And ſo it fell out, for the very next day he recovered ſurpriſingly, and in a ſhort time was as well as ever. Yet afterward, when ſpeaking of the arch-prelate, he never ſhewed any reſentment, but merrily ſaid, Commend him to me for a good phyſician.

In the end of the year 1679 being brought to Edinburgh before the council, and refuſing to take the bond to live peaceably, he was remanded back to priſon, and afterwards liberated, but on what conditions we do not learn.

About the year 1683, he fell again under the diſpleaſure of the managers, for holding private conventicles, and was baniſhed by the privy council, and ordained to remove off the kingdom in 48 hours, unleſs he gave caution not to exerciſe any part of his miniſtry, under a penalty of 5000 merks over and above performance; which conditions he would by no means ſubmit to, and therefore retired to Berwick, and from thence to London, with a deſign the firſt opportunity to go from thence to Carolina; but the pretended plot, called the preſbyterian plot, then falling out, he was thrown into priſon, where he continued ſome time, till his money being near ſpent, for beſide his own and his ſervant's maintenance, he paid 10 ſhillings ſterling weekly to the keeper, for a place by himſelf, and not to be put down among thieves and felons, he ſaid to his ſervant William, I'll ſet to-morrow apart for prayer and ſee that no perſon be allowed to come in to interrupt me. Accordingly he roſe early and continued cloſe at meditation and prayer till 12 o'clock, when a perſon in the habit of a gentleman deſired to ſpeak with him. William Bulloch told him, that his maſter was retired, *&c.* yet he ſtill interceeded to ſee him. Upon which William, ſeeing him of a grave pleaſant aſpect, reported his deſire to his maſter, who ordered him

him to his room. Mr. Hog received him courteouſly. The other entertained him with a diſcourſe about ſuffering for a good God and a good cauſe, and ſhewed that *our light afflictions which are but for a moment, are not to be compared with the glory that ſhall be revealed.* After which he aroſe and embraced Mr. Hog moſt lovingly, exhorted him to continue in well-doing, and then took out of his pocket a white paper, and gave it to him. Mr. Hog, finding its weight, underſtood it was money, and ſaid to the ſtranger, Upon what account, Sir, do you give me this money? The other anſwered, Becauſe I am appointed by our great and exalted Maſter to do ſo. Mr. Hog aſked his name, and upon his refuſing to tell it, Mr. Hog ſaid, Sir, it is not curioſity that prompts me to aſk, but I hope to be enlarged, and then I ſhall account it my duty to call for you at your dwelling in this city, for I ſuppoſe you are a citizen in London. The other replied, You muſt aſk me no more queſtions, but *be faithful to the death, and thou ſhalt have a crown of life.* Then he retired, and Mr. Hog never ſaw nor heard of any him more. When Mr. Hog opened the paper, there were five pounds ſterling in it, which to the good man was ſweeter than if he had got 1000 pounds ſettled on him yearly *.

After he was ſet at liberty, being at London in the year 1685. when the duke of Monmouth landed in England, and Argyle in Scotland, he plainly told ſome of his acquaintance, That God would never honour any of theſe men to be inſtruments of our deliverance. And much about the ſame time, ſome proteſtants at court, knowing he was in the city, and that he was endued with a prophetic ſpirit, drew king James's attention ſo far, that he wanted Mr. Hog ſhould be conſulted concerning affairs at that juncture. This being communicated to him, he concealed his mind, till he conſulted the Lord by prayer. In the mean time he made ready for his departure, and then told them (what he charged them to report to him faithfully) That if king James had ſeriouſly adhered to the principles of our holy reformed religion, his throne ſhould have been eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs, and if he would yet turn from popery matters might be well with him, but if otherwiſe the land would ſpue him out. When this was reported, the king ordered he ſhould be ſpeedily apprehended, but he, having

* This relation was atteſted by William Bulloch, who was his faithful ſervant near thirty years, who was eye and ear witneſs, and was inclined to think he was an angel.

having foreſeen this, eſchewed it by a ſpeedy flight to Holland.

When in Holland, he was ſoon introduced to the prince of Orange, who had him in great eſteem, and therefore let him into the ſecret of his reſolution to deliver theſe nations from popery and tyranny. In the indulgence Mr. Hog agreed with worthy Mr. M'Ward and Mr. Brown, yet was far from clearneſs to withdraw from all preſbyterian * miniſters, who either had not taken the benefit of the indulgence, or thoſe expoſed to ſuffering notwithſtanding the ſame.

Mr. Hog returned to Scotland *anno* 1688. where he ſtayed till 1691.; that his old pariſhioners, finding the way cleared, ſent commiſſioners to accompany him back to his pariſh of Killearn; where he was received with great joy in June or July that year. But his conſtitution being broken, he was unable to diſcharge his function much in public after that; however his converſation became ſtill more heavenly. King William as a reward to his merit, reſolving to have this good man near him, ſent him a commiſſion to be one of his chaplains, which was no mean evidence of his eſteem for him, and the truth of his prediction concerning him. But before ever that honour was beſtowed upon him, he was ſeized with the trouble, or rather the complication of troubles, whereof he died.

His ſickneſs was conſiderably long, and accompanied with great pain. One time his judicious ſervant, hearing the heavy moans he made, aſked, Whether it was ſoul or bodily pain that extorted ſuch heavy groans from him? To which he compoſedly replied, No ſoul trouble, man, for a hundred and a hundred times my Lord hath aſſured me that I ſhall be with him for ever, but I am making moan for my body. And thereupon entertained him agreeably concerning the Lord's purging away ſin from his own children, Iſa. xxvii. 9. At another time he ſaid, Pity me, O ye my friends, and do not pray for my life; you ſee I have a complication of diſeaſes upon me; allow me to go to my eternal reſt. And then with deep concern of ſoul he cried, Look, O my God, upon mine affliction, and forgive all my ſins. And yet, ſays his ſervant, never was his

* It muſt, of neceſſity, here be obſerved, That any who are acquainted with the hiſtorical accounts of theſe times, will find that Mr Hog was not ſo explicit upon point of public teſtimony, as the more faithful part of our ſufferers at that time: otherwiſe he was, for parts and attainments, a very remarkable and extraordinary man, as this narrative in part diſcovers.

converſation more heavenly and ſpiritual, than when thus chaſtiſed. Toward his end he was much feaſted with our Saviour's comfortable meſſage to his diſciples, John xx. 17. *I aſcend to my Father, and to your father; and to my God, and your God.* To the writer of ſome remarkable paſſages of his life he ſaid, He could not give a look to the Lord, but he was perſuaded of his everlaſting love. And to Mr. Stuart (who ſucceeded him in that place) at another time he ſaid, Never did the ſun in the firmament ſhine more brightly to the eyes of my body, than Chriſt the Sun of Righteouſneſs hath ſhined on my ſoul. And ſome time after (continues the ſame writer), when I underſtood he was "very low, I made him my laſt viſit; and when I aſked "him how he did, he anſwered, The unchangeableneſs of "my God is my rock. Upon Sabbath evening, for I ſtay-"ed with him that week, when I came from the church, "his ſpeech was unintelligible to me, but his ſervant de-"ſired me to pray, and commit his ſoul and body to God. "After prayer I retired a little, and when I returned, I "found all preſent in tears at his diſſolution, eſpecially his "wife and his faithful ſervant William Bulloch." Mr. James Hog and the forementioned writer of the remarkable paſſages add, That Mr. Thomas Hog had many times foretold that his Lord and huſband was coming; ſo in the end he cried out, "Now he is come, my Lord is come, praiſe, "praiſes to him for ever more. Amen." And with theſe words death cloſed his eyes, upon the 4th day of Jan. 1692. being about 60 years old.

Mr. Hog was of a tall ſtature, but more remarkable for his courage and fortitude of mind; he was moſt temperate in his diet and ſleep. Gluttony, he ſaid, is a great incentive to luſt, and riſing betimes is not only good for the health, but beſt adapted for ſtudy, wherein he took great pleaſure. His more ſerious work, his neceſſary diverſions, as viſiting of friends, *&c.* and even meaner things were all gone about by the rule of duty. He was ſought unto by many for his good and faithful advices, and in prayer he was moſt ſolemn and fervent, the profoundeſt reverence, the loweſt ſubmiſſion, and yet a marvelous boldneſs and intimacy with God attended his engagements in this exerciſe, It might truly be ſaid of him as of Luther when he prayed. It was with ſo much reverence as if he was praying to God, and with ſo much boldneſs as if he had been ſpeaking to his friend. And though the Lord did not bleſs him with natural children, he gave him the powerful aſ-

ſurance

ſurance of that promiſe, Iſa. lvi. 5. *I will give thee a name better than of ſons and daughters*, which he ſignally fulfilled to him in making him the inſtrument of begetting many ſons and daughters to the Lord.

The Life of Mr. ROBERT FLEMING.

MR. ROBERT FLEMING was born at Bathens *anno* 1630. He was ſon to Mr. James Fleming miniſter of the goſpel there, who, being a very godly and religious man, took great care of his ſon's education; and for that purpoſe ſent him firſt to the college of Edinburgh, where he ran through the courſe of philoſophy with great applauſe, and made great progreſs in the learned languages. Then being tranſlated to St. Andrews, he paſſed his courſe of theology in that univerſity under the conduct of worthy Mr. Rutherford.

His natural parts being very great, his underſtanding quick and penetrative, his judgment clear and profound, his fancy rich, his memory ſtrong, and expreſſions maſculine, they did with ſuch a grace take with them who were not acquainted with his accents or idioms, and to all theſe his acquired learning was anſwerable, the culture of which he, through the divine bleſſing, improved with great diligence. Hiſtory, the eye of learning, he ſingularly affected, eſpecially ſacred hiſtory, the right eye. But to him all hiſtory was ſacred, ſeeing he conſidered God's actions more than man's therein. Nor did he value any man, but for the knowledge of God, wherewith he himſelf was ſo much acquainted; for his converſion to God was very early.

Before he was full 23 years old, he was called to a paſtoral charge, and was ſettled therein at Cambuſlang in the ſhire of Clydeſdale, where he ſerved the Lord in the miniſtry, till after the reſtoration of Charles II. when that ſtorm aroſe that drove out ſo many, and particularly that act (commonly called the Glaſgow act) whereby near 400 faithful miniſters were ejected, of whom the world was not worthy.

He had taken to wife Chriſtiana Hamilton, juſtly famed for her perſon, gifts and graces. By her he had ſeven children, and with them and himſelf, ſweetly committed unto his God's proviſion, he humbly received the honour of his ejection. Of the children the Lord received three of them to himſelf, before their mother, and two of them

died afterward; the other two ſurvived their father for ſome time. As for his worldly ſubſtance, his ſhare ſeemed according to Agur's deſire, and with Luther he ſaid, To his knowledge he never defired much of it, or was very careful for or about it; for during the moſt tragical days, his table was ſpread and cup filled, and his head anointed with freſh oil, his children were liberally educated, ar... in his work he was profuſely rich; but of his own laying up he had no treaſure but in heaven. His own teſtimony of his life was this, It was once made up of ſeeming contrarieties, great outward trouble and great inward comfort, and I never found (ſaid he) more comfort than when under moſt affliction.

For ſome time after his ejection, he lived moſtly at Edinburgh, Fife and other places until Sept. 1673, that all the miniſters in and about Edinburgh being called to appear before the council to hear their ſentence, to repair nnto the places of their confinement; but he and ſome others not appearing were ordered to be apprehended whereever they could be found. Which made him ſhift as well as he could for ſome time, till he was at laſt apprehended and impriſoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he was during the time of Bothwel battle. A little after he was, with ſome others, called before the council, and tho' they were willing to find bail for their appearance when called, yet becauſe they refuſed to live peaceably, and not to riſe againſt the king or any authorized by him, they were remanded to priſon. However he was liberated * and went to Holland, where, after the death of the famous and faithful Mr. Brown, he was admitted miniſter of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam.

And here again his activity in the miniſtry was ſuch as was to be expected from ſuch a large ſoul, comprehenſive of the intereſt of God and his church. What a writer he was need not here be told, but in preaching he might be called a Boanerges and Barnabas alſo for converſe, and for all things uſeful. What might Cambuſlang teſtify of him! What might Edinburgh and adjacent places, where, after

* Pat. Walker in his remarks ſays, That while he was in priſon he dealt earneſtly with Meſſrs. King and Kid (then under ſentence of death) to give a healing teſtimony in favours of the indulged. And that he was liberate upon the terms of the indemnity, &c. However be as it will, to derogate from nothing due to the memory of Mr. Fleming, It is well known, that though he was never actively indulged himſelf, yet he ran into ſome extremes in coaleſcence with them; which was no ſmall grief at that time to faithful Mr. M'Ward, as witneſs his earneſt contendings, &c.

after his ejection, he lived and laboured? What might Rotterdam ſay, where, from the year 1679, till towards his end, he was a moſt bright and ſhining light? There was no time wherein we may ſuppoſe that he had no good deſign going on. It is well known that the ſun of his life did ſet on an excellent deſign, which was, of ſending forth a treatiſe concerning the ways of the Holy Ghoſt's working upon the ſouls of men, *&c.*

As he was religious, ſo he was ſaid to be of a peaceable and friendly diſpoſition, as not affecting controverſy much, ſo that when ſpeaking of the differences amongſt ſome brethren, he would ſay, I am amazed to ſee good men thus tear one another in the dark, nor can I underſtand how they ſhould have grace in a lively exerciſe, who value their own particular deſigns above the intereſt of the catholic church, *&c.* Nor is it to be forgot what he ſaid to one of his own begotten ſons in the faith, I bleſs God (ſaid he) that in 15 years time I have never given any man's credit a thruſt behind his back, but when I had ground to ſpeak well of any man, I did ſo with faithfulneſs, and when I wanted a ſubject that way, I kept ſilence.

And according to his practice, his life was a life of worſhip extraordinary. His ſolemn dedication of himſelf to his God was frequent; his ſoliloquies with him almoſt perpetual; as ſpending his days and years after this manner, in order to which we find it was his cuſtom from the 15th or 16th year of his age, to ſet apart the firſt day of every year for renewing his covenant with God; or if interrupted that day, to take the next day following. For the firſt years of his life we cannot give any particular account of the manner of his doing this; but we may gueſs what they have been, from the few inſtances following.

1691. In the entry of this new year, (as I have now done for many years moſt ſolemnly) I deſire again to renew my perſonal engaging of myſelf to the Lord my God, and for him, and with my whole heart and deſire to enter myſelf into his ſervice, and take on his bleſſed yoke, and humbly to lay claim, take and embrace him (O him!) to be my God, my all, my light and my ſalvation, my ſhield and exceeding great reward. *Whom have I in heaven but thee, O Lord, or in the earth whom I deſire beſides thee?* And now under thy bleſſed hand my ſoul deſires, and does here teſtify my truſting myſelf and ſecuring my whole intereſt, my credit, my conduct, my comfort, my aſſiſtance, and my poor children and to leave myſelf herein on thy gracious hand, on my

deareſt

deareſt Lord, whilſt in time, as I write this the 2d day of January 1691.

R. FLEMING.

1692. In the entry and firſt day of this new year, that I deſire as formerly to enter (in this hidden record) a new ſurrender and offering of myſelf to my dear Lord and Maſter, who hath been wonderfully tender and gracious to me, and hath brought me by his immediate conduct through the days and years of my pilgrimage paſt, hath ſtill cared for his poor ſervant, and given more ſingular mercies and evidences of reſpect than to many elſe; and now, as ſtill formerly, hath taken me through this laſt year with ſingular evidences of his preſence and aſſiſtance, and as I truſted myſelf to my Lord, ſo he hath graciouſly anſwered; for which and his ſpecial grace hitherto, I deſire to inſert this witneſs of my ſoul's bleſſing the Lord my God.

And now I do here with my full and joyful conſent teſtify my giving up myſelf again to the Lord, and to his work and ſervice here, and wherever he ſhall call me, with deſire to conſecrate my old age to my God and the guide of my youth. I love my Maſter and his ſervices, and let my ears be nailed to the poſts of his door, as one who would not go free from that bleſſed yoke and ſervice, and lay in hope the whole aſſiſtance hereof on his grace and help, *&c.* To him I commit myſelf, my ways, my works and ſervices, which, with my whole deſire, I offer to my Lord, in whoſe hand I deſire to ſecure my credit for the goſpel's ſake, my comfort and enlargement in this day of deep trouble and anguiſh, together with my poor children and the whole intereſt of my family and concerns, deſiring to put myſelf with humble confidence, and all that is dear to me, under his care and conduct. O my ſoul, bleſs thou the Lord! This I write the firſt of Jan. 1692. *My Lord and my God.*

R. FLEMING.

1694. In the firſt day and Monday of this new year 1694. that as I have formerly through moſt of my life paſt, ſo now I deſire to renew my dedication and engagement to the Lord my God, and to join in the ſame witneſs with what herein hath been formerly with my whole heart and deſire, and to offer to my deareſt Lord praiſe, in remembrance of what he hath been through the year paſt, and in the whole of my life, whoſe gracious tender conduct hath been ſo wonderfully (and well haſt thou, Lord, dealt with thy ſervant according to thy word) in all that hath befallen me, *&c.*

And

And now I do again by a ſurrender witneſs my entire commitment of myſelf, my poor children, my credit for the goſpel, my conduct and comfort in ſo extraordinary a juncture to my deareſt Lord, to his gracious and compaſſionate care and providence; together with my works, and any ſmall deſign to ſerve him and my generation; and I do intreat new ſupplies of his grace and ſtrength to ſecure and make his poor ſervant (if it were his bleſſed will) yet more abundantly forth-coming to him. And with hopes of acceptance I write this Jan. 1ſt, 1694. *Poſt tenebras ſpero lucem.*

R. FLEMING.

But now drawing near his end in the ſame year 1694, upon the 17th of July he took ſickneſs, and on the 25th died. On his firſt arreſt, O friends, ſaid he to ſuch as were about him, ſickneſs and death are ſerious things; but till the ſpark of his fever was riſen to a flame, he was not aware that that ſickneſs was to be unto death; for he told a relation, That if it ſhould be ſo, it was ſtrange, ſeeing the Lord did not hide from him the things that he did with him and his. Yet before his expiration, he was apprehenſive of its approach: Calling to him a friend, he aſked, What freedom he found in prayer for him? ſeems God to beckon to your petitions, or does he bring you up and leave dark impreſſions on your mind? This way, ſaid he, I have often known the mind of the Lord. His friend telling him he was under darkneſs in the caſe, he replied, I know your mind, trouble not yourſelf for me; I think I may ſay, I have been long above the fear of death.

All the while his groans and ſtruggling argued him to be under no ſmall pain, but his anſwers to enquiring friends certified that the diſtreſs did not enter his ſoul. Always he would ſay, I am very well, or, I was never better, or, I feel no ſickneſs. This would he ſay, while he ſeemed to be ſenſible of every thing beſides pain. But the malignant diſtemper waſting his natural ſpirits, he could ſpeak but little, but what he ſpoke was all of it like himſelf. Having felt himſelf indiſpoſed for his wonted meditation and prayer, he thus ſaid to ſome near him, I have not been able in a manner to form one ſerious thought ſince I was ſick, or to apply myſelf unto God; he has applied himſelf unto me, and one of his manifeſtations was ſuch as I could have borne no more. Opening his eyes after a long ſleep, one of his ſons aſked how he did? He anſwered, Never better. Do you know me? ſaid his ſon. Unto which with a ſweet ſmile he anſwered, Yes, yes, dear ſon, I know you. This

was

was about two hours before he died. About an hour afterwards he cried earneſtly, Help, help for the Lord's ſake, and then breathed weaker and weaker till he gave up the ghoſt, and after he had ſeen the ſalvation of God he departed in peace in the 64th year of his age.

Thus lived and died Mr. Fleming, after he had ſerved his day and generation. His works yet declare what for a man he was; for beſides the forenamed treatiſe, the confirming work of religion, his epiſtolary diſcourſe, and his well known book, the fulfilling of the ſcriptures; he left a writing behind him under this title, A ſhort index of ſome of the great appearances of the Lord in the diſpenſations of his providence to his poor ſervant, *&c.* And although the obſcurity of theſe hints leaves us in the dark, yet as they ſerve to ſhew forth his Maſter's particular care over his ſervant, who was moſt induſtrious in obſerving the Lord's ſpecial providences over others, and perhaps may give ſome further light into the different tranſactions of his life, they are here inſerted.

"How near I was brought to death in my infancy, "given over and eſteemed a burthen to my friends, ſo as "my death was made deſirable to them; I being the re- "fuſe of my father's children, yet even I was then God's "choice, and in a moſt ſingular way reſtored. 2. That re- "markable deliverance, in receiving a blow by a club when "a child, which was ſo near my eye as endangered both my "ſight and life. 3. The ſtrange and extraordinary impreſ- "ſion I had of an audible voice in the church at night, "when being a child I had got up to the pulpit, calling me "to make haſte, *&c.* 4. That I, of all my father's ſons, "ſhould be ſpared, when the other three were ſo promiſing, "and ſhould thus come to be the only male heir ſurviving "of ſuch a ſtock. 5. That ſolemn and memorable day of "communion at Gray-friar's in the entry of the year 1648, "where I had ſo extraordinary a ſenſe of the Lord's pre- "ſence, yea, whence I can date the firſt ſealing evidence "of my converſion, now 40 years paſt. 6. The Lord's "gracious and ſignal preſervation and deliverance given me "at Dumbar fight. 7. Theſe ſolemn times and near ap- "proaches of the Lord to my ſoul; the firſt at Elve when I "went there, and the other a little after my father's death "in the high ſtudy. 8. The ſcripture Acts xii. was given "me to be my firſt text, and how I was unexpectedly and "by ſurprize engaged therein. 9. The great deliverances "at ſea going to Dundee, the firſt time in company with "the

" the duke of Lauderdale, the other in company with Mr. " Gray of Glaſgow. 10. That extraordinary dream and " marvellous viſion I had twice repeated, with the inex- " preſſible joy after the ſame. 11. Theſe memorable im- " preſſions and paſſages about my health, when it ſeemed " hopeleſs, at my firſt entry upon the miniſtry, and the " ſtrange expreſſion of Mr. Simpſon of Newmills. 12. The " Lord's immediate and wonderful appearance for me in " my firſt entry to the miniſtry, with that extraordinary " ſtorm on the day of my ordination, and the amazing af- " ſault which followed the ſame in what befel, wherein Sa- " tan's immediate appearance againſt me was ſo viſible.— " 13. The great and conſpicuous ſeal given to my miniſtry " from the Lord, in the converſion of ſeveral perſons, with " that marvellous power which then accompanied the word " on the hearts of the people. 14. That ſignal appearance " of the Lord and his marvellous condeſcendence in my " marriage lot, and in the whole conduct of the ſame. 15. " My deliverance from ſo imminent hazard of my life in my " fall from my horſe at Kilmarnock. 16. The Lord's mar- " vellous aſſiſtance at the two communions of Cathcart and " Dunlop, with the great enlargement I had at the laſt of " theſe two places at the laſt table. 18. That as my entry " to my charge was with ſuch a bright ſun-ſhine, ſo no leſs " did the Lord appear at my parting from that place, *&c.* " 18. The Lord's ſpecial providence as to my outward lot " after my removal thence, in many circumſtances that " way. 19. The gracious ſparing my wife ſo long, when " her life was in ſuch hazard in the years 1665 and 1672. " 20. The preſervation I had in going over to Fife in the year " 1672. and the ſettlement I got there. 21. The dream " at Bouſſay, wherein I got ſuch expreſs warning as to my " wife's removal, with the Lord's marvellous appearance " and preſence the Thurſday after at St. Johnſton's. 22. " That extraordinary warning I got again of my dear wife's " death, and of the manner of it at London in the year " 1674. 23. Theſe two remarkable ſcripture places given " me at Weſt Niſbet in my return from London 1674. *viz.* " that in Rom. iv. in the forenoon, and that in Pſal. cxv. " in the afternoon. 24. Thoſe great and ſignal confirma- " tions given me at my wife's death, and that great extra- " ordinary voice ſo diſtinct and clear which I heard a few " nights after her death. 25. Theſe ſpecial confirmations " given me at my leaving my country at Weſt Niſbet, Ridſ- " dale, Stanton, and the firſt at ſea from the Shiels. 26. " Theſe ſolemn paſſages to confirm my faith from Heb. xi.

" and Exod. xxxiii. and at other times at London, and the " laſt night there before I went away. 27. Theſe extra- " ordinary and ſignal times I had at my firſt entring at Rot- " terdam. 28. Theſe two marvellous providences that did " occur to me at Worden, and about the buſineſs of Wil- " liam Mader. 29. The marvellous ſign given me of the " ſtate of my family, in what happened as to the ſudden " withering of the tree, and its extraordinary reviving a- " gain at my firſt entry to my houſe at Rotterdam. 30. " The great deliverance from fire in the high ſtreet. 31. The " good providence in returning my diary after it had been " long loſt. 32. The ſpecial providence in preſerving my " ſon from periſhing in water. 33. The ſurprizing relief " when cited by the council * of Scotland to appear, with " that ſweet reſignation to the Lord which I had then un- " der ſuch a pungent trial. 34. The remarkable event of " a warning I was forced to give that ſome preſent ſhould be " taken away by death before the next Lord's day. 35. The " Lord's immediate ſupporting under a long ſeries of won- " ders (I may truly ſay) for which I am obliged in a ſingular " way to ſet up my Ebenezer, that hitherto hath the Lord " helped. 36. The remarkable appearance of the Lord " with me (which I omitted in its place) in the ſtrange pro- " vidence relating to Mr. Monypenny's death in Preſton- " pans. 37. The ſolemn providence and wonder in my " life, my fall under the York coach in Auguſt 1654, when " the great wheel went over my leg, ſo as I could feel it " paſſing me without hurting, far leſs breaking my leg, as " if it had been thus carried over in a juſt poiſe, to let me " ſee how providence watched over me, &c. 38. The " comfort God gave me in my children, and thoſe extraor- " dinary confirmations I got from God upon the death of " thoſe ſweet children whom God removed from me to " himſelf."

Now, reader, go and do thou likewiſe, for *bleſſed is that ſervant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, ſhall find ſo doing*, Matth. xxiv.

* This ſeems to have been in the year 1683, upon a proceſs of forfeiture and citation of appearance given him amongſt others, but upon a repreſentation given in by him, his diet was deſerted: which made up a part of his compliances.

The

The Life of Mr. ALEXANDER SHIELDS.

MR. ALEXANDER SHIELDS, ſon to James Shields of Haugh-head in the Merſe, born *anno* 1660, or 1661, and being ſent to ſchool (when capable of inſtruction) made ſuch proficiency there, that in a ſhort time he entered upon the ſtudy of philoſophy under Sir William Paterſon, then regent of the college of Edinburgh, (afterwards clerk to the bloody council) where he made no leſs progreſs. For, being of a lively genius and penetrating wit, he ſoon commenced maſter of arts, and that with no ſmall applauſe. And having furniſhed his mind with no ſmall degree of the ancillary knowledge of learning, he began to think upon the ſtudy of divinity in view for the miniſtry. But finding little encouragement this way for any who could not in conſcience join with prelacy, or the prevailing defections of thoſe called the indulged, he took a reſolution, and went over among others to Holland (ſhortly before or after Bothwel) for the further improvement of his ſtudies, where he continued ſome ſhort time, and then returned home to his native country.

But upon his going to London, to be an amanuenſis to Dr. Owen, or ſome of the Engliſh divines who were writing books for the preſs; he had a letter of commendation to one Mr. Blackie a Scots miniſter, who, appointing him to ſpeak with him at a certain ſeaſon, had ſeveral miniſters convened unknown to him, and did preſs and enjoin him to take licence. So that being carried into it, in that ſudden and ſurprizing way, he did accept of it from the Scots diſſenting miniſters at London, but without any impoſition or ſinful reſtriction. However, the oath of allegiance becoming in a little time the trial of that place, Mr. Shields ſtudied, as he had occaſion, to ſhew the ſinfulneſs thereof. which theſe miniſters took ſo ill that they threatened to ſtop his mouth, but he refuſed to ſubmit himſelf thereunto.

But it was not long here that he could have liberty to exerciſe his office. For, upon the 11th day of January 1685, he was, with ſome others, apprehended by the city-marischal (at a private meeting in Gutter-lane) who came upon them at an unawares, and commanded them to ſurrender in the king's name. Mr. Shields, being firſt in his way, replied, What king do you mean? by whoſe authori-

ty do you diſturb the peaceable ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt? ——Sir, you diſhonour your king in making him an enemy to the worſhip of God. At which the marischal ſaid, He had other buſineſs to do than to ſtand pratting with him. Mr. Shields made an attempt to eſcape, but was not able; and he and his companions were brought before the lord mayor, who threatened to ſend him to Bridewell. However bail was offered and admitted for him, to anſwer at Guildhall upon the 14th. Upon which day he attended, with a firm reſolution to anſwer. But while he went out for a refreſhment, he was called for, and none anſwering, his bail bond was forfeited, which afterward gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs when his bail's wife ſaid to him, Alas! why have you ruined our family? However, to prevent further damage, he appeared on the 20th, when he was arraigned in common form and examined, Whether he was at Bothwel, and if he approved of biſhop Sharp's death? with ſeveral other queſtions. To which he replied, That he was not obliged to give an account of his thoughts, and that he came there to anſwer to his indictment, and not to ſuch queſtions as theſe. Upon which he was taken to Newgate by a ſingle officer without any mittimus or any expreſs order unto what priſon he ſhould be committed. By the way (ſays he *) he could have eſcaped, had he not been led or betrayed there by flattery. It was ſome days before his mittimus came, by which he was ordered to be kept in cuſtody till the next quarter ſeſſion, which was to be at Guildhall on the 23d of Feb. following.

But Charles II. in this interval dying, he was, with other ſeven who were apprehended with him, March 5, put on board the Kitchen yacht for Scotland, and landed at Leith on the 13th, and the next day Mr. Shields was examined before the council, where he pled the liberty of his thoughts, putting them to prove his accuſation, and waving a direct anſwer anent owning the king's authority; which gave way to his ſlip afterwards, as he (in his own impartial account of his ſufferings) obſerves among other reflections: "In this I cannot but adore the wiſdom of the Lord's conduct, but with bluſhing at the folly of mine. I was indeed determined, I think, by a ſovereign hand, and led upon this not uſually trodden path by truth's confeſſors beyond my ordinary genius or inclination, to fence with theſe long weapons, declining direct anſwers, which is the moſt difficult road, and moſt liable to ſnares; and where-

†. In his own impartial relation, page 11.

"wherein it is more hard to avoid wronging truth than in "the plain and open-hearted way." However, he was remanded back to priſon till the 23d, when he was brought before the juſticiary, and interrogate, Whether he would abjure the apologetical declaration, and own the authority of James VII.? But being ſtill on the reſerve, he was ſent back till the 25th, and from thence continued till the day following, which he calls the day of his fatal fall, the juſt deſert of his former blind and bold approaches to the brink of theſe precipices over which he had looked, and was now left to fall therein. Here he was again examined to the effect aforeſaid, and withal threatned with the moſt ſevere uſage if he did not ſatisfy them. Whereupon he gave in a minute in writing, wherein, after a ſhort preamble, he ſays, "The reſult of my thoughts is in the ſincerity of an "unfeigned conſcience and in the fear of God, that I do "renounce and diſown that and all other declarations, in "ſo far as that they declare war againſt the king expreſly, "propoſedly or deſignedly, and aſſert that it is lawful to "kill all employed by his majeſty or any, becauſe ſo em-"ployed in church, ſtate, army or country." When they read this, they ſaid it was ſatisfactory, and required him to hold up his hand. This he ſtill refuſed, till allowed to dictate to the clerk what words he ſhould ſwear. Which being done, he proteſted, that it might not be conſtructed to any other ſenſe than the genuine words he delivered in the minute he did ſubſcribe and ſwear. That which induced him to this, he ſays, was, "They gave it in his "own meaning, and ſo far was his mind deceived, that by "a quibble and nice diſtinction they thought that the word "might bear, That this was not a diſowning of that nor "no declaration that ever he ſaw (ſave one of their pre-"tending) nor that neither but in ſo far, or if ſo be; which "different expreſſions he was taught to confound by ſcho-"laſtic notions infuſed into him by the court, and ſome of "the indulged miniſters while in priſon, *&c.*" Having ſo done, the juſticiary diſmiſſed him, but, on pretence he was the council's priſoner, he was ſent back to his now more weary priſon than ever. For he had no ſooner made this fooliſh and unfaithful ſtep of compliance (as he himſelf expreſſes it) than his conſcience ſmote him, and continuing ſo to do, he aggravated his fall in ſuch a ſort as he wanted words to expreſs.

Yet after all this his dangers were not over, for having wrote a letter to John Balfour to be by him tranſmitted to ſome friends in Holland declaring his grief and ſorrow, and his

his mind anent his former compliances, &c. it fell into the enemies hands; whereupon he was again brought before the lords of council, and though much threatning enſued, yet he owned the letter, and declared his ſorrow for what he had formerly done. After which they appointed him to confer with the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, and the biſhops of Glaſgow and Dunkeld. With them he had a long reaſoning, and among other things they objected that all powers were ordained of God, be they what they will. anſwered, "All power is ordained of God by his provi-"dent will, but every power aſſumed by man is not ſo by "his approbative and preceptive will." One of the prelates ſaid, That even his provident will is not to be reſiſted.——He anſwered, That the holy product of it cannot and may not, but the inſtrument he made uſe of ſome times might be reſiſted. It was urged that Nero was then regnant when this command of non-reſiſtance was given.——He anſwered, That the command was given in general for our inſtruction how to carry in our duty under lawful magiſtrates, abſtracting from Nero. Then they aſked him. How he would reconcile his principles with that article in the confeſſion of faith, that difference in religion, &c.——He anſwered, "Very eaſily: For though difference in religion "did not make void his power, yet it might ſtop his ad-"miſſion to that power where that religion he differed from "was eſtabliſhed by law, &c.

He was continued till Aug. 6. when he was again before the juſticiary and indicted; which made him write two letters, one to the advocate and the other to his old regent Sir William Paterſon, which he thought ſomewhat mitigated their fury. Whereupon he drew up a declaration of his ſentiments, and gave in to the lords of council, upon which much reaſoning betwixt him and them enſued. After two conferences wherein he was aſked many queſtions, in the third he condeſcended to ſign the oath of abjuration, (which they had ſo much inſiſted he ſhould again take, as he had at their command torn his name from the firſt) only it was worded thus, If ſo be ſuch things are there inſerted; which he told them, he was ſure was not the caſe: This with difficulty was granted. As he ſubſcribed he proteſted before them, "That none were to think by this he juſtified "the act of ſucceſſion or the abrogation of the ancient laws "about it, or the want of ſecurity for religion or liberty, "or that he acknowledged the divine approbation of it, "&c." When all was over he was delayed till to-morrow. But to morrow he was ſent to the Baſs, and doubtleſs would

would have ſuffered, had he not got out in woman's clothes and eloped.

After his eſcape (without ſeeking after any other party whatſoever) he came ſtraight to Mr. Renwick, and that faithful contending remnant then in the fields, where upon the 5th of Dec. 1686. he attended a meeting for preaching at the wood of Earlſton in Galloway. After which he continued with Mr. Renwick for ſome time: In which time he ceaſed not, both in public and private, to give full proof and evidence of his hearty grief and ſorrow for his former apoſtacy and compliances. Upon the 22d he came to their general meeting, where he gave them full ſatisfaction in eſpouſing all and every part of their teſtimony and likewiſe made a public confeſſion of his own guilt; wherein he acknowledged, (1.) That he had involved himſelf in the guilt of owning the (ſo called) authority of James VII. ſhewing the ſinfulneſs thereof, taking ſhame to himſelf. (2.) He acknowledged his guilt in taking the oath of abjuration and his relapſing into the ſame iniquity, the ſinfulneſs of which he held forth at great length, and ſpake ſo largely to theſe particulars as diſcovering the heinouſneſs of that ſin as made Mr. Renwick ſay, "I think none could have done it, unleſs they had known the terrors of the Lord; and added, "I thought it both ſingular and promiſing to ſee a clergyman come forth with ſuch a confeſſion of his own defections, when ſo few of that ſet are ſeen in our age to be honoured with the like.

After this when Mr. Renwick and the united ſocieties were neceſſitated to publiſh their informatory vindication, Mr. Shields went over to Holland to have the ſame printed about the beginning of the year 1687.; but it appears he was neceſſitated to return home before that work was finiſhed.

After Mr. Renwick's death he continued for ſome time in the fields preaching in Crawford muirs at Diſinckorn-hill in Galſton pariſh and many other places, and about the end of the ſame year 1688. when Kerſland and the united ſocieties, who had, in the inter-regnum of the government, thruſt out ſome of the curates, and demoliſhed ſome of the popiſh monuments of idolatry, were obliged to publiſh a vindication of themſelves in theſe proceedings; which they did at the croſs of Douglas. Mr. Shields being preſent did ſing ſome verſes in the beginning of the 76th pſalm, *In Judah's land God is well known*, &c. making ſome notes and while expatiating on the ſame, ſaid, That this pſalm was ſweetly ſung by famous Mr. Robert Bruce at the croſs

croſs of Edinburgh at the break of the Spaniſh Armada the ſame time a hundred years ago.

Upon the 3d of March 1689. when Mr. Linning, he and Mr. Boyd renewed the covenants at Borland-hill in Liſmahago, Mr. Shields ſtood up again before a vaſt confluence of people, and declared his unfeigned ſorrow for his former ſin of compliances, *&c.* to the affecting of all the multitude, and the abundant ſatisfaction of the godly there preſent, who had been grieved therewith.

At and after the revolution he was of much ſervice to the army, and greatly eſteemed by King William. And after his return home he, with the foreſaid Meſſrs. Linning and Boyd, preſented a large paper of propoſals to the firſt general aſſembly after the revolution*; both craving a redreſs

* *To the Moderator and remanent Members of the General Aſſembly, now convened at Edinburgh, October* 1690, *The humble Propoſals of Mr. Alexander Shields*, &c.

IF our eye could ſuitably affect our hearts this day, Right Reverend, we might find much matter, both of rejoicing and mourning, in the wonderful commencement and advancement of this work of reformation. We are called to rejoice with thankſgiving for the mercy of God manifeſted and magnified in the progreſs of this work hitherto; that the Lord hath been pleaſed in ſovereign mercy to prevent and ſurprize us with ſuch a reviving in our bondage, by the repreſſion of tyranny, ſuppreſſion of popery, and depreſſion of prelacy. When the doctrine of this church is aſſerted, and the confeſſion of faith formerly received, is read, voted, approven and eſtabliſhed by parliament. The worſhip and ordinances of Chriſt are adminiſtred in great purity, plenty and peace: The government of Chriſt's inſtitution, is at length reſtored to what it was *anno* 1592. And the diſcipline retrieved to ſuch a fond of freedom, that all eccleſiaſtic courts may without reſtraint, or being accountable to any exotic uſurped power in the magiſtrate, aſſert all the authority, and exerciſe the power, wherewith Chriſt hath intruſted them. Which power, if duly and diligently improved, and put in execution, may, through the bleſſing of God, contribute very much to the reducing of order, and the redreſs of many diſorders in this church. And now the cauſes of our diſunion and diviſion, in times of defection, being in a great meaſure removed, when eraſtian uſurpations are abrogated, the churches intrinſic power redintegrated, and the corruptions introduced by compliances, ſo far abdicated and antiquated, that they are not, in the conſtitution of the church, and do not continue to be the ſcandal and ſnare of the times; we hope and expect a remedy may be found for our breaches and diviſions, that we thought iucurable, and union and communion in the Lord may be attained. We are no leſs obliged to mourn, when we obſerve this houſe of the Lord ſo unlike the former, wanting many things the former had, and peſtered with many things the former wanted. They that have ſeen our former reformation in its integrity, before the late deformation, can hardly refrain from weeping at the ſight of the ſad diſproportion between this and the former. In the former,

dreſs of their grievances, and likewiſe ſhewing on what terms they and their people could and would join with them, *&c.* But this paper being judged by the committee

mer, as the conſtitution was calculate in the neareſt conformity to the divine pattern; ſo the builders had always a care to pull down what was to be demoliſhed, before they eſtabliſhed what was to ſtand; and to purge away the rubbiſh from the foundation, before they promoved the ſuperſtructure: Accordingly, when prelacy was reintroduced at ſeveral times, the firſt thing they did, when they recovered their power, was always to exert it, in condemnation of that corruption, and of theſe aſſemblies and meetings that promoved, abetted, favoured, or complied. And when the eraſtian ſupremacy began to encroach upon the church's liberties, and to bring the miniſtry into bondage, they did not think it enough to wreſtle againſt it, by perſonal witneſſings: but, by the good hand of God upon their endeavours, never ceaſed until it was condemned by acts of aſſembly. They proceeded alſo with great earneſtneſs and vigilance, to purge the church of corrupt and ſcandalous miniſters. But now, after all the rubbiſh and filth, brought into the houſe of God, by invaſions and uſurpations of the enemies, and defections of friends, when now opportunity and capacity is given to rebuild and beautify the houſe of the Lord, and to repair the deſolations thereof, the preſent building is ſo far advanced, without pulling down and purging away the rubbiſh, and condemning theſe corruptions and defections, in compliance with them, or confeſſing and forſaking them, as our fathers uſed to do: And the prelatical clergy, after all the evil they have done, and bitter fruits they have produced, are yet kept in many places, and like to continue, as a ſeminary and nurſery of a corrupt miniſtry. As long as this rubbiſh ſtands, there can be little hope either of purity or ſtability in the ſuperſtructure.

In former reformations alſo, the advancement uſed to be progreſſive, beginning where the former reformation ſtopt, and going forward, after they had got removed what obſtructed: But now the motion is retrograde, going as far back as that in 1592, miſſing many excellent ſteps of reformation attained after that in 1649. In former reformations, our worthy anceſtors uſed to begin with renovation of the national covenants, and acknowledgments of the breaches thereof, which hitherto hath been neglected, to the great grief of many.

It is alſo matter of lamentation to reflect, that in former reformations, though adverſaries troubled the builders, and hired counſellours againſt them, to fruſtrate their purpoſe: Yet, being furniſhed and ſpirited of the Lord, for that generation-work, they never ſtudied to pleaſe men, but to acquit themſelves, as faithful ſervants of their princely Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, in witneſſing againſt all ſins and corruptions of great and ſmall impartially; and in acts of aſſembly, ordaining and recommending to all miniſters, this faithfulneſs, in applying their doctrine to the ſins of the time, under pain of cenſure: But now, though there was never greater freedom and encouragement for, and neceſſity of faithfulneſs, when the adverſaries of Judah are ſeeking to build, but on deſign to mar the work, and many are too much inclining to join in affinity with the people of theſe abominations: yet it is ſadly wanting, and much deſiderated among many miniſters; who being long accuſtomed to fears, and conſtrained

of this assembly to contain "peremptory and gross mis-"takes, unseasonable and impracticable proposals, and un-"charitable and injurious reflections, tending rather to "kindle

ed silence, have not yet recovered their confidence and courage, to cry aloud against, and not to spare the iniquities of the time.

Though in former reformations, this church was for order and authority, beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, and terrible as an army with banners; Yet now alas! the crown hath fallen from our heads, wo unto us that we have sinned. This holy and beautiful fabric hath been burnt up, with the fire of enemies fury, with the fire of our divisions, and with the fire of the Lord's indignation, burning against us for our defections, whereby the Lord was provoked to forsake his house; and since his departure, there hath been nothing but disorder among his children and servants. The popish, prelatic and malignant party, have come in by force and fraud, and by the cedings of those, that should have stood in the gap, have broke down the carved work of our covenanted reformation, rescinding all the legal bulwarks of ecclesiastical constitutions, civil sanctions, and national covenants, wherewith it was fenced: Wherein, alas! they were too much encouraged by our faint resistance, and too universal involvement in the sin of submitting to, and countenancing of the intrusions of the prelatical party. At length, having set up these their ensigns for signs, in sign of complete victory, obtained over the servants and subjects of our exalted Prince, after they had invaded his kingdom and place, and made havock and slaughter of such as would not yield; they offered some tempting terms, whereupon they would suffer them to live in subjection to these usurpations, painted indeed with pretences of favours, but really, at least indirectly, requiring a recognizance of the usurper's power, and a cessation from opposing the peaceable possession of their robberies. These and the like defections, on the one hand, together with many extravagancies on the other, have brought the godly into many confusions.

We did indeed demur to concur with and follow, and did think it our duty to withdraw from these ministers who promoted courses of defection after specified; and to adhere to those (though but few) who were more stedfast and faithful. When the case was so stated, that we thought communion could not be kept by us with them, from whom we withdrew, without sin; while the very exercise of their ministry was so far depending upon, subordinate unto, complying with, modified and authorized by *unlawful usurpations*, that our joining would have inferred, at least in our conscience, a submission to, symbolizing with, and approving of their offensive yieldings to these encroachments. Yet we never thought this a schism: Therefore,

That this happy and desirable union, may be holy and comfortable, in a way that may procure, and secure our union and communion with the Lord: And, considering in all the periods of this church, from the first reformation, a witness hath never been wanting, against the same, or equivalent corruptions, that have offended us: And no method can be more adapted for recovering and restoring, union, than that which was used for preserving it: And that having aimed hitherto, to offer and keep up our mite of a testimony against the same: if now, under the convictions of its remaining

righ-

"kindle contentions than compoſe diviſions†," it never once got a hearing, but was thrown over the bar of that aſſembly. And yet notwithſtanding all this, the three fore-

 ſaid

righteouſneſs, we ſhall paſs from it: and ſo ſeem to condemn what we approved before, and approve what we condemned before, it will leave an undeliable reproach, not only on ourſelves, but on our contendings and ſufferings.

We earneſtly deſire, Right Reverend, you would be pleaſed to condeſcend to us, in ſome things, that we humbly conceive, are very needful, juſt to be ſought, and eaſy to be granted. We know and are confident, your zeal for truth and peace, will ſuggeſt the ſame means and meaſures, for obtaining this end, and will urge you to take notice of the ſame things, we deſire, without our advertiſement: Nor do we take upon us to preſcribe the methods, terms or conditions, neceſſary for compoſing theſe unhappy differences, and reſtoring the holy and happy union in the Lord; but we think, the word and works of God this day, point at theſe which we crave leave in the bowels of Chriſt, to remonſtrate unto your ſerious conſideration:

I. That to the end the cauſes of our diviſions, the anger of the Lord as the holy cauſe, and our mutual offences, as the ſinful cauſe may be removed, that the effect may ceaſe, a mutual, impartial, and accurate ſearch and trial may be made into our ways, to find out, and remember from whence we are fallen, and diſcover our manifold and manifeſt defections, from the right ways of the Lord; that the great wrongs and indignities done to our great Head and King by enemies encroachments on his prerogatives, and his kingdom's liberties, and our compliances therewith, on the one hand, and on the other, may not be paſt in oblivion, but diligently inquired into; and what acceſſion to them, or participation with them, all of us have been involved in, theſe thirty years bygone: Particularly that it be laid to heart, what indignity to the Lord Jeſus, and injury to his church, was done by the introduction of abjured, dioceſan and eraſtian prelacy, and the ſeveral degrees of compliance therewith; as miniſters leaving their paſtoral charge, at the command of the magiſtrate, and laying aſide the exercile of their miniſtry, giving way unto, and not teſtifying againſt the intruſions of prelatic curates: Particularly owning and ſubmitting to their miniſtry, and receiving ordinances diſpenſed by them, and by counſel and example, encouraging others to do the like; which we cannot but plead and proteſt againſt, as ſinful and ſcandalous:

1. Becauſe they were, and are manifeſt intruders, not entering in at the door, in the way and order of Chriſt, and not having, yea deſpiſing and renouncing a call from the people, and ordination by the preſbytery, and having no other external call, authority, or right to officiate in this church, as its proper paſtors, but the collation of biſhops, and preſentation of patrons, who are none of Chriſt's officers, and forfeiting and foregoing any other right, that any of them formerly could pretend to, by palpable defection to the enemies of this church.

2. Be-

† See this Act V. Seſſ. 9. Aſſ. 1999. wherein the leſſer paper is inſerted.

ſaid brethren being reſolved to unite with them at any rate, gave in another called the ſhorter paper, importing their ſubmiſſion, caſting down all their former propoſals and deſires

2. Becauſe both in principle and profeſſion, and in the way of their entry unto their paſtoral charge, they were, and are eraſtians, deriving their power from, and ſubjecting it in its exerciſe to another head than Chriſt, the magiſtrate's ſupremacy, by which only they were authoriſed, without Chriſt's warrant, or the church's conſent.

3. Becauſe they were and are ſchiſmatics, who cauſed diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine of this church, breaking her union and order, going out themſelves from the fellowſhip of this church, and leading people away from her vowed reformation; yea who violently thruſt out, and perſecuted her faithful paſtors and children, for adhering to that reformation, which they deſigned to raze and ruin.

4. Becauſe they were, and are perjured covenant breakers, avowedly diſowning our covenants, and ſtated in oppoſition to that reformation, which is therein ſworn to be maintained.

5. Becauſe they were, and are in ſeveral points erroneous, in their doctrine, many of them tainted with the leaven of popery, arminianiſm, and ſocinianiſm, and all of them hetrodox, in the point of the magiſtrate's power in church matters, in the matter of oaths, and in condemning the work of our reformation, and covenants; ſeducing thereby their hearers, and both poſitively by theſe doctrines, and privately by with-holding other neceſſary inſtructions and warnings, murdering their ſouls.

6. Becauſe they were, and are, upon all theſe accounts, ſcandalous, and the object of the church's cenſure: And though through the iniquity of the times, their deſerved cenſure hitherto hath not been inflicted, yet they ſtand upon the matter convict, by clear ſcripture-grounds, and by the ſtanding acts, and judicial deciſion of this church, in her ſupreme judicatories.

7. Becauſe this hearing and ſubmitting to them, was required as a badge, teſt, and evidence of due acknowledgment of, and hearty compliance with eraſtianiſm and prelacy, or his majeſty's government eccleſiaſtic, Act parl. 1. Char. II. July 10th, 1663, which made it a caſe of confeſſion to withſtand it.

8. Becauſe, by our covenants, we are obliged to ſtand at a diſtance, from ſuch courſes of defection, and to extirpate them, yet, in contradiction hereunto, we were commanded by the reſcinders of the covenants, to hear the prelatic curates, as a badge of our yielding to the reſcinding of the covenants.

9. Becauſe this courſe was offenſive and ſtumbling, both in hardning thoſe that complied with prelacy, and weakning the hands of thoſe that oppoſed it, and inferred a condemning of their ſufferings upon this head. Eſpecially,

10. When communion with them was ſo ſtated, that therein was not only a caſe of controverſy among the godly, in which always abſtinence is the ſureſt ſide, not only is the judgment of many a caſe of confeſſion, which it is always dangerous to contradict and condemn; but undeniably a caſe of competition, between the true church of Scotland, her miniſters and profeſſors, owning and adhering to her holy eſtabliſhments, claiming a divine right to their offices and privileges, contending for the church's reformation; and a ſchiſmatical party, ſetting up a new church, in a new order, under a new head, robbing

ſires at the aſſembly's feet, "to be diſpoſed of as their wiſdom ſhould think fit." Which paper he, through their inſinuation, was brought to ſubſcribe, and of which, it is ſaid,

robbing them of their offices and privileges, and overturning the reformation.

II. We muſt preſume to plead alſo, That enquiry be made into the heinous and heaven-daring affront done to the holineſs of God, in the horrid violation of our holy covenants, national and ſolemn league; not only how the popiſh, prelatical, and malignant party, have broken them, enacted the breaches of them by law, burnt them and endeavoured to bury them, by making it a capital crime to own their obligation, and by bringing in and ſubſtituting in their room, conſcience-enſnaring anti covenants, oaths, bonds, and engagements renouncing the former, and obliging to courſes contradictory thereunto; But that it may be conſidered, how many ways miniſters and profeſſors, in this time of tentation and tribulation, have been guilty of breach of theſe holy covenants; particularly by conſenting unto, ſubſcribing, ſwearing. and taking any of the new multiplied, miſchievouſly contrived, capriciouſly conceived, and tyrannically impoſed oaths, teſts, or bonds, in matters of religion, ſince the overturning of the covenanted reformation and eſtabliſhment of prelacy; and by perſuading people to take them, and forbearing a neceſſary warning of the danger of them, and leaving people in the dark to determine themſelves, in the midſt of theſe ſnares. All which we plead and proteſt againſt, as ſinful and ſcandalous:

1. Becauſe all of them did infer, import, and imply a ſinful unitive conjunction, incorporation, aſſociation and confederacy with the people of theſe abominations, that were promoting a courſe of apoſtacy from God.

2. Becauſe all of them were incapable of qualifications required in ſacred engagements, to be taken in truth, righteouſneſs and judgment.

3. Becauſe all of them, in the ſenſe of the impoſers, interpreted by their acts and actings, were condemnatory of, and contradictory unto the covenants, and ſome part of the covenanted reformation.

4. Becauſe, by the ancient acts of aſſembly, all public oaths impoſed by the malignant party, without conſent of the church, are condemned, July 28, 1648. Ante merid. ſeſſ. 18. and ſeſſ. 26. thoſe miniſters are ordained to be cenſured, who ſubſcribe any bonds, or take any oaths not approven by the General Aſſembly; or by their counſel, countenance and approbation, make themſelves acceſſary to the taking of ſuch bonds and oaths by others.

III. In like manner, we dare not forbear to cry and crave, That it may be conſidered, what wrongs Chriſt hath received from the Eraſtian and Antichriſtian uſurpation of the ſupremacy, encroaching upon the prerogative of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his incommunicable Headſhip and Kingſhip, as Mediator, giving to a man a magiſterial, and Architectonic power, to alter and innovate, authorize and exauctorate, allow or reſtrain, and diſpoſe of the government and governors of the church, according to his pleaſure; invading the liberties of the goſpel church, introducing a civil dominion upon her government, contrary to its nature, being only a miniſterial ſtewardſhip, diſtinct from the civil government, in its nature, cauſes, ends, officers, and actings; and giving to the magiſtrate the power of the keys, without and againſt Chriſt's donation and authority, even the

dogmatic,

ſaid †, he ſadly repented afterwards. For having dropt his former teſtimony at their feet, who trampled on it, and though they did not rent him, yet they ſoon found out a way to get rid of him. For,

Soon

dogmatic, critic, and diatactic deciſive ſuffrage and power in cauſes eccleſiaſtic, which Chriſt hath intruſted to the church repreſentative; and denying to the church the exerciſe of theſe keys and powers, without the magiſtrate's warrant and indulgence. We crave alſo, That it may be inquired into, how far this encroachment hath been connived at, ſubmitted unto, complied with, homologate, ſtrengthned and eſtabliſhed, by receiving and accepting, without conſent of the church, yea againſt the expreſs diſſent and teſtimony of ſome faithful miniſters, to the contrary, the indulgences *anno* 1669. and 1679; and by the ſilence of others, not witneſſing againſt the ſame, and others cenſuring the faithful for diſcovering the ſinfulneſs thereof.——Which we remonſtrate upon theſe grounds, complexly conſidered:

1. Becauſe, as the contrivance and end of the grant thereof was to advance and eſtabliſh the ſupremacy; to engage preſbyterians, either to co operate towards the ſettling and ſtrengthening thereof, or to ſurceaſe from oppoſing the peaceable poſſeſſion of the granter's uſurpation, and to extort from them, at leaſt an indirect recognizance of acknowledged ſubordination in miniſterial exerciſes, to his uſurped power, in a way which would be beſt acquieſced in; to ſuppreſs the preaching and propagation of the goſpel in perſecuted meetings in fields and houſes, ſo neceſſary at that time; and to divide, and increaſe differences and animoſities among preſbyterians, by inſinuating upon theſe called the more moderate, to commend the indulger his clemency, while other non-conformiſts, adhering to interdicted duties, were juſtly complaining of the effects of his ſeverity. And as the woeful effects of it, ſtrengthening the ſupremacy, weakening the hands of thoſe that witneſſed againſt it, extinguiſhing zeal, and increaſing many diviſions, did correſpond with theſe wretched deſigns; ſo theſe could not be counteracted, but very much ſtrengthened and promoted, by the acceptance of the indulgence, which, in its own nature, was ſo palpably ſubſervient thereto, even though there had been a teſtimony againſt theſe deſigns and ends, yet when the means adapted to theſe ends, were complied with, it was rendered irrite, and *contra factum*.

2. Becauſe as the ſupremacy received much ſtrength and increment from the indulgence, ſo reciprocally it had its riſe, ſpring, conveyance and ſubſiſtence from the ſupremacy, from which it flowed, upon which it ſtood, and by which at length it was removed. And in the grant and conveyance of the indulgence, all the power of the ſupremacy was arrogate, aſſerted and exerted, in firſt taking away the power of the keys from Chriſt's ſtewards, and then reſtoring only one of them to ſome few, with reſtrictions bounding, and inſtructions

regulating

† Pat. Walker ſays, That Mr. Shields much lamented his ſilence before the aſſembly, and of his coming ſo far ſhort of his former reſolutions, and if ever he ſaw ſuch an occaſion, he would not be ſo ſlack. Meſſrs. Lining and Boyd had too much influence upon him, being in haſte for ſtipends and wives. Rem. of the lives of Meſſrs. Semple, &c. firſt edit, page 78.

Soon after the revolution, he was ſettled miniſter at St. Andrews, where he continued in the diſcharge of his office until the year 1699, that he, with Meſſrs. Borland, Stobo

regulating them in the exerciſe of that. The acceptance whereof, ſo clogged with theſe complex circumſtances, without a clear and diſtinct teſtimony, in that caſe of confeſſion, hath at leaſt a great appearance (which ſhould have been abſtained from) of a conniving at, ſubmitting unto, complying with, and homologating of that Eraſtian uſurpation.

3. Becauſe, as it was interpreted to be accepted in the ſame terms wherein it was granted, without a teſtimony againſt the ſupremacy, ſo the entry of thoſe miniſters to their churches, by this indulgence, was prejudicial to the church's privilege: Some of them being fixed in particular churches, whereunto they had no peculiar paſtoral relation before, and ſome tranſplanted from one church to another, without the interpoſition of any eccleſiaſtic preſbyterial authority, without the free and orderly call of the people; being in many reſpects prelimited; and in the way of patronages, at the council's pleaſure and order: And thoſe that were reſtored to their own churches, being there admitted, not by virtue of their old right and claim of an undiſſolved relation, but by virtue of a new holding of the indulgence.

4. Becauſe the embracing thereof, and the continuing therein, was a faint yielding to prevailing Eraſtianiſm, and a courſe of defection from former integrity of miniſterial freedom and faithfulneſs, in which the ſervants and witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt were famous and eminent in former times, who for writing, preaching, and proteſting againſt the eccleſiaſtic ſupremacy in the magiſtrate, and all Eraſtian courſes, did bear the croſs of Chriſt, with much ſtedfaſtneſs; yea, a receding from, and foregoing of a very material part of the cauſe and teſtimony of the church of Scotland, which, till then, did conſtantly wreſtle againſt ſuch encroachments: And in this reſpect ſcandalous, becauſe hardening to Eraſtian enemies, ſtumbling to many friends, and offenſive to poſterity.

5. Becauſe it is contradictory to our covenants, to receive indulgences, contrived and conferred, on purpoſe, to divide (by the terror of perſecution on the one hand, and the perſuaſion of this pretended liberty, taking off the legal reſtraint on the other) miniſters and people from the cauſe and teſtimony of the church of Scotland, againſt the ſupremacy, and from their former bleſſed conjunction therein, and to induce them to make defection to that party, that were advancing Eraſtianiſm. And it is expreſly contradictory to the engagement to duties, *anno* 1648, where the obligation bears, "Be"cauſe many of late have laboured to ſupplant the liberties of the "kirk, we ſhall maintain and defend the kirk of Scotland, in all her "liberties and privileges, againſt all who ſhall oppoſe or under"mine the ſame, or encroach thereupon under any pretext whatſo"ever."

IV. Likewiſe, we plead and obteſt, that a ſearch may be made into, and a review taken of the late toleration, and addreſſing for it, and acceptance of it, complexly conſidered: The ſinfulneſs whereof, we could not, and now cannot forbear to witneſs againſt.

1. Becauſe as the deſign of the granter, and tendency of the grant itſelf, in its own nature, being the introduction of popery and ſlavery, could not in any probability be counteracted, but rather corrobo-

rated,

bo and Dalglieſh, were pitched upon to go over with his countrymen to the national ſettlement at Darien in America, where he, by letters under his own hand, gave particular

rated, by this addreſſing for it, and accepting of it, even though there had been a teſtimony againſt the deſign thereof, as there was none, and could be none conſiſtent with the continuance thereof; ſo being conveyed from abſolute power, which all were required to obey without reſerve, ſtopping, ſuſpending, and diſabling all the penal ſtatutes againſt papiſts; thereby undermining all the legal bulwarks of our religion; The addreſſing for, and accepting of it, ſo conveyed, without a witneſs againſt this deſpotical encroachment, (yea, the very condition of enjoying the benefit of it, being excluſive of ſuch a teſtimony, which might any way tend to the alienating of the people, from ſuch a deſpotical government, in all its encroachments) did indirectly, at leaſt, imply compliance with, if not the recognizance and acknowledgment of that uſurped power, and the arbitrary exerciſe and effect of it in ſuſpending the penal ſtatutes.

2. Becauſe it was extended, not only to prelacy, but to popery, quakeriſm, and all idolatry, blaſphemy, and hereſy, which was highly provoking to the Lord Jeſus, and prejudicial to the peace and purity of his church; contrary to the ſcriptures of the old and new Teſtament; contrary to the confeſſion of faith and catechiſms, chap. xx. § 1. and chap. xxiii. § 3. Being placed alſo among the ſins of the ſecond command, in the larger catechiſm; contrary to the principles of the church of Scotland; being condemned, warned of, and witneſſed againſt by acts of aſſembly, *anno* 1649. And by her faithful paſtors preaching, writing, and proteſting againſt ſuch tolerations; (and ſometimes even when papiſts were excluded, as that, againſt which the miniſters of Fife and Perth did teſtify). And contrary to our covenants, wherein we are bound to preſerve reformation, and uniformity in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government, to extirpate popery, *&c.* to free our ſouls from the guilt of other men's ſins, defend our liberties; and conſequently never to comply with a toleration, everſive of all theſe intereſts we are ſworn to maintain, and productive of theſe things we are ſworn to endeavour the extirpation of.

3. Becauſe it was clogged with ſuch conditions and limitations, as did exceedingly hamper the freedom of the miniſtry, being offered (in proclamations) and accepted (in addreſſes and obedience) with reſtrictions to perſons who might preach, (allowing ſome, and diſcharging others, who had as good authority as they, to exerciſe their miniſtry) to places where they ſhould preach (only where intimation was given of the name of the place, and of the preachers, to ſome of the lords of the council, *&c.*) and to the matter what, or at leaſt what they might not preach, *to wit*, nothing that might have any tendency to alienate the hearts of the people from a popiſh and tyrannical government; and conſequently nothing againſt the wickedneſs, or of the miſery of tyranny; nothing againſt the toleration, and the open ſins proclaimed therein, and wicked ends deſigned thereby; nothing againſt diſabling the penal ſtatutes, or for the obligations of them, and ties of national covenants ſtrengthening them.

4. Becauſe of the manifold ſcandal of it, we cannot but witneſs againſt it, becauſe ſo diſgraceful to the Proteſtant religion, and prejudicial

lar account of matters there; wherein it is evident that his ſpirit was quite ſunk with the diviſions, impiety and unrighteouſneſs of too many of that handful, and at laſt was ſad-

judicial to the intereſt thereof. It was reproachful to our religion, ſometimes eſtabliſhed by law, then only tolerate, under the notion of an evil to be ſuffered: How confounding and conſternating was this to all the reformed churches, that ſometimes admired and envied Scotland's eſtabliſhments, now to ſee her ſo diſpirited and deceived, as to accept and addreſs for a toleration, without a teſtimony, whereby inſtead of all the laws and covenants ſecuring her reformation, the only tenor and ſecurity for it ſhe had now remaining, was, the arbitrary word of an abſolute prince, whoſe principles obliged him to break it? What occaſion of diſdainful inſulting, did it give to the prelatical party, then pleading for the nation's laws, to obſerve preſbyterians, acquieſcing in that which ſuſpended and ſtopped the penal ſtatutes? Yea, what matter of gloriation and boaſting was it to papiſts, to ſee preſbyterians ſleeping and ſuccumbing, and not oppoſing, when, at this opened gap, they were bringing in the Trojan horſe of popery and ſlavery?

V. Moreover, with reſpect to ſome things, at preſent, which we account corruptions, and are offenſive to many, we cannot forbear to remonſtrate and plead, That conſideration may be taken of the ſinfulneſs of the too univerſal defect and neglect of zeal and faithfulneſs, in receiving the buried national covenants, when now they ſeem to be laid aſide, and many miniſters forbear to preach plainly the obligation of them, and diſcover particularly the breaches of them, and to mention them in engagements which they require of parents, when they pre ent their children in baptiſm, according to the continued cuſtom of faithful miniſters, theſe many years bygone: And it is ſtumbling to many, that in all addreſſes to king and parliament, the renewing of them hath not been deſired. This we think very grievous,

1. Becauſe in the ſcriptures, as we have many precepts, promiſes, and precedents for renewing them, and demonſtrations of their perpetual, indiſſoluble obligation, being in their matter and form agreeable with the word of God; ſo we have many denunciations and certifications of unavoidable threatenings of all evils, national, perſonal, temporal, ſpiritual, and eternal, againſt forſaking or forgetting them.

2. Becauſe as there is no other way to prevent the curſe of the covenants, and this threatened wrath imminent upon the land, for breach of covenants, but to acknowledge the breaches of them, and engage again to the duties of them; ſo theſe omiſſions cannot conſiſt with that faithfulneſs required of miniſters in ſuch a caſe.

3. Becauſe it is a plain defection from firſt love, and former attainments of our fathers, who commenced all reformations with renovation of the covenants: And in their eccleſiaſtic conſtitutions, enjoined all miniſters to preach up the covenants, and witneſs againſt all defections from them, and indifferency or lukewarmneſs to them; which alſo is a breach of covenant in itſelf.

VI. Hence, more particularly, we cannot but ſignify how much we and many others are offended, at the too general keeping ſilence at, or very ambiguous ſpeaking againſt, and omitting the plain, impartial, doctrinal rebuking of ſuch crying ſins and ſcandals of the

ly cruſhed with the fatal diſappointment of that undertaking, by the conduct of the then government; which he ſhewed, had it been faithfully and well managed, might have

times, as cannot be controverted among preſbyterians; ſuch as the impoſing and taking many bonds and oaths, repugnant to the covenants and work of reformation; which many complied with to ſhift perſecution, and many others to purchaſe preferments unto places of truſt; the acceſſion of nobles and rulers to the wicked eſtabliſhments and framing miſchiefs into laws in former times; the manifold involvements of great and ſmall, in the guilt of perſecution, by delating and informing againſt honeſt ſuffering people, riding with armed force to purſue and apprehend them; appearing under diſplayed banners for the defence of tyranny, on expeditions againſt them at Pentland, Bothwel-bridge, *&c.* ſitting in courts, juries and aſſizes, to condemn them; putting them out of houſes and tenements under them, becauſe they would not comply with ſinful impoſitions: And eſpecially, the defiling of the land with blood, which hath yet a cry in the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth: All which the ſervants of the Lord are obliged, by the word of God, and the conſtitutions of this church, to cry againſt, and not to ſpare, and to reprove and rebuke in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon.

VII. Finally, We muſt preſume to lay open our own, and the general complaints through ſeveral corners of the land, of the ſad ſlackneſs and remiſſneſs of diſcipline: The report and *fama clamoſa* whereof, at leaſt, doth wound our ears and pierce our hearts, *viz.* That ſome who had gone a great length in the above-mentioned compliances, even to the ſwearing the teſt itſelf, beſides other wicked oaths, and to the proſecuting of the godly ſundry ways, are admitted to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and to preſent their children to baptiſm: And that others are admitted to the charge of elders, who had not only habitually complied with prelacy, and had borne the name of that office under that government, but had taken theſe ſcandalous forementioned oaths; yea, and that of late, ſome are admitted to the miniſtry, that conſtantly followed epiſcopacy, and were trained up to be curates, and were deeply involved in the foreſaid compliances, without due trial of their paſt converſation, and requiring of their public profeſſion of repentance, and reſentment of theſe reſpective ſcandals; whereby the precious are not taken from the vile, and a little of that old leaven, may quickly leaven the whole lump, and offenders are not like thereby to be gained to repentance, but rather hardened in, and tempted to think little of theſe deſtroying ſins.

We plead not here, that every one of the defects, or every degree of theſe offences ſhould be, in the caſe of this epidemic involvement, proceeded againſt by diſciplinary cenſure; nor do we urge, that all chargeable with theſe offences above taxed, eſpecially ſuch as are in controverſy, ſhould be either perſonally rebuked in public, or obliged publicly to confeſs their own degree of the guilt of them; though it would give glory to God, and comfort to the church, and peace to their own conſciences, for all to confeſs their offences, that have been moſt ſtumbling to the godly; ſo far as from the word of God, and known principles of this reformed church, they may be convinced. Nor do we propoſe, that the condemnation of every one of theſe ſteps of defection, that are queſtioned, ſhould be ſo far ſtretched

have been of great advantage to this nation, as well as to the Chriſtian religion; and yet for want of a proper reinforcement, they were either cut off or diſſipated. While in

ſtretched *quoad momentum rei*, as either to be ſtated by us, as a ground of ſeparation formerly, or now required as a neceſſary condition of communion; though ſtill, we conceive the complication of them together, when they ſtood, was a ground that neceſſitated our withdrawing from many in the ſame circumſtances.

We only deſire, they may be ſo far inquired into, that what guilt is in them before the Lord, may be in ſome meaſure diſcovered, and the wrongs done to Chriſt thereby, may not be paſſed over in an act of oblivion: But as the right honourable the eſtates of parliament, have found and declared theſe acts and actings of the overturners of our reformation: and the miſchiefs of prelacy, ſupremacy and tyranny eſtabliſhed by wicked laws, which were the foundations and fountains of all the offenſive compliances above mentioned, to be grievances againſt the laws of the land; ſo the right reverend, the members of this venerable aſſembly, may find and declare, theſe wicked eſtabliſhments and compliances ſupporting them, and defections flowing therefrom, to be ſins againſt the laws of Chriſt; and ſo far as they can find iniquity in the foreſaid offences, may provide by eccleſiaſtic conſtitutions for the future, that the like compliances with the like contrivances of uſurping enemies, may never again be allowed, under pain of church cenſures, to prevent and preclude all fears of diviſions, to be occaſioned by the like defections, in time coming. And as we offer and promiſe, ſo far as we are, or may be convinced, to confeſs our offences, any manner of way that church-judicatories ſhall appoint; ſo, for the ſatisfaction of all concerned in the late differences, and removal of offences, given or taken, we deſire and expect, that ſuch failings in the above ſpecified particulars, or others, be laid to heart by all ſorts of miniſters and preachers, as they are convinced of, or after ſearch, may be diſcovered to them by this reverend aſſembly: And that theſe, among the ſins of the land, be ſet down in order as cauſes of a public faſt, upon ſome week-day, through all the meetings of Preſbyterians within this kingdom; and that the ſins of the people be intermixed among theſe cauſes. Further,

As we humbly conceive, it would prove a very proper and promiſing expedient, for promoving, preſerving and propagating reformation; for ſettling and keeping order and union; for preventing and precluding innovation or corruptions; for diſcovering and diſcouraging apoſtates or ſchiſmatics, malignants or ſectaries, and excluding them from acceſs to do further hurt; ſo we hope, we ſhall be approven and ſeconded by many in this reverend Aſſembly, in craving the renewing of the covenants, either both the national and ſolemn league, with accomodations to our times, or one made up of both, with additions or explications, ſuiting our preſent caſe and day, with a ſolemn acknowledgment of the public breaches, and engagement to the duties of the covenants: Humbly moving, that none be forced to ſwear or ſubſcribe the ſame, or ſo much as admitted to it, except they be ſuch, as may be judged, in charity, to have a competent knowledge, and ſenſe of the ſins and duties thereof.

In

Caledonia he preached moſtly on Acts xvii. 26, 27. *God hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation.* One time, as he and the reſt of the miniſters made

In fine, Though we will not take upon us, to propoſe the time or the way of purging out the epiſcopal clergy, yet we cannot and dare not forbear, to plead and obteſt that they may not be continued, nor kept in the churches whereinto they have intruded; nor re-admitted that are, or may be laid aſide, until they give approvable evidence of their repentance, for their ſinful conformity. (1.) Upon all theſe grounds, exhibited above, againſt hearing of them. (2.) Becauſe former experience of the hurt received by the entertainment of the epiſcopal clergy, *anno* 1638, does now plead for their care to prevent it in time coming. (3.) Becauſe the people under their miniſtry, have hitherto been, and are periſhing in ignorance and irreligion; being either ſtarved for want of faithful and ſpiritual inſtruction, or poiſoned with falſe inſtruction; and therefore pity to them, and zeal to propagate the goſpel, ſhould prompt to all endeavours to purge them out. (4.) Becauſe the ſettlement, purgation, and plantation of the church, will be exceedingly obſtructed by the continuance of them that unſettled it, corrupted it, and peſtered the Lord's vineyard, with plants not of his planting, and whoſe leaven will be always in hazard to leaven the whole lump. (5.) Becauſe, all of them are among theſe, whom the laws of Chriſt do oblige, the conſtitutions of this church do ordain, and the preſent civil ſanctions for eſtabliſhing church government do allow the church-repreſentative, to try and purge out; being all of them either inſufficient, or negligent, or erroneous, or ſcandalous, if theſe characters may be applied, or interpreted, according to ſcripture rules, or as the church hath extended them heretofore.

We are content that none of the curates be put out, but the inſufficient and ignorant, if this be one part of the trial of their knowledge, to inquire not only into their gifts but their graces; if ignorance of converſion, regeneration, ſanctification, and communion with God; both as to the doctrine of theſe benefits, and as to their own experience of them, ſo far as may be diſcovered by hum n judgment, be reputed inſufficiency: We are content, none be put away but the negligent, if ſo be they that do not warn the wicked of their deſtroying ſins, that feed themſelves and not the flock, that do not ſtrengthen the diſeaſed, nor heal the ſick, *&c.* that omit the preſſing of neceſſary duties impartially on perſons and families, and the cenſuring of ſcandals without reſpect of perſons, be comprehended in that character: We are ſatisfied, none be removed but the erroneous; if they be judged to be ſuch, who not only own points of popery, Arminianiſm and Socinianiſm, but are unſound in their explanation of the kingly office of Chriſt, or the perfection of the ſcriptures, in the point of church-officers and government, in the matter of oaths and of the magiſtrate's power, and do maintain Eraſtianiſm, an exploded and abjured error in this church: And we ſeek no more but that all be removed who are ſcandalous, and none but they, if intruders, covenant breakers, perjured ſubſcribers of ſcandalous oaths and teſts, ſchiſmatics and perſecutors, be counted among the ſcandalous.

Some things are indeed extraordinary, which we here urge; but as extraordinary exigencies do force us, to move without a precedent;

made a tour up the country, upon their return they were bewildered in the woods, and hearing the noiſe of the ſea, they got at laſt to the ſhore, and ſo were obliged to paſs through various windings and bendings of the coaſt under laſh of the ſwelling ſurges or waves of the ſea, being ſometimes obliged to climb upon their hands and feet upon the ſteep and hard rocks, until at laſt Mr. Shields was like to faint, which troubled them much. Their proviſion and cordials were ſpent, at length they came to a welcome ſpring of freſh water ſpringing out of the rock by the ſea ſide: "This well (ſays Mr. Borland) was to us as that well was "to Hagar in the wilderneſs.—By this well we reſted a lit-

"tle,

dent; ſo they furniſh you a power, to make a precedent for the like caſes thereafter: We confeſs alſo, it may ſeem precipitant to preſs all theſe things ſo hard, and ſo ſoon, in a bruckle time, before things be better ſettled; but we fear, if new delays be procured, till all things be fully ſettled, that the obſerving of wind and clouds ſhall hinder both ſowing and reaping. But if, laying aſide the plaiſters, wherewith the wounds of our backſlidings have been ſlightly covered rather than cured, you put to your hand to the healing of your breaches, in condeſcending to theſe our humble deſires, you ſhall win the bleſſing of many ſouls, rent and racked with theſe diviſions; you ſhall diſburthen the land of many weights and woes, whereof it is weary; you ſhall ſend to all the neighbouring churches a pattern, tranſmit to poſterity an example, and erect to all ages a monument of ſelf denying, zeal and wiſdom; a work to be paralleled with the glories of former times. If herein our hopes ſhall fail us, we ſhall not know whether to wiſh, we had died with our brethren, by the enemies hand, and had never ſeen this reviving in our bondage; for it will be a death to us, and not a reviving, if there be not a returning together to the Lord, ſearching and trying, and diſcovering the iniquities of our ways. But however, we intend not to ſeparate from the church, but to maintain union and communion in truth and duty, with all the miniſters and members of this church that do, and in ſo far as they do follow the inſtitutions of Chriſt; and to approve ourſelves, God aſſiſting, as much for peace and concord, as ever we were ſuſpected to be men of diviſive principles; hoping it ſhall appear, we are ſeeking *where he feedeth, and where he makes his flock to reſt at noon*, and are not as ſuch, *who turn aſide by the flocks of his companions, but going forth by the footſteps of the flocks, beſide the ſhepherds tents:* Yet with this proteſted diſſent from, and teſtimony againſt all the above mentioned corruptions, defections, and offenſive courſes, which obliged us to ſtand at a diſtance in times of deformation; that our preſent joining in theſe circumſtances, when theſe are removed, may not infer, or be interpreted an approving of what we formerly condemned; and be free from all partaking in theſe defections, by conſent, connivance, compliance, or communion therein. For which we humbly ſupplicate, that theſe our humble propoſals may be recorded in the books of aſſembly.

ALEXANDER SHIELDS, &c.

" tle, and Mr. Shields having drunk of it, was refreſhed " and ſtrengthened, and with the help of the Lord we " were enabled to proceed on our journey." After which Mr. Shields and Mr. Borland eſcaped death very narrowly, the ſhip ſinking in the harbour of Kingſton a very little after they were gone out of it. He died of a malignant fever, June 14. 1700. in a Scot's woman's houſe at Port-Royal, in Jamaica, a little after he left Caledonia. A kind country woman Iſabel Murray, paid the expence of his funeral. His laſt preaching was from the laſt words of Hoſea, *Who is wiſe? and he ſhall underſtand theſe things: prudent? and he ſhall know them, for the ways of the Lord are right, and the juſt ſhall walk in them, but tranſgreſſors ſhall fall therein* †.

And thus the ſo much famed Mr. Alexander Shields, after he had taſted ſomewhat of the various viciſſitudes of life and fortune, was obliged to die in a ſtrange land. He was a man of a low ſtature, ruddy complexion, quick and piercing wit, full of zeal whatever way he intended, of a public ſpirit, and firm in the cauſe he eſpouſed; pretty well ſeen in moſt branches of learning, in arguing very ready, only ſomewhat fiery, but in writing on controverſy he exceeded moſt men in that age.

His works are the Hind let looſe, Mr. Renwick's life, and the vindication of his dying teſtimony, his own impartial relation, the renovation of the covenant at Borland hill. There are alſo ſome lectures and ſermons of his in print; a vindication of our ſolemn covenants, and ſeveral of his religious letters both before and ſince the revolution. After his death Mr. Linnings publiſhed an eſſay of his on church-communion. But how far this agrees with his conduct at the revolution, or what coherency it hath with his other writings, or if Mr. Linning had any hand therein, is not my province to determine at preſent. There are alſo three pocket volumes of his journals yet in manuſcript, which were, among other valuable papers, redeemed from deſtruction after Mr. Linning's death.

† See a more full account of Mr. Shields both while in Caledonia and Jamaica, in the hiſtory of Darien, lately republiſhed, from page 42 to 49.

The

The Life of Mr. JOHN DICKSON.

MR. JOHN DICKSON born of creditable parents (as ſome ſay, related to Mr. David Dickſon) was ſent to the grammar-ſchool, and from thence to the univerſity; where, after he had gone through his courſes of learning, he ſtudied divinity, and then paſſed his trials for the miniſtry; and, being found duly qualified for that office, he was licenced. And, ſome time before the reſtoration, was ordained and ſettled miniſter at Rutherglen, where he continued for ſome time a moſt faithful, diligent and painful preacher of the goſpel.

But very ſoon after the reſtoration of Charles II. (prelacy beginning to advance in Scotland) he was, upon the 13th of October 1660. brought before the committee of eſtates, and by them impriſoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, information having been given in againſt him by Sir James Hamilton of Eliſtoun*, and ſome of his pariſhioners, of ſome expreſſions he had uſed in a ſermon alledged to reflect upon the government and the committee of eſtates, tending to ſedition and diviſion. For which he was kept in priſon till the parliament ſat down, and his church vacated; and though he got out at this time, yet he was expoſed to much trouble and ſuffering afterwards, as now comes to be obſerved.

After this, Mr. Dickſon was obliged to wander from place to place with the reſt of thoſe who could not in conſcience comply with the current of defection and apoſtacy at that time, preaching to ſuch as employed him; wherein he ceaſed not, in ſhewing the ſinfulneſs of bonding, ceſs paying, and of the indulgence, and likewiſe wrote a faithful warning to the ſhire of Fife againſt the ſame, ſhewing in the

* This family that purſued him is long ago extinct, and their houſe (as Mr. Dickſon very publicly foretold in the hearing of many), after it had been an habitation for owls, the foundation ſtones were digged up. The inhabitants there could not but obſerve, that thoſe who were informers, accuſers and witneſſes againſt Mr. Dickſon (ſome of them magiſtrates then in the town) were brought ſo low, that they were ſuſtained by the charity of the pariſh. So hard a thing it is to meddle with the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt.

the moſt affecting and ſtriking manner the hazard and evil of ſuch compliance †.

In 1670. we find he preached at Glenvail, and in June that year he and Mr. Blackadder preached to a numerous congregation at Beeth-hill in Dunfermline pariſh in Fife. While they were at public worſhip upon the Lord's day, a lieutenant of militia in that place came up on horſeback to the people, and made a great deal of diſturbance, threatning to fright and if poſſible to ſcatter them; whereupon one more couragious than the reſt ſtept forward to him, and, after intreating him to remove peaceably, took his horſe by the bridle, pulled out a piſtol, and told him, He would ſhoot him dead if he was not ſilent: And whether he would or would not, he was there compelled to ſit on horſeback till public worſhip was over, after which he had his liberty to go where he pleaſed. Upon the back of this horrid inſult (as the perſecutors were pleaſed to call it), upon the 11th of Aug. a decreet was obtained by the king's advocate againſt Mr. Dickſon, Mr. Blackadder and ſeveral other miniſters, wherein they were charged with holding conventicles in houſes and in fields, and being after citation called and not compearing, they were in abſence denounced and put to the horn, which obliged them to wander up and down the country, ſometimes preaching in the fields where they had opportunity.

And thus continued Mr. Dickſon in the midſt of imminent hazards: For, by virtue of a new modelled council, June 4th, 1764. there were orders to ſend out parties in queſt of all conventicle preachers (as they were called, who accepted not of the indulgence), amongſt whom were Meſſ. Dickſon, Welch, and Blackadder, *&c.* 400 pounds ſterling were offered for Mr. Welch, and 1000 merks for Mr. Dickſon and each of the reſt. Nay, the ſoldiers were indemnified and their aſſiſtants, if any ſlaughter was committed in apprehending them, in caſe any reſiſtance was made. By which Mr. Dickſon was expoſed unto new dangers, but yet he eſcaped their fury for ſome time.

But after Bothwel-battle the perſecution becoming ſtill hotter, and the ſearches more frequent, he was apprehended in 1680.; and being broughtin to Edinburgh priſoner by ſome of the guard, under caution to anſwer before the coun-

† It was no doubt ſuch faithful freedom that made that defamatory ſcribler ſay, in his Preſbyterian Eloquence, that he ſaid in a ſermon at Galaſhields, that ceſs paying to Charles II. was as bad as ſacrificing to devils, ſee page 15.

council Sep. 1ſt. Accordingly the council ordered him to be ſent to the Baſs, where he continued priſoner near the ſpace of ſeven years.

While he was priſoner in the Baſs he wrote a moſt excellent letter to ſome friends, wherein he not only bewails and laments the apoſtacy of theſe lands from God, *&c.* demanding what our noble Scots worthies would think or ſay, were they then alive to behold the ſame, but alſo gives many practical and ſuitable directions how to behave in following Chriſt, and owning his cauſe under the croſs, and walking in the furnace of affliction and tribulation, *&c.*

After he got out of the Baſs, he returned very early at the revolution back to his flock at Rutherglen, where he again exerciſed his miniſterial function, and that upon all hazards †. In the year 1698. Oct. 4th, at the ſitting down of the ſynod at Air, he preached a very free and faithful ſermon, upon the duty and qualifications of a faithful watchman from theſe words, Iſa. lxii. 6. *I have ſet watchmen upon thy walls, O Jeruſalem,* &c.

And although Mr. Dickſon ſtill acceded to the revolution church, yet he was much grieved when he beheld how far inferior the glory of the ſecond temple was to the firſt, which does moſt evidently appear from his own words in a letter to one a little before his death (which was in the year 1700.) and which may ſtand here for his dying teſtimony; the contents whereof are as follows.

"THE conception you have of the diſpenſation of the "Lord towards this poor plagued church, and the temper "of the ſpirits of profeſſors under this diſpenſation, are "not different from what many of the Lord's people are "groaning under. There is palpably a ſenſible difference "betwixt what the church now is, and what it was many "years ago; yea, what it hath been within theſe few years. "The church hath loſt much ground, and is ſtill upon the "loſing hand, and it ſeems will continue ſo until it pleaſes "the Lord to pour down his Spirit from on high, or elſe "by ſome ſharp awakening diſpenſation rouſe up drowzy "ſouls out of the lethargy wherein they are fallen, *&c.*

† Mr. Dickſon being one who maintained and defended the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms, either about this time or at the reſtoration before he was ejected, he kept the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper (probably at Rutherglen), while the people kept guard by centries under arms the whole time of the diſpenſation thereof. Which truly ſets forth the danger and hazard of theſe times, and the aggravations of our ſins in miſimproving the mercies and priviledges which they could not peaceably enjoy.

" It is many years ſince the ſun fell low upon Scotland, " many a diſmal day hath it ſeen ſince 1649. At that time " our reformation mounted towards its higheſt horizon; " and ſince we left our building on that excellent founda- " tion laid by our honoured forefathers, we have ſtill mov- " ed from ill to worſe, and is like ſtill more (unleſs our " gracious God prevent it) until we ſlide ourſelves out of " ſight and ſenſe of a reformation. We have been lately " tryſted with a wonderful deliverance from the ſlavery of a " heaven-daring enemy, but not one line of reformation is " pencilled upon our deliverance †. We have the ſhell of " ordinances and church-government, but want the kernel, " the great things of Chriſt's law; as to contend for his " intereſt is wrapt under a cloud. It is a long time ſince " our covenant and ſolemn engagements looked pale. They " have loſt colour and verdure ſince the reſcinding our vows " to God. Theſe covenants are turned ſkeletons, fear- " ſome and affrighting, and former reſpect to them is like " gradually to dwine away under a conſumption. There " are ſome few things that made them the glory of nations " that are turned to a ſhadow:

" (1.) They were the fruits of many prayers, faſting, " tears, wreſtling, and indefatigable labours of the greateſt " and beſt men that ever breathed in our nation, recover- " ing a people ſunk into antichriſtian darkneſs, to enjoy li- " berty due to them by Chriſt's purchaſe.

" (2.) The renewing them ſo many times in old king " James's reign ſpoke out the fervency of theſe worthy ſpi- " rits, in ardour and affection to them, as ſo many jewels " of ſo great value, that they were ſet as gems and pearls " in Chriſt's crown, to wear ſo long as his intereſt remain- " ed in the church.

" (3.) The bleſſing accompanying the entering unto and " renewing theſe covenants were ſo fluent in all church- " ordinances, both ſecret, private and public, that whate- " ver

† If theſe were Mr. Dickſon's ſentiments then of the revolution ſettlement, ſo much now gloried in and boaſted of by many, they muſt be either ignorantly blind or under an infatuation, who ſee not that things are a great deal worſe (though the ſame as to the conſtitution) than in his day: For how many are the clogs and impoſitions, that are annually (I may ſay daily) wreathed about the neck of the church, in theſe degenerate iſles of the ſea, Britain and Ireland. And could any thing be believed by an apoſtate generation, we ſhould think that his words ſhould be of ſome weight, who was no opponent, but a member of the eſtabliſhed church, yea and more, a ſeer in our Iſrael, and, we may ſay, one among a thouſand, *for as the man is, ſo is his ſtrength*, &c.

" ver was planted in ſo fruitful a ſoil of ſuch bleſſing and " influence of the Spirit, could not but grow up as calves " in the ſtall, fat and full of ſap.

" (4.) Theſe covenants were to our forefathers, like the " renting of their own cloths, as Eliſha did, and taking up " Elijah's mantle, and clothing themſelves with it, 2 Kings " ii. 12, 13.; enjoying of Moſes's ſpirit, Deut. xxiv.; and " like Joſhua (chap. xxiv.) when dying, leaving a teſtimo- " ny of remembrance to poſterity, by engaging them in " theſe covenants.

" (5.) So long as our church cleaved to theſe our cove- " nants, it fell out with them as it did with king Aſa, 2 " Chron. xv. 2.; that the Lord was with them while they " were with him. But, our fathers offspring forſaking " God, he forſook them: from that day that our covenants " were ſo ignominiouſly treated, unto this day, all calami- " ties as to our religious concerns have fallen upon us.

" (6.) The late ſufferers, of all who ſhed their hearts " blood upon the fields and ſcaffolds, impriſonments and " baniſhments, were all dyed with the crimſon blood of " the covenant: from that day of the force and fury of ene- " mies, theſe ſolemn vows of our worthy forefathers, and " the enemies taking up Chriſt's march-ſtones (which were " the bounds ſet by the Moſt High, when he divided to " the church of Britain its inheritance, and ſeparated the " ſons of Adam, Deut xxix. 8.), the giddy church ſtraying " in the wilderneſs is much fallen out of ſight either of " pillar of cloud or fire. Our intermixtures are turned per- " nicious to the glory and honour of Chriſt's houſe which " ſhould not be a den of buyers and ſellers. Although the " ſuffering of our late brethren ſeemed to be heavy to bear, " yet two prime truths were ſealed with their blood (and " that of the beſt, as of our honourable nobles, faithful " miniſters, gentry, burghers and commons of all ſorts) " which were never before ſealed either by the blood of our " primitive martyrs, our late martyrs in the dawning of our " reformation; and the two truths were, Chriſt's headſhip " in the church in deſpite of ſupremacy and bold eraſtian- " iſm, and our covenants: Which two great truths were " in the mouths of all our worthies, when mounting their " bloody theatres and ſcaffolds, aſcending as it were up un- " to God in a perfumed cloud of tranſporting joy, that " they were honoured to ſuffer upon ſuch clear grounds. " That ſupremacy was ſo agaſted by our covenants, that no " reſt could it have till it got the grave ſtone laid upon " them, and ſo conjured all who taſted the liquor of that

" ſupremacy, that the thoughts of getting the buried co-
" venants out of the grave were more terrible to them than
" the devils, who are now in the place of our vows to God,
" managing their diabolical games in theſe places where
" the covenants were moſt in honour and requeſt, the one
" burned and the other riſing in its room. Much blood
" and treaſure have been ſpent to ſet the flouriſhing crown
" upon Chriſt's head in Scotland. Declarations, acts of
" councils and parliament, remonſtrances, engagements,
" vows and covenants; but the ſealing blood of the late
" martyrs was the cope-ſtone of all. The primitive mar-
" tyrs ſealed the prophetic office of Chriſt with their hearts
" blood, the reforming martyrs ſealed his prieſtly offices
" with their blood; but laſt of all our martyrs have ſealed
" his kingly office with their beſt blood: They indeed have
" cemented it upon his royal head, ſo that to the end of
" the world it ſhall not drop off again. Let us never dream
" of a reviving ſpirit among us, till there be a reviving re-
" ſpect to theſe ſolemn vows of God. If there was but a
" little appearance of that ſpirit which actuated our worthy
" forefathers in our public aſſemblies and preachings, ye
" would ſee a wonderful alteration in the face of affairs:
" The fields, I aſſure you would look white near to harveſt.
" If ye would adventure to trace our defections from the
" breach of the act of claſſes in the year 1650, all along to
" this day of our being bound in the grave of our neutra-
" lity, and all to edge up the ſpirit of the people to a due
" ſenſe of our woful and irrevocable like backſliding from
" God (who hath acted many wonders for Scotland) you
" would find a perfumed ſmoke of incenſe ſpringing from
" our altar in ſavoury and ſoul refreſhing bleſſings. But
" ah! when ſhall this day dawn? ſo long as the common
" enemy are gaining their long-wiſhed-for hopes, That mi-
" niſters in their public preaching muſt confine themſelves
" to their nick-named faith and repentance; without no-
" ticing any incroachments upon Chriſt's proper rights to
" his church in the glorious work of reformation, leſt con-
" ſtructed fire-ſtrands and ſeditious, which in running the
" full career may gradually drop into ſuperſtition through
" neutrality, and thence plunge into an abyſs of the ſhadow
" of popery. But to ſum up ſhortly all my preſent thoughts
" of the time in this one, I cannot ſee an evaſion of the
" church, in its preſent circumſtance, from a ſharp and
" more trying furnace than ever it has yet met with, come
" the trial from what airth it will, it fears me: Our principles
" are ſo ſlippry, and the truth of God ſo ſuperficially root-

ed

"ed in us, that when we are thrown in the furnace, many "of us ſhall melt to droſs. It is many years ſince I heard "one of the greateſt ſeers in our nation, in horror and with "fear, dreading the heavy judgments of God upon the bi- "aſſed profeſſors in the weſt of Scotland. But all that I ſay, "not diminiſhing my hopes of the Lord's reſerving his pur- "chaſed inheritance in his own covenanted land, though "Malachi be affrighted at the day of his coming, and be "made to cry out, *Who may abide it*, chap. iii. 1, 2, 3. *when "he ſits as refiner and purifier of the ſons of Levi:* A remnant "ſhall be left, that ſhall be as the teil tree or the oak whoſe "ſeed is in them, when they caſt their leaves; ſo the holy "ſeed ſhall be the ſubſtance thereof.

"To revive a reflection upon two ſtupenduous paſſages "of providence, I know would have an imbittering reliſh "to many profeſſors in our country ſide. The one is up- "on the laſt indulgence, wherein profeſſors by bond and "penalty obliged themſelves to produce their miniſter be- "fore the council, when called. For this was a reſtriction "ſo narrow, that all the freedom and faithfulneſs of mi- "niſters in their office was ſo blocked up, that either con- "ſcience towards God in diſcharging of neceſſary duties "behoved utterly to be buried, or elſe the life of their mi- "niſter expoſed to ſacrifice.—And if this be not an univer- "ſal evil to be mourned over, let conſcience and reaſon "judge; yet this is looked upon to be but a trip, in theſe "gloomy times, of inconſiderable moment, though it was "the brat clecked by that ſupremacy, which not only hath "wounded our ſolemn vows to death, but bound the free- "dom and faithfulneſs of the church ſeers, as to the public "intereſt of Chriſt in their graves, *&c.*

"The other ſtupenduous providence is the obliterating "the rich bleſſing of the goſpel in our late ſuffering times, "when bleſſings not only accompanied theſe ſolemn field- "meetings, but extraordinary influences, in gifts of free- "dom and faithfulneſs, were poured down upon theſe mi- "niſters, who went out with their lives in their hands, ſet- "ting their faces as flints againſt the heaven-daring violence "done to the mediator. I call to mind a paſſage with per- "petuated remembrance, that in one ſhire of this kingdom "there were about thirty miniſters who cheerfully offered "up their ſervice to Chriſt, all by turns out of Edinburgh. "Each of theſe, when they returned back to Edinburgh a- "gain, being queſtioned what pleaſure, what delight, and "what liberty they had in managing that hazardous taſk? "they anſwered, That ſo ſoon as they ſet foot in theſe "bounds,

" bounds, another ſpirit came upon them; and no other " reaſon could they give for it, but that God wrought ſo " mightily, that they looked upon it as *genius loci*, that God " ſenſibly at that time was in that county working wonders; " but the moſt part of all theſe are in their places, reſting " on their beds, and their works follow them.

" Thus in anſwer to yours I have given you ſome of my " confuſed thoughts of the preſent times, wiſhing you God's " bleſſing in ſucking honey out of the eater."

JOHN DICKSON.

THUS lived and died worthy Mr. John Dickſon, in a good old age *anno* 1700, after he had, by his longevity, ſeen ſomewhat of the glory both of the firſt and ſecond temple, and emerged forth of all his troubles, having got a moſt perſpicuous view of our national apoſtacy, our breach of covenant and other defections paſt, preſent and to come, with the Lord's goodneſs and mercy toward his own remnant: And all this from the top of mount Piſgah, when he was juſt about to enter upon the confines of Emmanuel's land in glory.

Of his works we have only ſeen his ſynod ſermon, and the foreſaid letters, in print. If there be any other, it is more than is known at preſent, except the foreſaid warning to the indulged in the ſhire of Fife, which was ſome time ago alſo publiſhed: All which ſhew him to have been a moſt pathetical writer, his writings (tho' but few) making as ſtriking and lively an impreſſion upon the mind, as any man's of his time.

The Life of Sir ROBT. HAMILTON *of Preſton.*

MR. HAMILTON (afterwards Sir Robert Hamilton) brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preſton, was born about 1650, and probably a ſon to Sir Walter Hamilton the reformer, and lineally deſcended from that famous Sir John Hamilton of Preſton, who was commiſſioner for eaſt Lothian at that black parliament held at Edinburgh, 1621, where he moſt boldly voted againſt the ratification of the five articles of Perth; for which, and becauſe he would not recall his vote, the king's commiſſioner, the marquis of Hamilton, and the ſecretary, thought to have diſgraced him, but found themſelves utterly diſappointed: For although

though they ſent the biſhop of Dumblane, and after him lord Scone for that purpoſe, he would not; and when by the ſecretary deſired to abſent, he told him, he would ſtay and bear witneſs to the truth, and would render his life and all he had, before he would recall one word he had ſpoke; and that they ſhould find him as true to his word as any Hamilton in Scotland *.

Mr. Hamilton having received a liberal education (as is uſual for men in ſuch circumſtances) before he was twenty-ſix years of age or thereby, the Lord, in his free and ſovereign mercy, and by the efficacious working of the Holy Spirit, inclined his heart to fall in love with his ſervice; and for that purpoſe he made him attend the free and faithful, (though perſecuted) goſpel, at that time preached in the fields; whereby in a ſhort time he came to eſpouſe the true covenanted teſtimony of the church of Chriſt in Scotland, for which he was, through divine grace, enabled to be a true and faithful witneſs to his life's end.

The firſt of his public appearances, we find he made in defence of that noble cauſe wherein he had embarked, was in the year 1679; when (after conſulting with faithful Mr. Cargil) he, with Mr. Thomas Douglas and faithful Rathillet, drew up that declaration (afterward called the Rutherglen declaration) which they publiſhed upon the 27th of May, at the market-croſs of that burgh, after they had extinguiſhed the bone-fires; that day being kept as a holy anniverſary-day for the birth and reſtoration of Charles II. After this he returned with that little handful to Evandale, where he was by them appointed to command in chief June 1ſt, at the ſkirmiſh of Drumclog, wherein he ſhewed much bravery in putting Claverhouſe and that bloody crew to flight, killing 36 or 40 of them, Claverhouſe himſelf narrowly eſcaping. But the Eraſtian party coming up to that little army ſhortly after this, created them and Mr. Hamilton their general no ſmall diſturbance, they being to them *a ſnare upon Miſpah, and a net ſpread upon Tabor.*——And although he moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed them in all their ſinful courſes of defection and compliance, yet he was by them treacherouſly betrayed, in giving his conſent to their publiſhing the Hamilton declaration;—they promiſing to be faithful in all time coming in preaching againſt the indulgence and all the land's defections; and that what was ambiguous in that declaration ſhould be, at the honeſt party's deſire, explained, what was wrong ſhould be left out, and what

* Calderwood's hiſtory, page 776.

what was wanting ſhould be ſupplied, before it was printed, or otherwiſe publiſhed, ſave the reading of it that day:—one word of which they never fulfilled or kept.

But it were a taſk too tedious here to enumerate all the ſtruggles and contendings among them at that time; only it is to be remarked, that it was through Mr. Hamilton's great (I may ſay deſerved) confidence in Mr. Cargil's faithfulneſs (who was the principal miniſter among thoſe called the proteſting party) that Mr. Hamilton was again by the corrupt party ſo pitifully enſnared in ſubſcribing their declaration to the duke of Monmouth, when they were about to engage with the enemy: For they being intent upon ſupplicating, the honeſt party conſented only that an information ſhould be drawn up by Mr. Cargil and Mr. Morton, and ſent to him, of his own and his father's rebellion againſt God, by their blaſphemy, perſecution and uſurpation in church and ſtate, *&c.* but the corrupt party drawing up their own ſupplication, ſent one of their party with it in the one hand, and pen and ink in the other, to Mr. Hamilton to ſubſcribe, juſt as they were going to engage the enemy. Mr. Hamilton aſked, If it was Mr. Cargil's work? He anſwered, Yes, (whereas Mr. Cargil knew nothing of it). Whereupon, being in haſte, and having no doubt of Mr. Cargil's veracity therein, he did that which was ſtill matter of great grief to him afterwards, as he himſelf, in a letter from Holland dated 1685, doth fully teſtify.

After their defeat at Bothwel-bridge, Mr. Hamilton was by the Eraſtian party and their accomplices, moſt horridly ſtigmatized and reproached, as that he ſhould have betrayed them to the enemy, ſold them for money, ſwept the priming off the cannon at the bridge, *&c.* But from all theſe he has been by one (whom we muſt take to have been a very impartial writer on that affair) ſome time ago ſufficiently vindicated; unto whom, for brevity's ſake, the reader muſt at preſent be referred *.

Shortly after Bothwel, he went over to Holland; upon which his eſtate was forfeited 1684, and he ſentenced to be executed whenever apprehended. During his ſtay here he was of great ſervice and uſe to his own countrymen, and had the honour to be employed by them as commiſſioner of the perſecuted true Preſbyterian church of Chriſt in Scotland, having received commiſſion from them to repreſent

* Wilſon's impartial relation of Bothwel bridge, where the reader will find a full account of the moſt material tranſactions done there at that time.

ſent their caſe, and crave the ſympathy of foreign churches; and it was by his ſkill, induſtry and faithfulneſs in proſecuting this commiſſion, that he prevailed with the preſbytery of Groningen *anno* 1683, to ordain the famous and faithful Mr. James Renwick, a miniſter of the goſpel, for the perſecuted true Preſbyterian church of Chriſt in Scotland. And afterwards, as their delegate with the preſbytery of Embden, to ordain Mr. Thomas Lining a miniſter of the goſpel for the ſame church.

Mr Hamilton, by virtue of his commiſſions which about that time he had received from the united ſocieties †, went through ſeveral places of Germany in the end of the year 1686: For an old manuſcript (given under his own hand dated March 10th, 1687) bears, that through many hazards and difficulties, he arrived about the 10th of Oct. at Baſil in Switzerland, from whence he went to Geneva about the 16th of Nov. and ſo into Bern, Zurich, and other places in Batavia and the Helvetian Cantons, not without many imminent hazards and dangers. In which places he conferred with the moſt part of their profeſſors and other learned men, craving their judgment and ſympathy toward his mother church, and the poor perſecuted people in the kingdom of Scotland *.

But having emerged forth of all theſe difficulties, he returned home at the revolution, about which time his brother Sir William Hamilton of Preſton died, and he fell heir to his brother's eſtate and honours. And although after that he was ſtill deſigned by the name of Sir Robert Hamilton of Preſton, yet becauſe he could not in conſcience enter into, poſſeſs or enjoy that eſtate, unleſs he had owned the title of the prince and princeſs of Orange, as king and queen of theſe three covenanted nations, and in conſequence of that own the prelatical government as then eſtabliſhed, upon the ruins of the cauſe and work of God in theſe nations,—he never entered or intermeddled with his brother's eſtate any manner of way; but with Moſes he made that noble choice, rather *to ſuffer affliction with th people of God than enjoy the pleaſure of ſin for a ſeaſon*, and did eſteem a ſtedfaſt adherence to the cauſe of Chriſt, (with all the reproaches that followed thereon) greater riches than all

† In the hands of ſome friends, are yet to be ſeen two of theſe commiſſions in Latin, wrote on parchment, one of which is a very beautiful copy on copper-plate.

* See a more full account of his negotiations in the Netherlands for the ſuffering remnant, in a large letter of his now publiſhed in Faithful Contendings, page 186,——220.

his brother's eſtate. For out of a true love to Jeſus Chriſt, his covenanted cauſe, intereſt and people, he laid his worldly honour in the duſt, continuing ſtill a companion in the faith, patience, affliction and tribulation of that poor, mean and deſpiſed handful of the Lord's witneſſes in theſe lands, who ſtill owned and adhered unto the ſtate of the Lord's covenanted cauſe in Scotland.

A little after his return from Holland, when Meſſrs. Lining, Shields and Boyd, were drawing and enticing thoſe who had formerly been faithful for, and owning and ſuffering for the Lord's covenanted cauſe into a conformity and compliance with the defection of that time, in a general meeting held at Douglas on the 6th of November 1689, he gave a faithful proteſtation againſt theſe proceedings, as by them carried on, and particularly their owning the then government, while ſworn to prelacy, in oppoſition to our laudable eſtabliſhment and covenanted work of reformation: As alſo againſt the raiſing of the Angus regiment, which he took to be a ſinful aſſociation with malignants:—And likewiſe againſt joining with Eraſtian miniſters at that time, from whom they had formerly moſt juſtly withdrawn, without any evidence of repentance, for the many groſs ſins and defections they were guilty of.—And (as the laſt-cited author elſewhere obſerves *) after theſe three miniſters aforeſaid had yielded up that noble cauſe, and drawn many of the owners thereof into the ſame ſtate of compliance with them, he had the honour to be the chief inſtrument in the Lord's hand, in gathering together, out of their diſperſion, ſuch of the old ſufferers as had eſcaped theſe defections that ſo many were fallen into, and in bringing them again unto an united party and general correſpondence, upon the former laudable and honeſt ſtate of the teſtimony.

And farther, he had alſo a principal hand in drawing up and publiſhing that faithful declaration, publiſhed at Sanquhar Aug. 10, 1692, for which he was apprehended by ſome of the old perſecuting ſoldiers, at Earlſtoun, upon the 10th of Sep. following, and by them carried to Edinburgh, and there and elſewhere kept priſoner till the 5th of May 1693. When he was brought before the council, Sep. 15th 1692, there were preſent the viſcount of Tarbet, preſident Lothian, Ker, general Livingſton, lord Linlithgow, lord Bradalbain, and Sir William Lockhart ſolicitor. He was by them examined concerning that declaration,

* Memorandum of occurrences in manuſcript, page 1ſt and 2d.

ration, but he declined them, and all upon whom they depended, as competent judges, becauſe they were not qualified according to the word of God and our ſolemn covenants: And being interrogate, If he would take the oath of allegiance? he anſwered, No, it being an unlimited oath, not bottomed upon our covenants. If he would own the authority of K. William and Q. Mary? He anſwered, I wiſh them well. But being aſked again, If he would own them and their government, live peaceably, and not riſe againſt them? He anſwered, When they were admitted according to the laws of the crown, the acts of parliament 1648 and 1649, bottomed upon our ſacred covenants and ſound qualifications, according to theſe, purſuing the ends of theſe covenants, *&c.* then I ſhall give my anſwer.—— Whereupon ſome of them turned hot, and Lothian ſaid, They were purſuiug the ends of the covenant. To whom he replied, How can that be, when joining with, and exalting the greateſt of its enemies, whom by covenant we are bound to extirpate. Another anſwered, He had taken the coronation oath.—At which Mr. Hamilton aſked, What religion was eſtabliſhed when that oath was taken? They ſaid, Prelacy was aboliſhed. But he returned, Preſbytery was not eſtabliſhed, ſo that he is not bound to us in religion, ſave to prelacy in Scotland. But being urged to the laſt queſtion, he adhered to his former anſwers; at which ſome of them raged, and ſaid, He would give no ſecurity for obedience and peaceable living? To which he made anſwer ſaying, I marvel why ſuch queſtions are aſked at me, who have lived ſo retiredly hitherto, neither found plotting with York, France, or Monmouth, or any ſuch, as the rumour was; nor acting any thing contrary to the laws of the nation enacted in the time of the purity of preſbytery. Lothian ſaid, We are aſhamed of you. He replied, Better you be aſhamed of me, than I be aſhamed of the laws of the church and nation, whereof you ſeem to be aſhamed. Lothian ſaid, You deſire to be involved in troubles. Sir Robert anſwered, I am not ſo laviſh of either life or liberty; but if the aſſerting of truth was an evidence thereof, it might be thought more ſtrange.

But being remanded back unto priſon, where he continued until the 3d of May 1693, that he was liberate. The day before his liberation he gave in a moſt faithful proteſtation and declinature to the privy council and parliament of Scotland, with another letter of the ſame nature to Sir James Stuart the advocate, and upon his coming forth of the tolbooth, he was ſo far from yielding one jot in the leaſt,

that he left another faithful proteſtation in the hands of the keepers of the tolbooth, ſhewing, that for his adhering to, and appearing for the fundamental laws and laudable conſtitution of our church and covenanted nation, he had been apprehended and kept for 8 months cloſe priſoner, and that very unjuſtly; and that for his own exoneration and truth's vindication to leave this proteſtation; diſdaining all engagements to live peaceably, which were a condemning himſelf of former unpeaceableneſs, which he poſitively denies; as alſo in coming in any terms of oaths or bonds with thoſe who have broken covenants, overturned the reformation, and deſtroyed the people of God; or engaging unto a ſinful peace with them, or any in confederacy with them, *&c.* declaring his preſent outcoming merely on the account of finding open doors, and deſired his proteſtation to be inſerted in the ordinary regiſter, *&c.* *

From his liberation to the day of his death, he continued moſt faithful in contending earneſtly for *the faith once delivered to the ſaints*, Jude, ver. 3.; and did greatly ſtrengthen and encourage the reſt of the ſuffering remnant, with whom he continued in Chriſtian communion, both by his pious and godly example, and ſeaſonable counſel and advice, with reſpect to principles, and what concerned the ſalvation of their ſouls, for the right carrying on the teſtimony for the cauſe that they were owning. Some years before his death, he was taken ill with the ſtone, by which he endured a very ſharp and ſore affliction, with a great deal of Chriſtian patience and holy ſubmiſſion to the holy will of God; and when drawing near his journey's end, he gave a faithful teſtimony to the Lord's noble and honourable cauſe, which he had ſo long owned and ſuffered for: And upon the account of this gentleman's being moſt unjuſtly branded † for running to ſome extremes in principles, both

* See the above-mentioned declarations, proteſtations and declinatures, with ſome of his many religious letters, lately publiſhed in a pamphlet intitled, the Chriſtian Conduct, *&c.*

† And even ſome others (Walker and others) who have pretended a great regard for the principles and memory of ſome of our late ſufferers, ſuch as Meſſ. Cameron, Cargil and Renwick. But in this they are not aware whom they have obliged; for it is pretty notour, That this gentleman and theſe worthies, particularly the laſt, were the very ſame in principle to their lives end, as their own letters and teſtimonies do evidence; and ſo in condemning him, they have not only tacitly condemned them, but moſt avowedly relinquiſhed the ſubſtantial part of the covenanted teſtimony of the church of Scotland in her pureſt times; and what can the archbiſhop of Canterbury require more, never once to mention an anti-covenanter, a nullifidian, or lukewarm preſbyterian.

both before and ſince the revolution, a copy of his own dying teſtimony may perhaps be the beſt vindication of him from ſuch aſperſions, that at preſent can be produced; which is as follows:

"THOUGH I have many things that might diſcourage "me from ſhewing myſelf this way at ſuch a time, when "the Lord's controverted truths, his covenanted reforma- "tion, and the wreſtlings of his faithful and ſlain witneſſes, "are things ſo much flouted at, deſpiſed and buried, not "only by the profane, but alas! even by the miniſters and "profeſſors of this generation; yet I could not but leave "this ſhort line to you, who, of all intereſts in the world, "have been my greateſt comfort, being now come to the "utmoſt period of my time, and looking in upon my eter- "nal ſtate, it cannot be readily apprehended by rational "men, that I ſhould dare to write any thing, but accor- "ding to what I expect ſhortly to be judged, having had "ſuch a long time to conſider on my ways, under a ſharp "affliction. As for my caſe, I bleſs God it is many years "ſince my intereſt in him was ſecured, and under all my "afflictions from all airths, he hath been a preſent help in "time of my greateſt need. I have been a man of reproach, "a man of contention; but praiſe to him, it was not for "my own things, but for the things of my Lord Jeſus "Chriſt. Whatever were my infirmities, yet his glory, "the riſing and flouriſhing of his kingdom, was ſtill the "mark I laboured to ſhoot at, nor is it now my deſign to "vindicate myſelf from the calumnies that have been caſt "upon my name; for when his ſlain witneſſes ſhall be "vindicated, his own glory and buried truths raiſed up, in "that day, he will aſſuredly take away the reproaches of "his ſervants, and will raiſe and beautify the name of his "living and dead witneſſes: Only this I muſt add, Though "that I cannot but ſay that reproaches have broken my "heart, yet with what I have met with before, and at the "time of Bothwel-battle, and alſo ſince, I had often more "difficulty to carry humbly under the glory of his croſs, "than to bear the burden of it. *O*! peace with God, and "peace of conſcience is a ſweet feaſt!

"Now as to his public cauſe, that he hath honoured you "in ſome meaſure to ſide with, ſtand faſt therein; let no "man take your crown; for it is the road he will take in "coming to this poor land; and praiſe him for honouring "ſuch poor things as you are, as to make you wiſh well to "his cauſe, when church and ſtate, and all ranks, have

"turned

" turned their back upon it: and my humble advice to you " as a dying brother is, To ſtand ſtill, and beware of all " tampering with theſe betrayers of the royal intereſt, and " concerns of Chriſt's kingdom, and liſten to no conferences " with the miniſters and profeſſors of this generation, till " the public defections of this land from the doleful ſource " of all our ruin and miſery, that ſin of the public reſoluti- " ons, the compliance with prelacy, the church-ruining and " dividing indulgences and toleration, until the preſent ſin- " ful courſe of vindicating all theſe defections, and burying " all the teſtimonies againſt the ſame: I ſay, until theſe be " acknowledged, and publicly rejected and diſowned, both " by church and ſtate.

" I die a true Proteſtant, and to my knowledge a refor- " med Preſbyterian, in oppoſition to popery, prelacy, and " malignancy, and whatever is contrary to truth, and the " power of godlineſs, as well againſt flattering pretenders " to unwarrantable zeal on the right hand, as againſt luke- " warmneſs on the left; adhering with my ſoul to the ho- " ly ſweet ſcriptures, which have often comforted me in " the houſe of my pilgrimage, our confeſſion of faith, our " catechiſms, the directory for worſhip, covenants, na- " tional and ſolemn league and covenant, acknowledgement " of ſins and engagement to duties, with the cauſes of " God's wrath, and to all the faithful public teſtimonies giv- " en againſt defections of old or late, particularly theſe con- " tained in the informatory vindication, and that againſt " the toleration, and the two laſt declarations emitted ſince " this fatal revolution, which teſtimonies I ever looked up- " on as a door of hope of the Lord's returning again to " theſe poor backſlidden lands.

" And now, my dear friends, let nothing diſcourage " you in that way. The Lord will maintain his own cauſe, " and make it yet to triumph. The nearer to-day it may " be the darker, but yet *in the evening time it ſhall be light*, " and the farther diſtant ye keep from all the courſes and " intereſts of this generation, the greater will your peace " and ſecurity be. O! labour to be in Chriſt, for him, and " like him, much in reading of the holy ſcriptures, much " in prayer and holy unity among yourſelves. Be zealous " and tender in keeping up your private fellowſhip for " prayer and Chriſtian conference, as alſo your public cor- " reſpondences and general meetings, go to them and come " from them as theſe intruſted, really concerned and weigh- " ted with Chriſt's precious controverted truths in Scotland, " and labour ſtill to take Chriſt along with you to all your " meetings,

" meetings, and to behave yourſelves as under his holy and " all-ſeeing eye when at them, that ye may always return " with a bleſſing from his rich hand.

" Now farewel, my dear Chriſtian friends, the Lord " ſend us a joyful meeting at his own right hand after time; " which ſhall be the earneſt deſire, while in time, of your " dying friend,"

Sic ſubſcribitur,

BORROWSTONESS,
Sept. 5th, 1701. R. HAMILTON.

And ſo, after he had come through many tribulations, and at laſt endured a ſeries of ſore bodily affliction, in all " which he was ſtill kept faithful, in teſtifying for the word of Chriſt's patience, until he yielded up his life to that God who gave him his being, at Borrowſtoneſs, Oct. 21ſt, being then 51 years of age; and *becauſe thou haſt kept the word of my patience, I will alſo keep thee from the hour of temptation, which ſhall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.*

Thus ended another of Chriſt's faithful witneſſes, Sir Robert Hamilton, who (for ſoundneſs in the faith, true piety, the real exerciſe of godlineſs, a converſation becoming the goſpel, and a true underſtanding of the right ſtate of the Lord's cauſe in every part thereof, accompanied with a true love and affection to, and zeal according to knowledge for the ſame), with ſtedfaſtneſs and ſtability to the laſt, maintained his cauſe againſt every oppoſition (being equally ſuperior to the influence of fear or flattery); and was preferable to the moſt part of his ſtation in that age; and without flattery it may be ſaid, he was an honour to the name of Hamilton and to his nation. The faithful Mr. Renwick called him *Mi pater*, my father, and ever had a high eſteem and regard for him, as the contents of moſt part of his letters bear: Yea, in the very laſt letter he wrote, he accoſts him thus, " If I had lived and been " qualified for writing a book, and if it had been dedicated " to any, you would have been the man; for I have loved " you, and I have peace before God in that; and I bleſs " his name that ever I have been acquainted with you, *&c.*" And indeed he was not miſtaken in him, for he was one who both profeſſed and practiſed truth, was bold in Chriſt's cauſe, and had ventured life, wealth, reputation and all, in defence thereof. He was of ſuch conſtancy of life and manners,

manners, that it might be truly ſaid of him, which was ſaid of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, *In omni vitâ ſui ſimilis, nec ulla unquam in re mutatus fuit. Itaque vere fuit vir bonus, nec fictum aut ſimulatum quicquam habuit.*

An ACROSTIC *on his Name.*

S IN wrought our death, death ſtrikes and none doth ſpare;
I t levels ſceptres with the plowing-ſhare:
R aging among poor mortals every where.

R eligion's lovers death muſt alſo own,
O r this brave ſoul his life had not laid down.
B ut weep not: Why? death challenges but droſs,
E ternal gain compenſates temporal loſs;
R eſt from his labour, ſickneſs, grief and pain:
T his makes him happy, and our mourning vain.

H ad he not reaſon rather to be glad
A t death's approach, that life he never had
M uſt meet him there? He enters now that land,
I n view of which, believing, he did ſtand,
L onging for ling'ring death; ſtill crying, Come;
T ake me, Lord, hence, unto my father's home.
O faithleſs age! of glory take a ſight;
N or death nor grave ſhall then ſo much affright.

The Life of Mr. WILLIAM VETCH *.

MR. WILLIAM VETCH was born in the ſhire of Clydeſdale, at Roberton ſeven miles from Lanerk, *an.* 1640. He was the youngeſt ſon of Mr. John Vetch, who was miniſter of that place for about the ſpace of 45 years. His brethren were, Mr. John Vetch, who was miniſter of Weſtruthers in the ſhire of Berwick 54 years; another brother, Mr. James Vetch was ordained miniſter in Mauchlin in the ſhire of Ayr, 1656; a third, Mr. David Vetch, the moſt eminent of them all, was ſometime miniſter at Govan near Glaſgow, co-temporary and co-preſbyter with the famous Mr. Durham, to whom Mr. Rutherford gave this teſtimony at his trials, "That the like of Mr. David Vetch in his age, for learning and piety, he had never known."

Mr. William, being laureat at Glaſgow *anno* 1650, was reſolved to follow the ſtudy and practice of phyſick, as having

* This life is ſubſtracted from his life at large in the firſt edition.

ing ſo many brethren in the function of the miniſtry, and epiſcopacy being appearingly to be ſettled in the kingdom. And being then in the family of Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead, great Mr. Livingſton miniſter of Ancrum frequenting that houſe (as did other godly miniſters) by many arguments diſſuaded him from his intended deſign, and exhorted him to follow the footſteps of his brethren, who were then much eſteemed in the church.

About the beginning of 1663, he went to Murray land, where he was ſometime chaplain to Sir Hugh Campbel of Calder's family; but at the inſtigation of M'Kenzie then biſhop of Murray, he was obliged about Sept. 1664, to leave this family. He then returned home to his father then dwelling at Lanerk, being ejected from his own pariſh by the prelates: in which time he fell acquainted with one Marion Fairlie, whom he married; and being a woman eminent for religion, ſhe proved a great bleſſing to him afterwards.

In the year 1666, he was ſolicited and prevailed upon by Mr. John Welch to join that party who were ſo oppreſſed by the inhuman cruelties of Sir James Turner and his forces then lying at Dumfries. Accordingly, after the Galloway forces had taken Sir James, Mr. Vetch and major Lermont went weſt and joined them on a hill above Galſton. Next day, they ſent him with 40 or 50 horſe to take up quarters in the town of Ayr.

After ſome reſpite, they marched up the water of Ayr towards Douglas, and from thence to Lanerk; Dalziel and his forces having come as far as Strathaven in queſt of them; but hearing they were at Lanerk, turned his march after them. In the mean time, the honeſt party being above 1500 horſe and foot, it was thought proper that both the national and ſolemn league and covenant ſhould be by them renewed; which they did with great ſolemnity: and hearing that Dalziel approached, they concluded it would be beſt to abide ſome time there, as the heavy rains had made Clyde impaſſable for him except by boat, (and that being broken) until the water decreaſed; and that 50 of their number might be able to ſtop his paſſage at the river; which might be both a daſh upon the enemy, and encouraging to friends to join them at that place. But unhappily a letter came at that juncture from Sir James Stuart (after the revolution, advocate) to Meſſrs. Welch and Semple, to come as near Edinburgh as poſſible, where they would get men and other neceſſaries. This made them break their reſolution, and march for Bathgate, where, both

night and ſnow coming on, they concluded to go forward to Collington.

Having taken up their quarters, they conſulted how they ſhould do in anſwer to Mr. Stuart's letter; and at laſt voted Mr. Vetch to go to Edinburgh, and converſe with him anent the promiſed ſupply. This, againſt his own mind at the importunity of col. Wallace, he undertook.—And having diſguiſed himſelf with a baggage horſe, an old hat and cloke, Mr. M'Cormick conveyed him a little way, minding him of ſeveral things to communicate to James Stuart. He had but gone a little till he met a briſk ſtrong fellow riding with a drawn ſword in his hand, who aſked, Which way he came? He ſaid, Biggar way. But, ſays he, Did you not ſee all Colington on fire? I fear my houſe be burnt; for I hear the Whigs are come. Mr. Vetch declared his ignorance of this, and ſo they parted. Near Greenhill park, he met three women, who told him, that if he went by Greenhill houſe, *&c.* he was a dead man; for there lord Kingſton was placed with a party to intercept all the Whigs from coming to the town. This made him take a bye-road to Libberton wynd. A little farther, he eſpied a centinel on horſeback, which obliged him to take Dalkeith way. But coming thither, ſome colliers told him, there was no getting to the town; all the ports were ſhut and guards ſet upon them. This put him to a ſtand. Reaſon ſaid, You muſt turn back; credit cried, You muſt go forward, elſe loſe your reputation; and ſo he proceeded, till taken by two centinels, and carried to the Potter-row port, where he was examined by the captain of the guard; and inſtead of being let into the city, was ſent with a file of muſqueteers back to lord Kingſton. Mr. Vetch, in this ſad dilemma, had no other comfort but to put up his deſires to God, that he would direct him what to do or ſay, if he had a mind to ſpare him any longer. Being examined by Kingſton, to whom he gave ſoft anſwers; in the mean time, an alarm roſe, that the Whigs (as they called them) approached; Kingſton called them to their arms; whereupon Mr. Vetch called for arms, ſaying, he would go againſt them in the firſt rank: This made Kingſton ſay, he was a brave fellow.

After the hurry was over, with great difficulty he got off into the town. But finding nothing could be got there, the next morning hearing that the weſtern forces marched toward Pentland hills, he adventured to return by Libberton way toward the houſe in the muir; and making his eſcape at Pentland town, when paſſing through Roſlin moor,

moor, coming to Glencroſs water, a frontier of Dalziel's horſe had almoſt taken him. But being within cry of capt. Paton (now lieutenant of the rear-guard of the weſtern army) who beat back Dalziel's horſe, and delivered him, ſaying, O Sir, we took you for a dead man, and repented ſore we ſent you on ſuch an unreaſonable undertaking. As they rode toward Pentland hills, they perceived their friends leaving the high way, marching their main body towards the hill, and a ſelect body to the top: general Dalziel's coming from Currie through the hills, occaſioned this. It was about 12 o'clock the 28th of November 1666. It had been ſnow and froſt the night before, the day was pretty clear and ſunſhine. In half an hour, Dalziel's ſelect party under Drummond fell upon their ſelect party; but was beat back, to the great conſternation of their army, hundreds of whom, as they were marching through the hills, threw down their arms and run away. Drummond himſelf afterward acknowledged, that if they had purſued this advantage, they had utterly ruined Dalziel's army. M'Leland of Barmaguhen and Mr. Crookſhanks commanded the firſt party, who took ſome priſoners; major Lermont commanded the ſecond party, who beat the enemy again, where the duke Hamilton narrowly eſcaped by the dean of Hamilton's laying his ſword upon the duke's back, which warded off the country man's blow upon him. Dalziel ſending up a party to reſcue him, major Lermont's horſe was ſhot under him; but he, ſtarting back to a dyke, killed one of the four purſuers, mounted his horſe, and came off in ſpite of the other three.—The laſt encounter was at day-light going, when the covenanters were broke, and Mr. Vetch falling in amongſt a whole troop of the enemy who turned his horſe in the dark, and violently carried him along with them, not knowing but he was one of their own. But they falling down the hill in the purſuit, and he wearing upward, the moon riſing clear, for fear of being diſcovered, he was obliged to ſteer off; which they perceiving, cried out, and purſued after him, diſcharging ſeveral ſhot at him; but their horſes ſinking, they could not make the hill, and ſo he eloped, and came that night to a herd's houſe in Dunſyre common, within a mile of his own habitation.

A little after this, he met with another remarkable deliverance at the laird of Auſton's, when the enemy were there in purſuit of his ſon-in-law major Lermont. After this, Mr. Vetch was obliged to abſcond, and ſo he went off for Newcaſtle, where he continued ſome time. Here he took the name of William Johnſton, his mother being of that

name. After a conſiderable time of trouble, when he had the flux through the fatigue and cold he had got in the winter, he went home to viſit his wife, where he again narrowly eſcaped, and ſo returned again to Newcaſtle. From thence he was invited to London, where he preached ſometimes for Mr. Blackie, particularly one Sabbath on theſe words, *If thou hadſt known in this thy day*, &c. After the bleſſing was pronounced, ſome of the auditors cried, Treaſon, treaſon; which ſurprized Mr. Blackie and the people, till one col. Blood ſtood up and ſaid, Good people, we have heard nothing but reaſon, reaſon: and ſo he took off Mr. Vetch, which ended the buſineſs.

Thus Mr. Vetch travelled from place to place, ſometimes at London, ſometimes Nottingham, Cheſter, Lancheſter, ſometimes in Northumberland, eſpecially in Reidſdale, till 1671, that he was perſuaded to bring his wife and family to that county, which he did, and ſettled for ſome time within the pariſh of Rothbury in Northumberland. But no ſooner was he ſettled here (though in a mooriſh place) than the popiſh gang ſtirred up enemies unto him on account of his little meeting, which obliged him to remove five miles farther up the country to a place called Harnam hall, where many, out of curioſity, frequented his preaching. Likewiſe Anabaptiſts, who kept 7th day Sabbaths, were punctual attenders.

Here he had no ſmall ſucceſs in the reformation of people's morals; ſeveral inſtances of which, for brevity's ſake, muſt here be omitted †. But the devil, envying theſe ſmall beginnings, again ſtirred him up enemies, particularly one juſtice Lorrain, who, at the inſtigation of the clergy, iſſued out warrants to apprehend him. But this miſgiving, Lorrain, in one of his drinking fits, promiſed to go in perſon next Sabbath, and put an end to theſe meetings. But not many hours after, he by an unuſual and ſtrange mean got his leg broke: ſo that he could travel none for many weeks after.

This deſign being fruſtrated, one parſon Ward of Kirkhails went up to the biſhop of Durham, and returned well armed, as he thought, againſt Mr. Vetch, having orders to excommunicate all ſuch. But being delayed by another curate, they drank all night together; and that he might be home againſt Sabbath, he ſo tired his horſe, that he was not able to get him on alone. He hired the herd man of Harnam to lead him, taking his club to drive him on; but while

† See his life at large wrote by himſelf, Scots Worthies. page 486.

while he ſo unmercifully was beating the poor beaſt, it, without regard to his coat, canon, or the orders he carried, ſtruck him on the cheek, till the blood guſhed out; which made the boy that led the horſe (ſeeing him fall) run to a gentlewoman's houſe hard by, who ſent out two ſervants with a barrow, who carried him in where he had his wounds dreſſed, and lay there ſeveral weeks under a cure; and ſo they were again diſappointed.

Having continued there four years, he removed to Stanton hall, where he found the country filled with papiſts, and the pariſh church with a violent perſecutor, one Thomas Bell. This Bell, though he was his own countryman, and had received many favours from Mr. Vetch's brother, yet was ſo maliciouſly ſet againſt him, that he vowed to ſome profeſſed papiſts, who were ſtimulating him on againſt that meeting, that he ſhould either ruin Mr. Vetch, or he him. And, as the event proved, he was no falſe prophet; for he never gave over till he got one major Oglethorp to apprehend him, which he did Jan. 19, 1679.

After different turns, he was brought to Edinburgh, and Feb. 22. brought before a committee of the council, where biſhop Sharp was preſes. The biſhop put many queſtions to him to ſee if he could entnare him. One of them was, Have you taken the covenant? He anſwered, This honourable board may eaſily perceive, I was not capable to take the covenant, when you and other miniſters tendered it. At which the whole company gave a laugh, which ſomewhat nettled the biſhops. They aſked, Did you never take it ſince. Anſw. I judge myſelf obliged to covenant myſelf away to God, and frequently to renew it. At which biſhop Paterſon ſtood up and ſaid, You will get no good of this man: he is all evaſion. After other queſtions, he was required to ſubſcribe his own confeſſion, which he aſſented to, if *in mundo*, without their additions; which at laſt through Lundy's influence they granted. And though they could prove nothing criminal againſt him, he was remanded back to priſon, and by a letter from the king turned over to the criminal court, which was to meet March 18th. but was adjourned to two different terms after, till the month of July, that ſentence of death was to have been paſſed upon him, upon the old ſentence in 1666. Mr. Vetch, now finding ſentence of death was to be paſſed upon him, prevailed with his friend Mr. Gilbert Elliot to ride poſt to London, where not having acceſs to Lauderdale, he applied to Shaftſbury, and got his caſe printed, and a copy given to each member of parliament. The king being applied unto, and

threatened

threatened with a parliamentary enquiry, wrote a letter, and ſent expreſs to ſtop all criminal proceſs againſt him: which expreſſes, procured at laſt by Lauderdale out of antipathy to Monmouth, who was minded to have interceeded to the king for him, he was liberated under a ſentence of baniſhment, to retire to England; which he did in a ſhort time after.

In the mean time theſe affairs were tranſacting, biſhop Sharp was cut off at Magus moor, the account of which it were needleſs to relate here, being touched elſewhere: excepting a circumſtance or two ſomewhat different, or more full, than ſome others on that particular; that is, after they had fired ſeveral piſtols at him in the coach, being pulled out, Burly having a brazen blunderbuſs charged with ſeveral bullets, fired it ſo near his breaſt, that his gown, cloaths and ſhirt were burnt, and he fell flat on his face; they, thinking a window was made through his body, went off, but one ſtaying to tie his horſe's girth, heard his daughter call to the coachman for help, for her father was yet alive: which made him call back the reſt, (knowing if he was not dead, their caſe would be worſe than ever) Burly (or Balfour) coming to him while yet lying on his face, (as is ſaid) putting his hat off with his foot, ſtruck him on the head till his brains were ſeen; then, with a cry, he expired. Searching his pockets, they found the king's letter for executing more cruelties, as alſo a little purſe with two piſtol bullets, a little ball made up of all colours of ſilk, like an ordinary plumb, a bit of parchment, a finger breadth in length, with two long words written upon it which none could read, though the characters were like Hebrew or Chaldaick. This they took, but meddled with neither money nor watch.

After he was by the council's order examined by two ſurgeons, the blue marks of the bullets were ſeen about his neck, back and breaſt, where his cloaths were burnt; but in all theſe places, the ſkin was not broke: ſo that the wound in his head had only killed him; which occaſioned an univerſal talk, that he had got proof againſt ſhot from the devil, and that the forementioned purſe contained the ſorcery or charm. However, his brother got liberty to erect a marble monument on him, which inſtead of honour (the only end of ſuch ſumptuous ſtructures) ſtands yet in St. Andrews as an enſign of his infamy unto this day.

The riſing of Bothwel immediately followed this. But being broke, an indemnity was granted to thoſe concerned therein. But one of the conditions being, that no miniſter

ſhould

ſhould preach without liberty given, which no faithful miniſter could aſſent to. However Monmouth, upon Shaftſbury's recommendation, inſerted Mr. Vetch's name in the roll with the reſt. But by biſhop Paterſon's means, his name was excluded. This made Monmouth ſay he ſhould get the matter done another way, as ſoon as he came to London. Which coming to Lauderdale's ears at court, by means of lord Stairs, the king ſigned a warrant, turning the ſentence of death to baniſhment from Scotland only; and ſo he was liberated, and returned back to his old habitation in England.

But not long after his return, hearing they intended in theſe parts to apprehend him again, he retired weſtward in the Engliſh borders; where he frequently preached, *viz.* Kilderhead, Wheeler, Cauſeway, Deadwater, *&c.*

What wonderful ſucceſs the preaching of the goſpel had by miniſters retiring thither under the perſecuting period, to the repreſſing, yea, almoſt extinguiſhing, the feuds, thefts and robberies ſo connatural unto theſe places and people about the borders, has been worth a ſingular and ſerious obſervation.

Before his apprehending, he had preached with much ſucceſs at Blewcairn in Lauder moor, and ſeveral places in the Merſe and Teviotdale, eſpecially at Fogo moor, upon theſe words, Pſal. cii. *Thou ſhalt ariſe, and have mercy on Zion*, &c. After which he had a very remarkable eſcape from his enemies. After his return, upon a line from Mr. Temple, he went to Berwick. But the news coming in the mean time there, that the earl of Argyle was eſcaped from Edinburgh, cauſed no ſmall confuſion in that place; out of which he emerged, and at laſt having ſurmounted ſeveral difficulties, by means of his good friends and acquaintance, he got to the houſe of Mr. Ogle the outed miniſter of Berwick, now ſix miles from the place. He deſired him to ſtay till Sabbath was over, and perform an old promiſe of giving a ſermon to one Hall and his lady; to which he aſſented.

But going to bed after this confuſion, he being weary fell aſleep, and dreamed that his houſe at Stanton-hall (more than 30 miles diſtant) was all on fire; which made him awake with no ſmall conſternation, reſolving to take journey home. But it not being time to riſe, he fell aſleep, and dreaming the ſame thing over again, awaking all in a ſweat. The doubling of the dream he took for a clear call to go home, and telling the dream to Mr. Ogle, (who called it a maggot) he excuſed himſelf the beſt way he could to the laird and lady, to whom he was to preach, and went off.

About

About a mile and a half from his own houſe, he met Torwoodlee's man, who ſaid, O Sir, you are long looked for at your houſe: which made him aſk what was the matter, and if his family was all well? He anſwered, Yes; but, ſays he, there is a ſtranger, *viz.* Argyle, and your wife longs to ſee you, and we have been for two days ſending about the country to find you.

After meeting and ſome converſe, with his wife's conſent, (who was now near her time) he undertook to do his beſt for bringing the earl ſafe to London, and ſo he took Argyle under the name of Mr. Hope along with him to Midburn Grange, where he was to preach that Sabbath; and on Monday, he took him to a friend's houſe between Newcaſtle and Newburn, where he left Argyle and went to Newcaſtle, and bought three horſes for him at his own expence, the earl being then ſcarce of money: after which they came to Leeds, and then to Roderam; and took up there one night; from thence they ſet off, and at laſt arrived ſafe at London.

After ſtaying ſome time in London, Argyle ſet off to join with Monmouth in Holland, and Mr. Vetch returned to his houſe in Stanton-hall. But the thing breaking out, he narrowly eſcaped being taken; and after lurking ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another, he was obliged to go over ſecretly to Holland, where he met with old friends and acquaintances, Monmouth, Argyle, earl of Melvil, Polwart, Torwoodlee, and James Stuart. Monmouth and Argyle, having agreed to make a deſcent at one time, the one to England, and the other to Scotland, ſeveral of their friends were ſent over *incognito*, to warn their friends in both kingdoms to make ready. It was Mr. Vetch's part, to give Northumberland and the Scots borders notice. Mr. Vetch had a verbal commiſſion from Argyle to procure money for buying arms, drums, colours, horſes, and taking on men, eſpecially Oliverian officers: ſomewhat of all which he did. But the matter taking air, he was obliged to hide himſelf near Reidſdale head, even from his very friends, till the ſeaſon of appearing came, where he narrowly eſcaped being taken, while hid on Carter-hill covered with a turff of heather, col. Strothers and Meldrum's troop being out in queſt of him and others.

But this enterprize failing, Argyle being defeated and taken in Scotland, and Monmouth in England, the deſign came to nothing, only Mr. Vetch, beſides his time, trouble (wherein he was in many dangers) loſt about 1201 ſter. and its intereſt; and Argyle's ſon, the late duke, gave him

repeated

repeated promiſes to reimburſe him, yet never was there any thing of this kind done, his kindneſs being ſoon forgot.

But prior to this affair of Monmouth and Argyle, one tyrant was cut off to make way for another. But as the death of king Charles II. is related by ſo many hiſtorians, it were needleſs to relate the whole affair here: only the following circumſtances ſeem more full and ſomewhat different from the accounts of the moſt part of writers in that period. The king's harlot, the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, (for ſo we may call her) being by the Duke of York's direction to give the king a treat on Sabbath night, and being by him ſtored with wines, eſpecially Claret, which the king loved; after he was drunk, they bribed his coffeeman to put a doſe of poiſon in his coffee, and then adviſed the Ducheſs to keep him all night: and likewiſe knowing that when he firſt awaked in the morning, he uſually called for his ſnuff, they hired the Ducheſs's chambermaid to put poiſoned ſnuff into his box. Accordingly having drunk the coffee at night, in the morning he awoke, and cried out he was deadly ſick, and called for his box and took a deal of it. Then growing worſe, he called for his ſervant to put on his cloaths; which doing, he ſtaggered and got to the window, and leaning on it, cried, I am gone, I am poiſoned, have me to my chamber. The Duke getting notice, came running undreſt to lament his fate, ſaying, Alas, Sir! what is the matter? To whom he anſwered, O you know too well; and was in a paſſion at him. In the mean time he called for an antidote againſt poiſon he had got from a German mountebank; but that could not be found, being taken out of the way: neither was his phyſician to be got being as was thought out of town. All things failing, he being ſo enraged, made at his brother. But all entries being ſecured, in the mean time the duke ſeeing him ſo enraged, and that the poiſon was not likely ſoon to do his turn, ſet four ruffians on him, which made him cry out; but they ſoon choked him with his cravat, and beat him inſtantly on the head, ſo that he died. It is ſaid, his head ſwelled bigger than two heads, and his body ſtunk, ſo that they were obliged to take him out in the night, and bury him *incognito* *.

* The moſt judicious hiſtorians that I have ſeen upon this ſubject, grant that Charles ad was poiſoned by the direction of the Papiſts; but B. Burnet in his Hiſtory, and Dr. Welwood in his memoirs ſay, they had no ſuſpicions he was poiſoned. Burnet inſinuates

But to return; after the defeat of Monmouth and Argyle, Mr. Vetch was obliged to lurk for ſome time in a wood near Newcaſtle, until the ſtorm was a little calmed: and then he ventured to Newcaſtle, to ſee his wife and family, where he met with ſome of his Scots relations; and ſome other good people of the town were alſo there.—They ſpent a part of the night in prayer and mourning over the ſad caſe that the church and nation were now in, the moſt part fearing they were never like to ſee good days again.

After this, Mr. Vetch being wearied with ſuch toil and confinement, went with a Nottingham merchant to Yorkſhire, and ſtaid ſome time in a town called Southcave.—From thence he was invited to preach to the people of Beverly. Here he met with another remarkable deliverance; for the mayor and aldermen compaſſed the houſe where he was preaching, and cauſed the clerk mark down all their names: but Mr. Vetch, by means of his landlord, got off under the name of William Robertſon, and ſo he eſcaped, and hid himſelf, ſometime amongſt buſhes, and then went to a man's houſe two miles from town, where he preached out the reſt of his ſermon to ſome people that followed that way, and then went home with his landlord.

From thence Mr. Vetch returned to Yorkſhire, where he met with another deliverance; for a Scots jeſuit prieſt, knowing him, procured a warrant to apprehend him; but, by a divine providence, he eſcaped their hand, and ſo went toward Newcaſtle. From Newcaſtle, he went to Nottingham. While there, king James's indemnity and liberty was proclaimed, and then he had a call from the people of Beverly to be their miniſter, which he complied with. At this place he had a numerous congregation, and ſeveral times he was invited to preach at Hull ſix miles from thence.—There the people declared, There was never ſuch a reformation in that place. Some of the juſtices of the peace in that

ates that his harlot the ducheſs of Portſmouth and her confeſſor were the inſtruments, and that the king died in good terms with his brother. Dr. Welwood who gives both ſides, relates this ſtory: Some time the king, having drunk more liberally than uſual, retired to the next room in the caſtle of Windſor, wrapt himſelf in his cloak, and fell aſleep on a couch. He was but a little time returned to the company, when a ſervant belonging to one of them, lay down on the ſame couch, and was found ſtabbed dead with a poinard, nor was it ever known who did it: the matter was huſhed up, and no inquiry made. Mem. page 88. But as to the circumſtances of his death, no doubt, Mr. Vetch had the advantage to know as well as many others, being often at London, and acquainted with ſome who frequented the court.

that place, being papiſts, were greatly incenſed againſt it, and uſed all means to break his preaching there, but were oppoſed by the people. Mr. Vetch never had more ſatisfaction of his miniſterial work (as he himſelf ſays) than in that place.

Having preached ſix or ſeven months there, and ſettled a meeting-houſe and a people greatly reformed,—he was ſtrongly invited to his native country by thoſe who had accepted of the toleration then granted. And his wife being forward for his return, he took his leave of Beverly, a pleaſant city, having preached his farewel ſermon, where there were many tears ſhed. In his way home, he viſited his friends at Darntoun, who perſuaded him to ſtay ſome time, where he ſettled a congregation, and left one Mr. Long for his ſucceſſor to that people. After all impediments removed, he returned to his native land; where the people in the pariſhes of Oxnam, Creilland, Eckford, Linton, Marbottle and Harnam gave him a call to preach to them at Whitton hall; unto which charge he entered in April 1688. Here he continued that ſummer, and ſometimes was invited to preach at Reidſdale on the Engliſh ſide. But the prince of Orange having landed in England, Nov. 4, 1688. the miniſters of Scotland who had been outed, thought it expedient to meet at Edinburgh, and called all their brethren to attend there to conſult of matters.

It fell out unexpectedly to Mr. Vetch, that the meeting voted him to preach the next day after he came, in the new meeting-houſe over againſt Libberton's wynd. This he was moſt averſe to, being a ſtranger to the tranſactions for the moſt part in Scotland for upwards of 30 years. But his reaſons not being heard, he was ſo perplexed what to do, that till 8 o'clock, he could not find a text: but at length falling upon Pſal. cxix. 18. *Thou haſt trod down all that err from thy ſtatutes*, &c. he was taken up the whole night in thinking on it without going to bed. When he came to the pulpit, ſeeing 16 of the old miniſters ſitting, and the congregation greatly increaſing, his fear increaſed alſo. However, he delivered his thoughts upon the ſubject with reſpect to the then circumſtances with ſuch freedom and plainneſs as offended the prelates, who afterwards ſent him a meſſage, that ere long they reſolved to be even with him.—All the anſwer he returned them was, to put on their ſpurs.—Upon the other hand, he ſeemed to give ſome offence to the godly party by ſome free expreſſions he had with reſpect to the preſent government, if preſbytery was erected.

When the Presbyterian church was restored, he had calls from several parishes, *viz.* one to Creilland, another to Melrose, and a third to Peebles; which he was persuaded by the earl of Crawford and others to embrace: and yet he met with such opposition there, from the old duke of Queensbury, that the church was so over-awed as to loose him from that charge: and he having a call from Edinburgh, one from Paisley, and another from Dumfries, the assembly, hearing his aversion to Edinburgh, voted him to Dumfries, after he had been minister of Peebles full four years from Sept. 1690 to 1694, when he was settled or admitted to his ministry at Dumfries.

He left Peebles with great aversion, not only with respect to the parish, but the country round about; and upon a new call, struggled to be back; but lost it only by four voices. However, he lost all his legal stipend the four years, which, with the expences of suit, amounted to 10,000 merks. Mr. Vetch's hard usage from the assembly, with their illegal removing him, merely to please the duke, and to send him to Dumfries, made him resolve to leave the nation, and refuse to submit to their sentence. In the mean time his old friends in England, hearing this, sent a gentleman to Peebles to bring him back to them. Mr. Vetch went with him; but he refused to settle with them, till he had handsomely ended with the commission of the church, to whom the matter was referred. Upon his return, they persuaded him to submit: which at last he did, and continued minister in that place until the day of his death, which fell out (if I mistake not) about the year 1720, being then about 80 years of age.

From the foregoing account two things are conspicuous; first, that the whole of Mr. Vetch's life, at least during the persecuting period, was attended with a train of remarkable occurrences of divine providence. Secondly, that in that time, he behoved to be a most powerful and awakening preacher from the influence he had upon the manners or morals of those who attended his sermons. Nor is it any disparagement to him that that black-mouthed calumniator in his Presbyterian Eloquence displayed, has published to the world, "That he murdered the bodies as well as souls of two or three persons with one sermon, because (says he) preaching in the town of Jedburgh, he said, *There are two thousand of you here, but I am sure eighty of you will not be saved*; upon which three of his ignorant hearers dispatched themselves soon after." Indeed it must be granted, that, after the revolution in the latter end of his life, he became somewhat

ſomewhat inimical and unfriendly to diſſenters *, at leaſt ſome of thoſe who who profeſſed to own and adhere unto the ſame cauſe and teſtimony that he himſelf had contended and ſuffered ſomewhat for; whether this proceeded from the dotage of old age (as ſome would have it) or from miſtaken principles, or any thing elſe, we cannot, and ſhall not at preſent determine.

* *Viz.* Mr. Hepburn.

The Life of JOHN BALFOUR *of Kinloch.*

JOHN BALFOUR of Kinloch (ſometime called Burly) was a gentleman in the north of Fife. He joined with the more faithful part of our late ſufferers, and altho' he was by ſome reckoned none of the moſt religious, yet he was always zealous and honeſt-hearted, couragious in every enterprize and a brave ſoldier, ſeldom any eſcaping that came in his hands. He was the principal actor in killing that arch-traitor to the Lord and his Chriſt, James Sharp. After which his goods and gear were inventored by the ſheriff, and he forfeited in life and fortune, a reward of 10,000 merks offered to any that could apprehend him. He was a commanding officer at Bothwel and Drumclog. At Drumclog he was the firſt who, with his party, got over the ditch upon the enemy. At Bothwel he was ſtill among the more faithful part, and at the fight behaved with great gallantry. At that meeting at Loudon-hill diſperſed May 5th, 1681, it is ſaid, that he diſarmed one of duke Hamilton's men with his own hand, taking a pair of fine piſtols belonging to the duke from his ſaddle, telling him to tell his maſter, he would keep them till meeting. Afterward, when the duke aſked his man, What he was like? he told him, he was a little man, ſquint-eyed, and of a very fierce aſpect, the duke ſaid, He knew who it was, and withal prayed that he might never ſee his face, for if he ſhould, he was ſure he would not live long. After this he lurked moſtly among his ſuffering brethren; and a little before the revolution went over to Holland, where he joined the prince of Orange (afterward king William), and having ſtill a deſire to be avenged upon thoſe who perſecuted the Lord's cauſe and people in Scotland, it is ſaid he obtained liberty from the prince for that purpoſe, but died at

ſea,

ſea before their arrival in Scotland. Whereby that deſign was never accompliſhed, and ſo the land was never purged by the blood of them who had ſhed innocent blood, according to the law of the Lord, Gen. ix. 6. *Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.*

An Abſtract of a Speech delivered by Lord WARRISTON, *before the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, after the delivery of ſome Queries from the Parliament to them.*

MR. Prolocutor, I am a ſtranger. I will not meddle with the parliament privileges of another nation, nor the breaches thereof, but as a chriſtian, under one common lord, a ruling elder in another church, and a parliament man in another kingdom, having commiſſion from both that church and ſtate, and at the deſire of this kingdom aſſiſting in their debates, intreat for your favour and patience to expreſs my thoughts of what is before you.

In my judgment, that is before you which concerns Chriſt and theſe kingdoms moſt, and above all, and which will be the chiefeſt mean to end or continue theſe troubles. And that not only ſpeaking *humaniter*, and looking to the diſpoſition of theſe kingdoms, but eſpecially in regard of the divine diſpenſation, which hath been ſo ſpecial and ſenſible in the riſe and continuance of theſe commotions, as I can neither be perſuaded that they were raiſed for, or will be calmed upon the ſettlement of civil rights and privileges either of kings or princes, whatſoever may ſeem to be our preſent ſucceſs; but I am convinced they have a higher riſe from, and for the higheſt end, the ſettling of the crown of Chriſt in theſe iſlands, to be propagated from iſland to continent; and until king Jeſus be ſet down on his throne, with his ſceptre in his hand, I do not expect God's peace, and ſo not ſolid peace from men in theſe kingdoms. But eſtabliſh that, and a durable peace will be found to follow that ſovereign truth. Sir, let us lay to heart what is before us, a work which concerns God and man moſt of any thing in agitation now under the ſun, and for which we will one day be called to a more ſtrict account than for any other paſſage of our life. Let us both tremble and rejoice when we

we reflect upon what is under debate, and now in our hands.

I was glad to hear the parliament confeſs their willingneſs to receive and obſerve whatſoever ſhall be ſhown from the word of God to be Chriſt or his church, their rights or due; albeit I was ſorry to ſee any, in the delivery thereof, intermix any of their own perſonal aſperity, any aſperſions upon this aſſembly, or reflections on another nation; ſo in this day of law for Chriſt, wherein juſtice is offered, if he get not right in not ſhewing his patent from his father, and his churches from himſelf, it will be counted your fault.

Sir, all chriſtians are bound to give a teſtimony to every truth when called to it, but ye are the immediate ſervants of the Moſt High, Chriſt's proctors and heralds, whoſe proper function it is to proclaim his name, and preſerve his offices, and aſſert his rights. Chriſt has had many teſtimonies given to his prophetical and prieſtly offices by the pleadings and ſufferings of his ſaints, and in theſe latter days ſeems to require the ſame unto his kingly office. A king loves a teſtimony to his crown beſt of any, as that which is tendereſt to him, and confeſſors and martyrs for Chriſt's crown are the moſt royal and moſt ſtately of any ſtate martyrs; ſo although Chriſt's kingdom be not of this world, and his ſervants did not fight therefore when he was to ſuffer, yet it is in this world, and for this end was he born. To give a teſtimony to this truth, among others, were we born, and muſt not be aſhamed of it, nor deny it; but confeſs and avouch it by pleading, doing and ſuffering for it, even when what is in agitation ſeems moſt to oppoſe it, and therefore requires a ſeaſonable teſtimony. But it lies upon you, Sir, *&c.* who have both your calling from Chriſt for it, and at this time a particular calling from many, that which the honourable houſes require from you at ſuch a time, when the ſettlement of religion thereon, and when it is the very controverſy of the times, and the civil magiſtrates not only call you before them to aver the truth therein, but alſo giveth you a good example, cometh before you out of tenderneſs to their civil truſt and duty, to maintain the privileges of parliament; to give a teſtimony aſſentatory to their civil rights and privileges, and to forewarn you leſt you break the ſame, and incur civil premunires. Sir, this ſhould teach us to be as tender, zealous and careful to aſſert Chriſt and his church, their privileges and rights, and to forewarn all leſt they endanger their ſouls by encroaching thereon, and leſt their omiſſions and remiſſneſs bring eternal premunires upon them, let all know that the ſpirit of your Maſter is upon you, and that Chriſt

hath

hath ſervants who will not only make pulpits to ring with the ſound of his prerogative, but alſo, if they ſhall be called to it, make a flame of their bodies burning at the ſtake for a teſtimony to it, carry it aloft through the earth (like the voice in Sicily) that *Chriſt lives and reigns alone in his church*, and will have all done therein according to his word and will, and that he has given no ſupreme headſhip over his church to any pope, king or parliament whatſoever.

Sir, you are often deſired to remember the bounds of your commiſſion from man, and not to exceed the ſame. I am confident you will make as much conſcience not to be deficient in the diſcharge of your commiſſion from Chriſt. But now, Sir, you have a commiſſion from God and man together, to diſcuſs that truth, That Chriſt is a king, and has a kingdom in the external government of his church, and that he has ſet down laws and offices, and other ſubſtantials thereof; and a part of the kingdom the which to come we daily pray (as Perkins ſhews well). We muſt not now before men mince, hold up, or conceal any thing neceſſary for this teſtimony; all theſe would ſeem to me to be retiring and flying, and not to flow from the high ſpirit of the Moſt High, who will not flinch for one hour, nor quit one hoof, nor edge away a hem of Chriſt's robe royal. Theſe would ſeem effects of deſertion, tokens of being aſhamed, afraid or politically diverted; and all theſe and every degree of them, Sir, I am confident will be very far from the thoughts of every one here, who by their votes and petitions, according to their proteſtations at their entry, have ſhewed themſelves ſo zealous and forward to give their teſtimony, albeit they eaſily ſaw it would not be very acceptable to the powers on earth, who would hamper, ſtamp and halve it. But would ye anſwer to that queſtion, If this were a parliament, and if it was a full and free one, would he not, and ſhould he not be eſteemed a great breaker of privileges, and *contemptor curiæ*, albeit we are not ſo wiſe, yet let us be as tender and jealous in our day and generation. Truly, Sir, I am confident you will not be ſo in love with a peaceable and external profeſſion of any thing that may be granted to the church, as to conceal, diſclaim or invert your Maſter's right. That were to loſe the ſubſtance for a circumſtance, to deſert and dethrone Chriſt, to ſerve yourſelves and enthrone others in his place: a tenant doing ſo to his lord or landlord forfeits all. Ye are commanded to be faithful in little, but now ye are commanded to be faithful in much; for albeit the ſalvation of ſouls be called *cura curarii*, the welfare and happineſs of churches (made

up

up of theſe) is far more; but the kingdom of Chriſt is *q. d. optimum maximum*, and to have it now under your debate, as it is the greateſt honour God doth beſtow upon an aſſembly, ſo it is the greateſt danger: For according now as God ſhall aſſiſt or direct you, you may, and will be the inſtruments of the greateſt good or evil on earth. Let us do all in, with, for and by Chriſt. Remember the account we have to make to him, who ſubjects the ſtanding or falling of his crown in this iſland to our debate. I ſpeak *humaniter*, for *diviniter* I know it is impoſſible, and albeit we ſhould all prove falſe and faint-hearted, he can, and will ſoon raiſe up other inſtruments to aſſert, publiſh, and propagate his right to a *forum conſiſtorii*. He will have it thoroughly pled and judged betwixt his kingdom and the kingdoms of the earth. And ſeeing he has begun to conquer, he will prevail over all that ſtand in his way, whether pope, king or parliament, that will claim any part of his headſhip, ſupreme prerogative, and monarchy over his own church.

Sir, ſome may think you have had a deſign in abſtaining ſo long from aſſerting the divine right of church government, now to come in with it truly. Sir, I look upon this check, as a good providence for your great ſparing and abſtaining in that point, and muſt bear witneſs to many paſſages of God's good hand in it, in not ſuffering us to make a ſtand of our deſires concerning religion, either in Scotland or here, albeit we have often ſet down *menſura voti* to ourſelves; but he has as often moved us ſtep after ſtep to trace back our defections, and make the laſt innovations a beſom to ſweep out the former, and the king refuſed to be a mean to engage in a covenant with himſelf and others, and ſo has drawn us, againſt our wills, and beyond our deſires, to perform our duty, and to give a teſtimony to his truth, that much of God and divine wiſdom and deſign, and little of man and his politic projects, might be ſeen in the beginning, progreſs and continuance of the whole work, by this good hand of God: And for this end I hope theſe queries are brought to your hand at this time.

Sir, your ſerving the parliament a while, I am confident, has been and will be ſtill, not that they may ſerve you, but for to ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and that parliament will glory more in their ſubordination and ſubſervience to him, than in the empire and command over the world.

Sir, we may hear much of the breach of privilege, and of the covenant, in relation to civil right: Let us remember in the covenant the three orders in the title and preface, three main duties in the body, and the three effects

in the close. The covenant begins with the advancement, and ends with the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, as the substantials and over-word of the whole.

The first article of the seven is Christ, an article like *dies Dominica* in the week, all the rest are *in Domino*, and subordinate thereunto: And all laws contrary to the will of Christ are acknowledged to be void in his kingdom, and so they should, with far greater reason than the constable's orders against the ordinance of parliament are void in law. But, Sir, Christ's throne is highest, and his privileges supreme as only King and Head of his church, albeit kings and magistrates may be members in it. There is no authority to be balanced with his, nor posts to be set up against his, nor Korahs to be allowed against his Aarons, nor Uzziahs against his Azariahs. Is it so small a thing to have the sword? but they must have the keys also. Truly, Sir, I am confident that the parliament, and both nations will acknowledge themselves engaged under this authority, and as they would not be drawn from it (for we must deny our places, take up our cross, lay aside our love to father or mother, paternal or civil, yea lay down our lives, to aver and confess this truth against all allurements and terrors) so ye would never endeavour to draw us to any other, and whatsoever reflection to the contrary was insinuated by the deliverer of this message, I cannot but impute it to personal passion, which long ago was known to the world, but will never believe the honourable house will allow thereof, as being far beneath their wisdom, and contrary to your merit.

And, Sir, seeing these queries are before you, I am confident that whatever diversity of opinion may be among you in any particular, ye will all hold out Christ's kingdom distinct from the kingdoms of the earth, and that he has appointed the government of his own house, and should rule the same; and that none of this assembly, even for the gaining of their desires in all the points of difference, would by their silence, concealment and connivance, weaken, commutate or sell a part of this fundamental truth, this sovereign interest of Christ; and that ye will all concur to demonstrate the same by clear passages of scripture, or necessary consequences therefrom, and by constant practice of the apostles, which are rules unto us.

Sir, I will close with remembering you of two passages of your letter * sent, by order of the house of commons, to the

* This letter was read Aug. 17. 1643. in the Scots general assembly, as it stands in the collection of the acts thereof from 1638, to 1649. page 205.

the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland, that you will ſet out ſuch diſcipline as, to the utmoſt of your power, you may exalt Chriſt the only Lord over the church, his own houſe, in all his offices, and preſent the church as a chaſte virgin to Chriſt; and for this end that you were not reſtrained by the houſes in your votes and reſolutions, nor bound up to the ſenſe of others, nor to carry on a private deſign in a civil way, but by your oath were ſecured againſt all flattering of your judgment, and engaged thereby according to the houſe's deſire, to uſe all freedom becoming the integrity of your conſciences, the weight of the cauſe, and the integrity and honour of ſuch an aſſembly. I will no more, Sir, trouble you, but with one word upon the whole matter, to deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider if this buſineſs, whereon the eyes of God are fixed, deſerves not a ſpecial day of humiliation and prayer, for the Lord's extraordinary aſſiſtance and direction of this aſſembly.

The Lives of Meſſrs. ROBERT TRAILS.

MESSRS. ROBERT TRAILS, the father and ſon, deſerve a place among the Scots Worthies, as they were brought to much trouble for their faithfulneſs and zeal for our reformation-principles. Old Mr. Robert Trail, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, along with Mr. James Guthrie and others, met in a private houſe in Edinburgh, and aſſiſted in drawing up a humble addreſs and ſupplication to the king; but before it was finiſhed, they were apprehended by the managers of the times, and committed priſoners to the caſtle of Edinburgh, without a hearing: matters went ſo high at that time, that a ſimple propoſal of petitioning the king for a redreſs of grievances was reckoned criminal. Mr. Robert Trail was brought Aug. 1661. before the lords of articles, and afterwards before the parliament, where he delivered an excellent ſpeech in his own defence, and pointed out the cruelty and injuſtice then exerciſed, and the many falſe accuſations that were exhibited againſt him and his reverend brethren at that time. This excellent ſpeech of his may be ſeen in Wodrow's hiſtory, vol. I. page 73. After ſeven months impriſonment he wrote to Mr. Thomas Wylie miniſter at Kirkudbright. He ſays, "I need not write to you how matters do here.

" This I muſt ſay, your impriſoned brethren are kindly dealt " with by our kind Lord, for whoſe cauſe and intereſt we ſuffer; " and if any of us be ſtraitened, it is not in him, for we have " large allowance from him, could we take it. We know " it fares the better with us, that you and ſuch as you, " mind us at the throne. We are waiting from day to day " what men will do with us; at beſt we are expecting ba- " niſhment, but our ſentence muſt proceed from the Lord; " and whatſoever it ſhall be as good from him; and whi- " therſoever he ſhall ſend us, he will be with us, and ſhall " let us know that the earth is his, and the fulneſs thereof." This was the reſigned Chriſtian temper of theſe worthies. He was afterwards baniſhed, and took refuge in Holland. On the 19th of July 1677, their perſecuting fury alſo broke out againſt his ſon Mr. Robert Trail. Being accuſed with holding field-conventicles, he was brought before the council, where he acknowledged, that he had kept houſe-conventicles. But being aſked, if he had preached at field-conventicles, he referred that to proof, becauſe the law made it criminal. He owned he had converſed with Mr. Welch when on the Engliſh border, and that he was ordained to the miniſtry by Preſbyterian miniſters at London in 1670. But refuſing to clear himſelf by oath, he was therefore ſent to the Baſs; major Johnſton got 1000 l. Scots for apprehending him. We have no account at what time he was releaſed; but he was afterwards an uſeful miniſter to a congregation of diſſenters in London; where he continued many years and laboured with great diligence, zeal and ſucceſs. Here he publiſhed his vindication of the Proteſtant doctrine of juſtification, prompted thereto by his zeal for that diſtinguiſhing doctrine of the reformation; and his ſermons on the throne of grace and the Lord's prayer, at the earneſt deſire of thoſe who heard them. His ſermons on Heb. x. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. intitled, *A ſtedfaſt adherence to the profeſſion of our faith*, were publiſhed after his death, at the requeſt of many of his hearers. The ſimplicity and evangelical ſtrain of his works have been ſavoury to many, and will ever be ſo, while religion and ſcripture-doctrine are in requeſt.

23 AP 57

FINIS.

CONTENTS.

	Page
INTRODUCTION,	28
The Life of Mr. Patrick Hamilton,	41
Mr. George Wiſhart,	46
Mr. Walter Mill,	60
James Stuart Earl of Murray,	64
Mr. John Knox,	77
Mr. George Buchanan,	90
Mr. Robert Rollock,	96
Mr. John Craig,	99
Mr. David Black,	101
Mr. John Davidſon,	105
Mr. William Row,	108
Mr. Andrew Melvil,	111
Mr. Patrick Simpſon,	119
Mr. Andrew Duncan,	126
Mr. John Scrimzeor,	129
Mr. John Welch,	132
Mr. Robert Boyd,	152
Mr. Robert Bruce,	154
Mr. Joſias Welch,	162
John Gordon Viſcount of Kenmuir,	164
Mr. Robert Cunningham,	181
Mr. James Mitchel,	183
Mr. Alexander Henderſon,	189
Mr. George Gilleſpie,	196
Mr. John M'Clelland,	200
Mr. David Calderwood,	205
Mr. Hugh Binning,	210
Mr. Andrew Gray,	216
Mr. James Durham,	220
Mr. Samuel Rutherford,	229
Archibald Campbel Marquis of Argyle,	239
Mr. James Guthrie,	254
John Campbel Earl of Loudon,	264
Mr. Robert Bailey,	275
Mr. David Dickſon,	279

	Page
The Life of Sir Archibald Johnſton, Lord Wariſton,	287
Mr. James Wood,	299
Mr. William Guthrie,	303
Mr. Robert Blair,	318
Mr. Hugh M'Kail,	336
Mr. John Nevay,	354
Mr. John Livingſton,	357
Mr. John Semple,	366
Mr. James Mitchel,	371
Mr. John Welwood,	384
William Gordon of Earlſtoun,	389
Meſſrs. John Kid and John King,	392
Mr. John Brown,	395
Henry Hall of Haugh-head,	398
Mr. Richard Cameron,	401
David Hackſton of Rathillet,	410
Robert Ker of Kerſland,	415
Mr. Donald Cargil,	419
Mr. Walter Smith,	433
Mr. Robert Garnock,	437
Mr. Robert M'Ward,	455
Captain John Paton,	458
John Niſbet of Hardhill,	472
Mr. Alexander Peden,	485
Mr. John Blackadder,	499
Mr. James Renwick,	503
Mr. Alexander Moncrief,	528
Mr. Angus M'Bean,	533
Mr. Thomas Hog,	536
Mr. Robert Fleming,	549
Mr. Alexander Shields,	557
Mr. John Dickſon,	577
Sir Robert Hamilton of Preſton,	584
Mr. William Vetch,	594
John Balfour of Kinloch,	607
A ſpeech of Lord Warriſtoun's,	608
The lives of Meſſrs. Trails.	613

23 AP 57

ERRATA.

PAGE 262. Line 5. from the foot, after *cried*, read, *The covenants, the covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving.*

P. 291. l. 18. from the foot, for 1657, r. 1651.
P. 505. l. 29. for *in* r. *from.*
P. 448. l. 29. for *Fanquirs* r. *Tanquirs.*
P. 452. l. 7. for *Learmoril* r. *Learmond.*
P. 499. l. 10. from the foot, for *Fullialen* r. *Tullialen.*
P. 500. foot note, for *Stirleg* r. *Stirling.*
P. 502. l. 17. for *first* r. *farther.*
P. 603. foot note, last line, for *they* r. *the king.*

GLASGOW, *April* 22d, 1782

PROPOSALS

For Printing by SUBSCRIPTION, In Two OCTAVO Volumes.

A COMPENDIOUS

VIEW

Of *Natural* and *Revealed Religion*.—In Seven Books.

By JOHN BROWN, *Miniſter of the Goſpel in Haddington.*

BOOK I. Of the ſtandard of all religion;—the law of nature in its *foundation* and *contents*,—the *inſufficiency* of the *light of nature* to render a man truly virtuous and happy;—the *poſſibility*, *deſireableneſs*, *neceſſity*, *propriety*, *reaſonableneſs*, *credibility*, *divine authority*, *properties* and *parts* of that revelation which is contained in the ſcriptures of the old and new Teſtament.

BOOK II. Of *God*, the author, object and end of all religion,—in his perfections, perſons, purpoſes and works.

BOOK III. Of the bonds of religious connection between God and men,—the covenants of works and grace in their *origin*, *parties*, *parts* and *adminiſtration* in time and eternity.

BOOK IV. Of Chriſt the mediator of the covenant of grace, in his *perſon*, *offices* and *ſtates*.

BOOK V. Of the *bleſſings* of the covenant of grace, *effectual calling*, juſtification, adoption, ſanctification, ſpiritual comfort, eternal glory.

BOOK VI. Of the diſpenſation of the covenant of grace by means of *law*, *goſpel* and *ordinances* thereof.

BOOK VII. Of the new covenant *ſociety* or church, in her *conſtitution*, *members*, *offices* and *government*.

23 AP 57

CONDITIONS.

I. The book will be printed on a fair paper and new Type, in two Octavo volumes, to conſiſt of about 300 and 30 pages each volume.

II. The price to Subſcribers will be One Shilling and Sixpence Sterling each volume, ſewed, and Two Shillings neatly bound. A few copies on a fine Demy paper at Two Shillings ſewed, and Two Shillings and Sixpence bound, each volume.

III. Thoſe who ſubſcribe for twelve copies, ſhall have one Gratis.

IV. The book will be put to the preſs as ſoon as a competent number of ſubſcriptions are obtained.

The encouragers of this work are deſired to ſend in their Names, with the number of Copies they want, to the Publiſher immediately, as few copies will be printed but thoſe ſubſcribed for.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in by JOHN BRYCE, Printer, *Glaſgow*; and by all others intruſted with Propoſals.

The Judgment and Juſtice of God

EXEMPLIFIED.

OR, A

BRIEF HISTORICAL HINT

OF THE

WICKED LIVES and MISERABLE DEATHS of ſome of the moſt remarkable Apoſtates and bloody Perſecutors in Scotland, from the Reformation till after the Revolution;

COLLECTED FROM

Hiſtorical Records, Authenticated Writings, and other well-vouched Relations.

By JOHN HOWIE.

PSALM lv. 23. *But thou, O God, ſhalt bring them down to the pit of deſtruction. Bloody and deceitful men ſhall not live out half their days.*

PSAL. vii. 12. *He hath alſo prepared for him the inſtruments of death, he ordained his arrows againſt the perſecutors.*

2 THESS. i. 6. —*It is a righteous thing with God to recompence tribulation to them that trouble you.*

——*Immemores Dei*
Gentes mors inopina
Æternis tenebris premit.

Pſalm ix. 17.—BUCHAN.

GLASGOW:

Printed by JOHN BRYCE.

MDCCLXXXII.

☞ HAD I not confined myſelf at firſt to the limits of an Appendix to the lives of our Scots worthies, I might have written a volume, containing the ſame hints of the moſt notable Apoſtates, Blaſphemers, and wicked Perſecutors, Jew and Chriſtian, in all the different kingdoms and countries wherein the true religion and knowledge of the true God hath been profeſſed, from the earlieſt ages to this preſent century; and which may be yet attempted, if this meet with the approbation of the Public, and a call and farther encouragement be given for that purpoſe,

THE
INTRODUCTION.

I PRESUME, that any perſon, who has diligently perʃuſed the hiſtory of the lives of our noble Scots worthies, will by this time be able to form ſome idea in their own minds of the religious, virtuous and faithful lives, joyful and comfortable deaths of a certain number of Chriſt's noble witneſſes, confeſſors and martyrs, who through much tribulation emerged forth of all their difficulties in much faith and patience, and are now inheriting the promiſe in that land and celeſtial Jeruſalem above, *where the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and where the weary be at reſt.*

IT now follows of courſe, that I ſhould preſent another ſcene unto the reader's view, *viz.* a ſhort index or memorial of the wicked, apoſtate, perfidious and flagitious lives, and miſerable and lamentable deaths of ſome of the moſt particular perſons that oppoſed and oppreſſed the church of Chriſt, and mal-treated and perſecuted them. But previous to the opening of this tragical train of examples, (of the Lord's righteous juſtice and judgment on his and his church's enemies) let the following few particulars be obſerved. And,

1*ſt*, LET none think that this is a ſubject foreign or remote to either ſcripture, apocrypha, or hiſtory. No; I might inſtance Cain, the proto-perſecutor and murderer; Pharaoh, who was drowned in the Red ſea; Corah and others, who were ſwallowed up quick and burnt before the Lord; Saul, who finiſhed his own regicide; wicked Joram, whoſe bowels fell out; apoſtate Joaſh and Jehoiakim, who burnt the roll, came to ignominious ends: Ahab and Zedekiah, falſe prophets, whom the king of Babylon roaſted in the fire; Haman, who was hanged: Antiochus Epiphanes, who was eaten of vermin, and rotted while alive; Melenaus the apoſtate, who was ſmothered to death in aſhes; Herod, who killed the children of Bethlehem, and had the ſame fate with Antiochus; Herod Antipas, who killed John Baptiſt; Herodias and Salmon the dancer came to

fearful ends: Judas and Caiaphas became their own executioners; Pilate alſo ended his own wretched life; Herod Agrippa was eaten up of worms: Nero and all the ſucceeding emperors, authors of the ten perſecutions; Philip II. of Spain, Charles IX. Henry III. and IV. kings of France, Dukes of Guiſe, Anjou, Auſtria, &c. the cardinals Wolſey and Pool, bloody Mary of England, biſhop Gardiner, with an immenſe number more both of this and inferior ranks, too tedious here to mention, came all to deſerved wretched deaths ſuitable to ſuch wicked and bloody lives.—Nay, God will have ſuch reverence paid to what bears the name of deity and religion, that even amongſt the very heathens, who had not the knowledge of the true God, thoſe who blaſphemed or affronted the gods, robbed their temples, or mal-treated and perſecuted their prieſts, did not paſs without ſome public mark of divine diſpleaſure, (of which I might give a number of inſtances from hiſtory, were it needful). And ſhould ſuch as are favoured with an objective revelation of the true God and way of ſalvation in and by him, who deſtroy his heritage, perſecute his people, blaſpheme his name, and make a mock of religion, go unpuniſhed? Nor,

2*dly*, Is the collecting or recording ſuch exemplary inſtances without precept or precedent? Moſes, by the Lord's direction, commanded the cenſers of thoſe who were burnt up when offering ſtrange fire to be made broad plates for a covering to the altar, for a memorial to the children of Iſrael.—And, paſſing other inſtances in ſcripture, hiſtorians and martyrologers, we find the reformed church of the Netherlands at the famous ſynod of Embden 1571, amongſt other things, enacted and ordered the Lord St. Atergonde to write the hiſtory of the perſecution by the Duke de Alva, with the viſible judgments that befel the perſecutors at that time. The ſame thing was agitated and concluded upon by the united ſocieties in Scotland, both before and after the Revolution, which, had their reſolutions been accompliſhed, had either anticipated this publication, or rendered it more complete than what it can otherwiſe be expected *. Nor,

3*dly*,

* For this ſee the concluſion of the general meeting at Blackgan-ro-h, March 7, 1688, and laſt concluſion of the general meeting at Craw ord John, April 21, 1697, and ſecond concluſion of the general meeting at Carntable, Oct. 29, 1701. but what of this was done, cannot now be found,

3*dly*, CAN it be expected, that all our Scots apoſtates and perſecutors are here narrated. No; there have many of God's eminent ſaints and dear children made their exit out of this world without any note or obſervation: in like manner, every wicked and notorious offender has not been made a Magor Miſſabib, a wonder unto themſelves and others. We can aſcribe this to nothing but divine wiſdom and ſovereignty. But there have been as many inſtances of both kinds as may ſerve for a monitor both to ſaints and ſinners, to encourage the one and deter the other, and *that others may hear and fear*. Again, there have been ſeveral of theſe wicked enemies of God even in our own land, whoſe deaths have been as remarkable as thoſe now related, which have either not been recorded, or elſe the records have been loſt, and cannot now, after ſuch a long time elapſed, be retrieved *. And

4*thly*, THIS may be obſerved, That, though numbers in this black catalogue have nothing different as to the taking away of the life temporal, ſuch as by heading, hanging, *&c.* from what has befallen God's dear children and martyrs,—yet it is the cauſe of their death, their diſpoſition and frame at that time, muſt only caſt the ſcale of balance. Jeſus as man, and the obſtinate malefactor on the croſs, are an illuſtrating proof of this: for, while the one goes off the ſtage triumphing in the juſtice of their cauſe under the ſenſible manifeſtations of God's gracious preſence, crying out, Farewel, friends and relations, holy ſcriptures, duties, ſun, moon, ſtars,—all created enjoyments;—Welcome, death, ſcaffold, gibbet for precious Chriſt; welcome eternity, glory, angels, ſpirits of juſt men made perfect; welcome, Jeſus Chriſt, Spirit of all grace, God the judge of all, and life for evermore:—The other (although I do not meddle with their eternal ſtate, as being no-ways my province or prerogative to determine upon) at leaſt thoſe I have here condeſcended upon, died either in a ſenſeleſs, ſecure, ſupine ſtupidity, or elſe belching out the moſt fearful oaths, and imprecations againſt themſelves or others, or worſe, if worſe may be, roaring out in deſpair in the moſt dreadful horror of an awakened conſcience under the ſenſe of God's wrath and fiery indignation ready to be poured forth upon them

* Such as Earlſhall, the laird of Meldrum, Livingſton, bloody Douglas, major White, &c. as for lieutenant Drummond, captain Windrum, lieutenant Bruce and lieut. Turner, who went over with the reſt of Dundee officers to France, they died at Tourelliers, See liſtan and Perpignon hoſpitals, 1693 and 1694, miſerable enough.

them for their former wicked lives; which muſt be one of the moſt exquiſite torments in this life, as expreſſed by the poet,

——Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus.——

Nay, ſome have had very wicked lives or actions in life, and yet through the Lord's goodneſs have obtained mercy at laſt, though none of this ſtamp to my knowledge, as far as could be diſcerned, are brought into this category.†. And

5thly, LET none think that I have dragged any in here, becauſe they were king, queen, or biſhop: no, there are others here; it was becauſe they were tyrants, apoſtates, perjured wretches, wicked perſecutors and bloody deceitful men: a Charles on the throne, a Lauderdale in the ſtate, a M'Kinzie at the bar, a Jefferies on the bench, a Dalziel in the army, and a Judas Sharp in the church, amongſt others inrolled in the annals of time, (and we may fear in eternity too) are terrible monuments of this.—It is true, all this black group attained not the ſame altitude of wickedneſs; but they all acted from the ſame principle, and bended toward the ſame point, and that was to propagate Satan's kingdom, and perſecute the ſaints of the Moſt High, as far as their power, ſtation and office would allow; (although ſome of them were more humane than others) yet they muſt all be brought to the ſame ſtandard, ſeeing divine ſovereignty has ordered it ſo.

6thly, IT is here hoped, that none of the offſpring of thoſe will be offended at what is related of their anceſtors, unleſs they approve of their deeds; ſeeing no man can help the evil qualities of his forefathers. A good Jehoſhaphat begat a wicked Jehoram and a wicked Ahaz, and Amnon begat a good Joſiah. And though the Lord has declared that

† Paſſing ſcripture inſtances, ſuch as a Manaſſeh amongſt the thorns, a penitent thief upon the croſs.——the late earl of Argyle who was executed 1685, was a member of the bloody council many years, but this he lamented at his death, particularly his caſting vote on Mr. Cargil; and for ought we can learn, in charity we muſt ſuppoſe he obtained mercy: and the youngeſt bailie in Edinburgh, who gave the covenants out of his hand to the hangman to be burnt, was afterwards thought to be a good man, and ever lamented that action, and did much ſervice to Chriſt's priſoners after. Yet the Lord would not ſuffer him to go unpunithed in this life, for it is ſaid he never had the uſe of that hand after; and for all his ſtately buildings, they were burnt to aſhes in 1700.

that he will viſit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, yet he has alſo ſaid, The ſon ſhall not die for the iniquity of his father; if he turn from it, he ſhall live.—It is granted, that virtuous and religious lives are neceſſary to be ſet before us for our example, and why ſhould not the contrary vices be eſchewed by viewing a portrait of the reverſe qualities? for he who has ſaid that the memory of the juſt ſhall be bleſſed, has alſo ſaid, that the memory of the wicked ſhall rot; that is, they ſhall either ſink into oblivion, or elſe in conſuming away ſhall become naufeous unto poſterity, as ſays the prophet, *Their everlaſting confuſion ſhall never be forgotten.*

Laſtly, For the matter and method of the following examples, though there be ſeverals of them touched at in the lives of the Scots worthies as connected with the ſubject, yet I have brought them unto this compoſition, that the reader may view them all at once; and for the method I have arranged them in, each example is as near the order of time when they died as could be gueſſed, and as conciſe as poſſible, being reſtricted to ſuch narrow limits. As for the authority of the authors from whom they are collected, (except a few relations as well vouched as at preſent could be obtained) they are much the ſame with thoſe of the lives of the worthies, hiſtorical faith being all that can be claimed in human and imperfect compoſures.

And for a concluſion, let us ſee all ſcenes cloſing, let us, through the foregoing mirror and following proſpect, view the Lord's admirable goodneſs to his own dear children even when walking through the furnace of affliction, with his juſt and ſevere indignation and reſentment even in this life upon his and their enemies.—Let us behold the one wafted over the dark river in the arms of a Redeemer (though ſometimes on a bloody bottom) unto the flowery banks of Emmanuel's land;—while the other is with an awful gloom of horror hurled head-long into the pit of deſtruction. Let us by faith apprehend thoſe thouſands of thouſands at Chriſt's right hand, ſinging, *Allelujah, true and righteous are his judgments; he hath judged the great whore, and avenged the blood of his ſervants*,—with a numberleſs throng on his left hand of theſe miſcreants ſentenced unto that place of torment and woe, where they ſhall have an eternity to bewail their infidelity, impiety, avarice, ambition, cruelty, and ſtupidity in.—And, in fine, if the follow-

following hints ſhall ſerve for no other purpoſe, they will ſtand for an inconteſtable evidence of the very firſt principle of religion, that there is a God to reward the righteous and puniſh the wicked:—*So that men ſhall ſay, Verily, there is a reward for the righteous; verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth.*

The Judgment and Juſtice of GOD *Exemplified*, &c.

JOHN CAMERON, ſometime biſhop of Glaſgow was a moſt wicked wretch: he not only committed many acts of avarice and cruelty upon the poor people of his dioceſs, but alſo encouraged thoſe in place and power to do the like: So that he became the author of almoſt all the miſchief in that part of the country.—But in this he did not long eſcape the juſt judgment of God; for in the night before (what they call) Chriſtmas day, 1446, as he lay in his own houſe in Lockwood about ſeven miles from Glaſgow, he ſeemed to hear an audible voice ſummoning him to appear before Chriſt's tribunal to give an account of his doings.—He got up affrighted, and called for his ſervant to bring a light and ſit by him: he himſelf took a book and began to read; but the voice was heard a ſecond time louder, which ſtruck all his ſervants with horror. His ſervant being gone, the voice called a third time more terrible than before; at which the biſhop was heard give a groan, and ſo was found dead in his bed with his tongue hanging out of his mouth; and ſo came to an end deſerving of ſuch a life.—*Buchanan and Spotiſwood's Hiſtories.*

SIR GEORGE STEEL, a paraſite and mighty flatterer of James V.; but one of the greateſt enemies to God and his people (that then began to profeſs the true religion) that was in all the court, being ſuch a bigotted papiſt, that, one day in a large audience, he renounced his portion of Chriſt's kingdom, if the prayer of the Virgin Mary did not bring him hither.—But one day, while in preſence of the king,

king, he dropped down dead from his horſe and never ſpoke a word.—*Knox's hiſtory.*

JAMES HAMILTON, a natural brother to the earl of Aaran, was by the popiſh clergy's influence advanced in the reign of ſaid James V. and was ſo cruel and terrible againſt all ſuch as were ſuppoſed to favour the proteſtant religion, that even ſome of his own relations were brought under his power—being by the interceſſion of theſe poplings by the king made judge or lord juſtice for that purpoſe. But while he was employing himſelf to cruſh the goſpel in the very bud, his couſin James Hamilton ſheriff of Linlithgow, whom he had cauſed to be baniſhed before on that account, returned home and accuſed him of treaſon, and in ſpite of all the popiſh clergy could do in his behalf, he was arraigned, condemned, beheaded and quartered at Edinburgh, and his quarters placed upon the public places of the city.—*Buchanan and Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*

THOMAS SCOT, a privy counſellor and juſtice clerk to the ſaid James V. was a notable enemy and perſecutor of theſe profeſſing the reformed religion. But falling ſick at Edinburgh, he fell into deſpair: he was moſt vexed for what he had done againſt Chriſt's witneſſes, and ſtill cried out, *Juſto Dei judicio condemnatus ſum*, I am condemned by God's juſt judgment, and damned without remedy. And (if he be the ſame who is called by ſome, Blair) when the monks began to comfort him, he charged them to be gone with their factions and trumperies, ſaying, till now, I never believed there was God or devil, heaven or hell. I acted only as a politician to get preferment and money, and for that purpoſe I joined the biſhops ſide, and prevailed with the king to caſt out their adverſaries. All your maſſes can do me no good: the devil has me already in his gripes to carry me to hell and torment me eternally. In this ſituation he died the ſame night, he appeared to the king when lying at Linlithgow with a company of devils, and uttered theſe words to him, O woe to the day that ever I knew thee or thy ſervice; for the ſerving of thee againſt God, againſt his ſervants and againſt juſtice, I am adjudged to endleſs torment.—*Knox's hiſtory, Appendix to Spira's relation.*

ALEX. CAMPBELL, a dominican friar, a man of wit and learning, who though he agreed almoſt in every point with Patrick Hamilton, yet being more deſirous to ſave than hazard his life for the truth, was prevailed upon by

his friends not only to prefer a public accuſation againſt the ſaid Patrick, but even when bound at the ſtake in the fire, over the belly of the light of his own conſcience, continually cried out, Convert, heretic; call on our lady: ſay, *ſalve regina*, &c. to whom the martyr ſaid, depart from me, and trouble me not, thou meſſenger of Satan. But while this friar ſtill roared out theſe words with great vehemency, He ſaid again to him, "O thou vileſt of men, thou art convinced that theſe tenets which thou now condemneſt, are certainly true, and didſt confeſs to me that they are ſo. I cite thee againſt a certain time before the tribunal ſeat of Chriſt Jeſus, *&c*" In a few days after, Campbel turned quite mad, and died in Glaſgow as one in deſpair.—*Buch. Knox's hiſt. and others.*

JAMES V. ſon to James IV. who began to reign 1514, notwithſtanding a quick genius and inclination at firſt to ſobriety and juſtice, yet ſoon became corrupted with licenciouſneſs and avarice the bane of that age; and, being wholly under the direction of the pope and his poplings in Scotland he turned a moſt violent perſecutor of the profeſſors of the true religion, (which then began to dawn) in ſo much that Patrick Hamilton, of the royal ſtock, behoved to ſuffer the flames; many others were oppreſſed and baniſhed the nation as hereticks. Nay, ſuch was his furious zeal, that he was heard ſay, that none of that ſort need expect favour at his hand, were it his own ſons if guilty: and it appears he would have been as good as his word, (from a paper or liſt of their names given in by the clergy found in his pocket at his death) had not divine providence interpoſed: for being puſhed on to an unjuſt war with the Engliſh by the advice of Oliver Sinclair and others, his army was ſhamefully defeated at Solway moſs, where this Oliver his general fled and was taken: upon which, James fell into a delirium, ſtill crying out, O fled Oliver: is Oliver taken? After viſiting ſome of his miſtreſſes, he went to Falkland, (after he had had ſome frightful dreams at Linlithgow) and hearing the queen was delivered of a daughter, he broke forth unto this deſperate expreſſion, "The devil go with it, it came with a woman, and will go with a woman, *&c*" But ſtill his continued cry was, Is Oliver taken, *&c.* till cardinal Beaton came, whoſe intrigues with the queen were before known, and by whoſe direction it was ſuppoſed the king received a doſe, of which he ſoon expired in that ſituation, 1542.—*Buch. Knox*, &c.

DAVID

DAVID PANTHER, biſhop of Galloway, was a violent enemy to the goſpel. For advancing the queen regent's intereſt he got an abbey in France. He would by no means admit of a diſputation with any of the reformed; but recommended fire and ſword for the only defence of the catholic religion. "Our victory (ſaid he) ſtands neither "in God nor his word, but in our own wills, otherwiſe we "will no more be found the men we are called, than the de-"vil will be approved to be God, *&c.*" Amongſt other extravagances, he became a notable Epicurean, eating and drinking becoming the only paſtime of his life, and in that exceſs, he at laſt fell down and expired.—*Knox*, &c.

—— DURY, a fowl of the ſame neſt, was, for his filthy courſe of life, called Abbot Stottikin. But being a furious papiſt, he obtained the ſee of Galloway, and became ſuch a perſecutor of the reformation, that he roundly vowed, that, in deſpite of God, as long as they prelates lived, that word called GOSPEL ſhould never be preached in this realm. But his boaſting laſted not long; for being ſuddenly ſeized by death, the articles of his belief or dying words were, "Decarte, you, ha, ha. The four kings and "all made, the devil go with: it is but a varlet from France; "we thought to have got a ruby, but we got nothing but "a cohoobie." And ſo this filthy enemy of God ended his life.—*Knox*, &c.

DAVID BEATON was made archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and by the pope, cardinal of Scotland. But, being a man of a ſtrange nature and cruel diſpoſition, he ſet himſelf to cruſh the profeſſors of the reformed religion with fire and faggot. Captain Bothwick was by his influence accuſed, but fled to England: four men by his direction were burnt on the Caſtle-hill of Edinburgh 1538; as were Ruſſel and Kennedy the year after. Thus he continued at this game, at the ſame time wallowing like a hog in a ſtie in all manner of filthineſs, till the year 1640, that he got that man of God George Wiſhart brought to the flames.—While he was at the ſtake before the cardinal's caſtle at St. Andrews, that the cardinal might gratify his eyes with this deſirable ſight, the cuſhions were laid for him and his company to lean upon, while looking forth at the windows.—After the fire was kindled, the martyr ſaid amongſt other things, "This fire torments my body, but no ways abates my ſpirit: but he who now looks down ſo proudly from

yonder lofty palace, (pointing to the cardinal) and feeds his eyes with my torment, ſhall ere long be hung out at that window as ignominiouſly, as he now there leans with pride" Accordingly ſome gentlemen vowed to avenge Mr. Wiſhart's death. The wicked monſter getting previous notice, ſaid, Tuſh, a fig for the fools, a button for the bragging of heretics. Is the Lord governor mine? witneſs his oldeſt ſon with me as a pledge. Have not I the queen at my devotion? Is not France my friend? What danger ſhould I fear?—But in a few days, Norman Leſly, John Leſly, and the laird of Grange entered the caſtle in the morning, juſt as one of his harlots Mrs Ogilvie was gone out of bed from him. The noiſe ſoon alarmed the cardinal, who was but a little before fallen aſleep. He got up and hid a coffer of gold in a corner. Afterward with ſome difficulty they got in. John Leſly drew his ſword, and in ſober terms told him their errand, but could bring him to no ſigns of repentance or preparation for death.--Whereupon they ſtabbed him; upon which he cried out, I am a prieſt: fy, all is gone; and ſo he expired. The provoſt and his friends came in a fray, and demanded what was become of him, and would not depart; which made them hang his carcaſe over the window, according to Mr Wiſhart's words; and then they departed:—after which he lay a conſiderable time unburied *.

A FRENCH OFFICER and gentleman volunteer in the queen regent's army, whom ſhe employed to cut off the profeſſors of the reformed religion, after ſeveral outrages by him committed in Fife upon them, entered into a poor woman's houſe, with a ſmall family of children at Whiteſide, to plunder it. She offered him ſuch proviſion as ſhe had; but this would not ſatisfy him; for notwithſtanding all her tears and intreaties, the cruel wretch muſt have what little meal and beef ſhe had to ſuſtain her and her young infants.

* Buchanan mentions not his burial. Knox ſays, they gave him ſalt enough and a lead cap, and ſet him in the ſea tower to ſee what the biſhops would procure for him. Fox and Clark ſay, he lay 7 months unburied, and then like a carrion was thrown on a dunghill.—Sir David Lindſay of the Mount, made the following ſtanza on his death;

As for the Cardinal, I grant,
He was the man we well could want,
God will forgive it ſoon:
But of a truth, the ſooth to ſay,
Altho' the Lown be well away,
The fact was foully done.

infants. She perceiving this, upon his ſtooping down into a large barrel or pipe to take what was there, firſt turned up his heels, and then with what help her family could afford, kept him in, till amongſt the meal he ended his wicked life.—*Knox.*

MARY of Lorrain, ſiſter to the duke of Guiſe, and ſecond wife to James V. after her huſband's death, aſpired to the regency; and being ſprung from a family who always had ſhewn themſelves inveterate and implacable enemies to the kingdom of Chriſt, ſhe ſet herſelf with might and main, to exterminate the goſpel and its profeſſors out of Scotland.—She told them, in plain words, that, in deſpite of them and their miniſters both, they ſhould be baniſhed out of it, albeit they preached as true as ever St. Paul did: and, for that purpoſe, procured to her faction in Scotland ſome thouſands of French ſoldiers, which obliged them to lift arms in their own defence. One time, theſe cruel ſavages having obtained a ſmall advantage in a ſkirmiſh at Kinghorn, and committed many outrages of plunder in Fife, ſhe broke out into the following expreſſion: "Where is now John Knox's God? My God is ſtronger "than his, even in Fife." At another time when the reformed had pulled down ſome monuments of idolatry at St. Johnſton, this catholic heroine vowed, "She ſhould de"ſtroy both man, woman and child in it, and burn it with "fire: and that, if ſhe had a fair pretext for the deed, ſhe "would not leave an individual of the heretical tribe, eith"er his fortune or life." Again 1560, when her Frenchmen had obtained another victory at Leith, and having ſtripped the ſlain, and laid their bodies upon the walls before the ſun, at the beholding of which from the caſtle of Edinburgh, it is ſaid ſhe leaped for joy and ſaid, "Yonder "is the faireſt tapeſtry I ever ſaw! I would the whole field "were covered with the ſame ſtuff." But God ſoon put a ſtop to this wicked contumely; for in a few days (ſome ſay the ſame day) her belly and legs began to ſwell of that loathſome and ugly diſeaſe whereof ſhe died in the month of June following. Before her death, ſhe ſeemed to ſhew ſome remorſe for her paſt conduct; but no ſigns of true repentance, elſe ſhe would not have received the Popiſh ſacrament of extreme unction. The papiſts having now loſt their head, and the church not ſuffering her to be buried with the ſuperſtitious rites of popery, ſhe was coffined, and kept four months, and then ſent to France: and ſo ſhe, who a little made the followers of Chriſt when killed lie unburied,

ried, could not obtain a burial in the kingdom of Scotland *.

DAVID RIZIO or Riccio, born at Turin in Savoy, came over, and was introduced unto queen Mary's muſicians (being of that craft) and complying with her humour in every thing, he was advanced to be one of her ſecretaries. But being one of the pope's minions and a deadly enemy to the cauſe of Chriſt in Scotland, he laid continual ſchemes to ruin the noble reformers. He laid a plot to murder the good earl of Murray with his own hand, but it miſcarried. He had a principal hand in the queen's match with Darnly; but ſoon became his rival, and the queen's paramour. He exceeded the king in apparel and furniture, and intended to have cut off the Scots nobility, and brought in a ſet of foreign miniſters. He counterfeited the king's ſeal, and nothing could be done without him at court. He was apprized of his hazard, but nothing could affright him. Whereupon the king, with James Douglas, Patrick Lindſay, *&c.* knowing that he was gone in privily to the queen one night, (as his cuſtom was) came in upon them, while he was ſitting by the queen at ſupper. She ſought to defend him by the interpoſition of her body; but bringing him to an outer chamber, at firſt they intended to have hanged him publicly, which would have been a moſt grateful ſpectacle to the people; but being in haſte, James Douglas gave him a ſtroke with his dagger, which was by the company ſucceeded, to the number of fifty-three ſtrokes, and ſo he ſoon expired, March 9, 1566 †.

HENRY STUART, ſon to the earl of Lenox, returned to Scotland 1565, and was married to the queen; and being a bigotted papiſt, the reforming lords oppoſed his marriage, but were obliged to flee to England. While matters went well betwixt him and the queen, he was wholly at her devotion, and at her inſtigation, caſt the Pſalms of David into the fire. But after Rizio's death, the earl of Bothwel becoming the queen's beloved paramour, ſhe fell in diſguſt

* Spotſwood would have us believe, there was nothing remarkable in her life or about her death more than what is incident to princes; but we muſt rather believe and follow Knox in this.

† The queen was at this time pregnant with James VI. Some hiſtorians have been inclined to think, from the intrigues this Rizio had with the queen, that James VI. Char. I. and II. and Jam. VII. had more of the nature, qualities, features and complexion of the Italian Fidler, than of the ancient race of the Stuarts, kings of Scotland.

guſt with the king; and he being miſled up in popery, and ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken of the queen, and deſpiſed by her faction of the nobility, wrote to the king of France, that the country was all out of order, becauſe the maſs and popery were not again fully erected in Scotland. But the queen, to be rid of him, cauſed to be given him a doſe of poiſon. But being in the prime of youth, he ſurmounted the diſorder. Being a man wholly given to ſenſual pleaſure, he was eaſily deceived: the queen decoyed him to Edinburgh, where ſhe and Bothwel laid a plan for his life wherein Bothwel was to be the aggreſſor. In proſecution of which, he with ſome others entered the king's lodging in the night, and while he was aſleep ſtrangled him and one of his ſervants, and drew him out at a little gate they had made through the wall of the city, and left his naked body lying, and ſo, like another Johoiakim, who burnt the roll, was *caſt without the gates of Jeruſalem.*

JOHN HAMILTON was, by his brother the regent, after the cardinal's death made arch-biſhop of St. Andrew's. He exactly trod in the footſteps his predeceſſors; and that not only in uncleanneſs, taking men's wives from them for his concubines, (as the popiſh clergy muſt not be married) but was alſo a violent oppreſſor and perſecutor of Chriſt's goſpel in his myſtical members. Adam Wallace and Walter Mill were by his direction committed to the flames. Again, when Mr. Knox went with the lords to preach at St. Andrew's, he raiſed 100 ſpear-men to oppoſe him. He had a hand in moſt of the bloody projects, in the queen regent's management. In her daughter Mary's reign, ſhe followed the ſame courſe. He had a hand in Henry Stuart's death, and was afterward one of the conſpirators of the the death of the good regent the earl of Murray; but the reformed getting the aſcendent, he was obliged to flee to the caſtle of Dumbarton, and was there taken, when it was taken by the regent earl of Marr, and for his former miſdemeanours, was hanged up by the neck like a dog at Stirling, about the year 1572.

WILLIAM MAITLAND, commonly called in hiſtory, young Lethington, though a man of no ſmall parts or erudition, yet became ſadly corrupted by the court. He was made ſecretary to queen Mary, and with her became a prime agent againſt the reformation. He oftentimes diſputed with Mr. Knox, and at laſt gave in a charge of treaſon againſt him on account of religion. And one time, he was ſo chagri-

ned

ned at the preachers of the goſpel, namely Mr. Craig, that he gave himſelf to the devil, if after that day he ſhould care what became of Chriſt's miniſters, let them blow as hard as they would. He had a prime hand in the queen's marriage with Darnly, and againſt the lords who profeſſed the reformed religion. After the queen fled to England, he was the principal manager of all the popiſh plots and tragical diſaſters that for ſome time happened in England and Scotland. But the queen's affairs growing deſperate, he fled to Edinburgh caſtle, which was then held for the queen by the laird of Grange. Mr. Knox ſent a meſſage to them of their danger, and what would befal them. But Lethington made a mock of Mr. Knox and his advice; but the caſtle being taken 1573, he was impriſoned in the ſteeple of Leith, where ſix eſcaped further ignominy by public puniſhment. It was ſaid he poiſoned himſelf, and lay ſo long unburied that the vermin upon his body were creeping out at the doors of the houſe, in under the ground of the ſteeple.—*Calderwood's hiſtory.*

JAMES HEPBURN Earl of Bothwel was a wicked vicious man from his very infancy. At firſt he inclined as ſeemed to the proteſtant ſide, but becoming the queen's principal minion, he apoſtatized to popery, becauſe it was her religion. He vigorouſly oppoſed the work of reformation, attempted to murder the good Earl of Murray, but was prevented. After the ſlaughter of Rizio, he ſucceeded in his place, and became a partaker of the king's bed. After which he murdered him, and married the queen (although he had three wives living at that time). He deſigned to have murdered James VI. then a child, but was prevented by the lords who roſe in defence of religion and their liberties. The queen was by them made to abandon him, which made him flee to Shetland, where he became a pirate: but being obliged to eſcape from thence to Denmark, where after near ten years confinement, he became diſtracted and died mad.

JAMES DOUGLAS Earl of Morton was a man of no ſmall natural endowments, but a man of a covetous and lecherous diſpoſition. While chancellor, he got the Fulcan biſhopricks erected †, that the biſhops might have the title

† Mr. John Douglas once a great preſbyterian, was the firſt biſhop that thus entered by prelacy in Scotland; after which he became ſlothful and negligent in his office. But one time, coming into the pulpit at St. Andrew's he fell down in it and died.—*Naphtali.*

title and honour; but the nobility got the profit or church revenues. After he became regent, though things came to a more ſettled ſtate, yet for his own political ends, he oppreſſed the people, but eſpecially the clergy by promiſes to aſſign them ſtipends in pariſhes. He extorted from them the rights to the thirds of the benefice, and oftimes cauſed one miniſter to ſerve four or five pariſhes, while himſelf took all the ſtipends but one, (ſo that by the end of the century ſome miniſters had but 11 l. and ſome but the half and miſerably paid). He was the firſt that introduced prelacy into Scotland. Says a hiſtorian, "He threatened ſome of the miniſters, miſliked general aſſemblies, could not endure the free and open rebuke of ſin in the pulpit, maintained the biſhops and preſſed his own injunctions and conformity with England; and had without queſtion ſtayed the work of God, had not God ſtirred up a faction of the nobility againſt him." For firſt, the king took upon him the regency: then he was accuſed of the late king's murder. He had amaſſed great ſums of money together; but it was partly embezzled by his friends, and partly conveyed away in barrels and hid; So that when brought to Edinburgh, he had to borrow twenty ſhillings for the poor. Thus having loſt both his friends and his money, which might have procured him friends, he was condemned and executed at Edinburgh, June 2d, 1581. And ſo, for advancing the king's authority and ſupremacy over the church and introducing biſhops into it, he was by him and them but poorly rewarded.—*Calderwood and Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*

JAMES STUART, ſon to the lord Ochiltree, was from a ſingle centinel advanced to a captain in king James's minority; but, becoming ſtill greater at court, he aſſumed unto himſelf the title of earl of Arran. He became the king's only favourite, and was by him advanced unto the helm of affairs; and then he ſet himſelf to ruin the church of God: for firſt, he got the king's ſupremacy in all cauſes civil and eccleſiaſtick, aſſerted by parliament; and then he got a ſet of wicked and profane biſhops, like himſelf, again reinſtated in the church. In a word, this ambitious, covetous, bloody, ſeditious Cataline, and ſcorner of religion and enemy to the commonwealth was the author of all the broils and diſorders in church and ſtate from 1680 to 1685; and would have done more (being now made chancellor and captain of the caſtle of Edinburgh) had not the Lord, by his own immediate hand of providence, interpoſed in behalf of his church; for, firſt, being diſgraced at court,

while on the pinnacle of dignity, he was tumbled down unto his firſt original: then taking a tour through Kyle, came near Douglas, and was at laſt ſet upon by James Douglas (afterward lord Fotherald) in the valley of Catſlaks, in revenge for his accuſation of his friend the earl of Morton, and thrown from his horſe, and killed with a ſpear, and his body left lying expoſed to be devoured of dogs upon the king's high way.—*Calderwood, Spotiſwood, and Melvil's memoirs.*

MARY STUART daughter to James V. firſt married the dauphin of France, and after his death returned home, and took on her the regal government of Scotland. Tho' ſome hiſtorians repreſent her for a woman of a quick judgment and good natural abilities, yet it is evident ſhe was of a revengeful temper and lecherous diſpoſition; and being miſled up in popery from her infancy, her oppoſition to the proteſtant reformed religion ſeems all of a piece. It would fill a volume to recite the wickedneſs, miſchiefs and tragical diſaſters, that, through her inſtigation, by her command or example, were committed during her reign. For, not to mention her intrigues with Rizio and Chattelet the French dancer, whom ſhe cauſed at laſt to be hanged; the court rung with all manner of wickedneſs, impiety and profanity. About 1566, ſhe entered into a league with Charles IX. of France to extirpate the reformed religion. She and her favourites robbed the church of their patrimony to maintain the luxury of the court: So that they could all have ſcarce 200*l.* yearly. Nor upon all their petitions, though in a ſtarving condition, could they get any redreſs from her. She married Darnly, then fell in adultery with Bothwel, then they concerted his murder: and after ſhe married the Regicide, lifted arms againſt the profeſſors of the true religion, by whom ſhe was obliged to flee to England. In a word, every dreary year of her unfortunate reign was blackened with ſome remarkable diſaſter, and by ſuch acts of impudence and injuſtice, as corrupt nature and popiſh cruelty could ſuggeſt. After her elopement to England, the popiſh faction, of which ſhe was the head, kept the nations in continual inteſtine broils, till a ſcheme was by them laid to marry the duke of Norfolk a papiſt, get rid of her ſon James and Queen Elizabeth, and graſp both kingdoms into their hands; but this proving abortive, ſhe next endeavoured to have herſelf declared Second in England, whereupon Queen Eliſabeth ſigned a warrant ſomewhat precipitantly for her execution; and ſo ſhe was beheaded

headed in Fotheringay caſtle, Feb. 18. 1586, or according to ſome 1587. She died with ſome fortitude, but would have nothing to do with the proteſtant clergy at the place of execution, ſaying, ſhe would die in the catholick religion wherein ſhe was bred and born, willing only to have her confeſſor: at laſt ſhe lifted the crucifix and kiſſed it. And ſo ſhe ended her days, as ſhe lived, and with her ended bare-faced popery for a time in Scotland.—*Knox*, *Melvil*, *Spotiſwood*, &c.

MR. PATRICK ADAMSON, firſt miniſter of Paiſley, was a preacher of much repute in the church; but ambition and private intereſt had more ſway with him than the intereſt of Chriſt. And having wrought himſelf into the king's favour by undermining the government and diſcipline of the church, he was declared biſhop by Morton about 1578. But got the biſhoprick of St. Andrews 1584, after which he not only ſpoke and wrote in favours of prelacy, but became a perſecutor of his faithful brethren. In the height of his grandeur, he uſed to boaſt that three things could not fail him, his learning, the king's favour, and his riches: for the firſt, in the juſt judgment of God, he could not ſpeak a word of ſenſe before or after his meat. For the ſecond, he loſt the king's favour and had his biſhoprick taken from him, and was heard ſay, he was ſure the king cared more for his dogs than for him. And for his riches, he was ſo reduced that he had to get charity from thoſe miniſters whom before he harraſſed. Before, for his pride, contumacy and other enormities he was excommunicated by the church, but being now in extreme poverty and ſickneſs, he made a recantation and confeſſion, ſupplicating the church he might be abſolved from the cenſure; which at laſt was by them granted. Whether this repentance proceeded from conſtraint to get a little outward ſuſtenance, as was ſuſpected, I cannot ſay; but in this ſituation he died, in great want and extreme miſery, about the year 1591.—*Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, &c.

MR. JAMES NICOLSON, a creature of the ſame make; one eminent for parts and learning in theſe times, and at firſt a great oppoſer of prelacy. But being ſtill gaping for riches, honour and preferment, ſhifted from one benefice to another, till he got the biſhopric of Dunkeld: yea, ſo forward was he to eſtabliſh prelacy, that he behoved to be one of thoſe who aſſiſted the king at Hampton court againſt eight of his brethren who were more faithful than

himſelf in 1606. But his honour continued not long, for being ſtricken with ſickneſs of body and ſeized with melancholy of mind and horror of conſcience, he could have no reſt. Phyſicians being brought, he told them his trouble was of another kind, for which they could give him no cure; for, ſaid he, "The digeſting of a biſhoprick hath racked "my conſcience. I have againſt much light and over the "belly of it, oppoſed the truth and yielded up the liberties "of Chriſt to pleaſe an earthly king, *&c.*" And ſo in great horror of conſcience he made his exit, Auguſt 1609. —*Calderwood*, &c.

GEORGE HUME, Earl of Dumbar, one of king James's creatures, and the only inſtrument (I may ſay) uſed by him at that time to overturn the Preſbyterian form of church-government and diſcipline, and introduce prelacy into Scotland: for which purpoſe he was by him ſent as commiſſioner to both the general aſſemblies 1608 and 1610. He brought ſome Engliſh doctors to perſuade, a ſtrong guard to intimidate the faithful, and money to bribe thoſe of a contrary diſpoſition; which he diſtributed to theſe mercenary creatures for their votes. He ſo far ſucceeded, as to get a new ſet of biſhops erected, and then returned to England, where, with the wages of iniquity, he built a ſumptuous palace at Berwick. When he intended to keep St. George's day, and ſolemnize his daughter's marriage with Lord Walden, the Lord pulled him down from the height of all his honours by a ſudden and ſurprizing death. *That day his thoughts periſh*, and with the builder of Jericho, for all his acquiſitions in Scotland and England, in a ſhort time there was not a foot breadth of land left of it to his poſterity.—*Calderwood*, *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, &c.

Mr. GEORGE GLADSTONE, at firſt, was ſuch a zealous Preſbyterian, that he vowed he ſhould never be biſhop of St. Andrews, becauſe they were hated and came all to untimely ends. But his motives not being good, he returned from court 1605, with a preſentation to the very ſame biſhoprick. Again, when called up to court next year, to aſſiſt the king againſt the faithful Scottiſh miniſters, he was adjured by his brethren of the miniſtry in the preſbytery of St. Andrews, that as he ſhould be anſwerable to God, he ſhould do nothing to the prejudice of the church of God; he took God to witneſs, it ſhould be ſo. But they ſoon found the contrary to their ſad experience; for he not only became a cruel enemy to his brethren who continued faithful;

faithful, but alſo a lazy time-ſerving hireling, oftimes loitering upon his bed in the very time of ſermon.—Inſtance, being one time on his bed in time of the afternoon ſermon, both he and the congregation were alarmed with the cry of *Murder*, his ſiſter's ſon in the houſe having killed his cook with a dagger, as he was making ready his ſupper.—At this rate he continued till 1615, that he was ſeized with a fearful and ſtrange diſeaſe, (which hiſtorians forbear to name) and what was worſe, with obſtinate and ſenſeleſs ſtupidity, approving of his former courſes, and in that ſituation he died, May 2, 1615.—*Calderwood and others.*

MR. ALEXR. FORBES, a bird of the ſame feather, was firſt made biſhop of Caithneſs, then of Aberdeen. He was not only an enemy to the faithful ſervants of Chriſt, but even of ſuch a poor, low diſpoſition, and ſuch a table friend and flattering ſpunger, that he was nicknamed Collie; becauſe ſo impudent and ſhameleſs that he would follow the lords of ſeſſion, advocates, *&c.* when they went to dinner, and cringe about, and ſometimes follow them uncalled, and ſit down in their houſes at table.—At laſt he was ſeized with ſickneſs at Leith, and fell under ſore remorſe of conſcience for his paſt life: he ſent for biſhop Spotiſwood, and would gladly have communicated his mind to him; but it ſeems he would not leave his playing at cards (albeit it was on the Sabbath day), and ſo he in this condition died.—*Calderwood.*

MR. ANDREW FORRESTER, ſometime miniſter at Dunfermline, when ſent to the General Aſſembly 1610, was by his brethren adjured, that, as he ſhould anſwer to Jeſus Chriſt, he ſhould conſent to no alteration in the government of the church: yet, having received 50 merks from Dumbar, (a ſmall equivalent to the cauſe of Chriſt) he voted for prelacy. After which, he was convicted of taking ſilver out of the poor's box with falſe keys, and then fell into a fearful diſtemper, inſomuch that, from ſome words of the chancellor apprehending he ſhould be hanged, he run out of the pulpit one day when going to preach, in a fit of diſtraction, confeſſing he had ſold Chriſt at that aſſembly. He was alſo ſeized with ſickneſs. Mr. Row made him a viſit, and found him in a lamentable condition. He aſked, if he was perſuaded that God had called him to the miniſtry. He anſwered, "Nay, I ever ſought the world, "and ſo is ſeen on me." He next aſked, what he got at the aſſembly for ſelling the liberties of the church? He anſwered

ed, 50 merks, at which his horror recurred, apprehending that he was inſtantly to be executed. Mr. Row deſired him to pray; he ſaid he could not. Mr. Row prayed, in time of which the buttons burſt off his breaſt, and the blood guſhed terribly both from mouth and noſe. After prayer, he aſked, if he was prepared for death? He anſwered, no, woes me. Next day he made him another viſit, and found him ſenſeleſs and ſtupid, and ſo left him. After which he died in great infamy, poverty and miſery. Nor was Mr. Paton, another of the ſame ſtamp, much better.——This and more was declared anent them by Mr. Row before the aſſembly at Glaſgow, 1638.—*Stevenſon.*

MR. WILLIAM COOPER, ſometime miniſter at Perth, witneſſed no ſmall zeal againſt prelacy, both doctrinally and from the preſs, and yet through covetouſneſs and court preferment, he was made biſhop of Galloway: after which none was more forward for the corruption of the times.—He left his dioceſe, ſays the hiſtorian, and took up his reſidence in the Cannongate of Edinburgh, and committed his miniſterial affairs to others, by whom was extorted the enormous ſum of 100,000 l. In his viſits once in two years he behaved moſt impiouſly, thruſt in ignorant perſons to cures, and admitted his ſervant unto the miniſtry at his bed-ſide, deſired the preſbytery of Kirkudbright to diſpenſe with one who kept a woman with him in fornication, and above all, was a fervent preſſer of the king's injunctions for keeping Chriſtmaſs, *&c.* and ſent up his advice 1619, for puniſhing thoſe who did not comply. Some time before his death, he took a hypochondriack diſtemper, apprehending his head was all glaſs, which much affrighted him.—Some brought his former diſcourſes to him to reconcile, which diſquieted him more. Being at his paſtime at Leith, he apprehended he ſaw armed men coming upon him; the company ſhewing him the contrary, he fell a-trembling, went home and took bed; and being in great anguiſh and trouble of ſpirit, he would often point with his finger to the earth, and cry, "A fallen ſtar, a fallen ſtar." And ſo he ended his life in great horror and anguiſh of mind.* On his court-advancement Mr. Simſon of Stirling made the following line,

Aureus, heu! fragilem confregit malleus urnam.

MR.

* Mr. Clark in his lives repreſents Mr. Cooper as an eminent ſaint. No doubt he had his credentials from the biſhops. But we muſt rather follow Mr. Calderwood and the author of the Fulfilling of the Scriptures.

MR. PATRICK GALLOWAY was another of this fraternity; for when miniſter of Perth, he was not only a ſtrenuous oppoſer of prelacy in the church; but alſo for his faithful and free rebukes to Arran and Lenox, who carried on the court affairs then, he was perſecuted and obliged to abſcond ſome time, about 1584. But afterwards being carried down with the current of the times, he was tranſported to Edinburgh, where he became a mighty ſtickler for prelacy, eſpecially, the five articles of Perth; inſomuch that by the year 1620, he preſſed kneeling at the ſacrament with much impudence and indecency; and though he would not preach on Sabbath, yet he behoved to preach on Chriſtmaſs.—At his Chriſtmaſs ſacrament 1621, he commanded the communicants to kneel, and he himſelf bowed with the one knee and ſat with the other. Thus he continued to the dotage of old age, and at laſt died upon the ſtool, eaſing himſelf; and (as worthy Mr. Welch had before foretold) without the leaſt ſenſe or ſigns of true repentance.

—— HAMILTON, Marquis of Hamilton, for his many good ſervices to king James againſt the Preſbyterian intereſt, was by him appointed commiſſioner to the parliament 1621, on deſign to have the five articles of Perth (*viz.* 1. Kneeling at the communion; 2. Private communion; 3. Private baptiſm; 4. Obſervation of holy days; 5. Confirmation of children) ratified: all the faithful miniſters being by him diſcharged, the city and the parliament guarded, that no proteſtations might be got offered. Through threats and flattery he got that diſmal affair effected; but not without a notable mark of divine diſpleaſure: for, in that moment he aroſe to touch the act with the ſceptre, a terrible flaſh of fire came in at the window, followed with three fearful claps of thunder, upon which the heavens became dark, and hailſtones and a terrible tempeſt enſued; which aſtoniſhed every beholder, and made the day afterward be called the black Saturday; becauſe it began in the morning with fire from earth, and ended in the evening with fire from heaven.—And on the Monday, when the act was read at the croſs of Edinburgh, the fire and thunder again recurred.—However, the Marquis having got the king's deſign partly accompliſhed returned to court, and not long after, for ſuch ſervices, it is ſaid, he was poiſoned by the king's principal minion the Duke of Buckingham.—*Calderwood*, &c.

JAMES

JAMES STUART, ſon to Mary Stuart queen of Scotland, was in his youth educated by the famous Buchanan, and brought up in the true reformed Proteſtant Preſbyterian religion, then eſtabliſhed in Scotland, which was by him more than once ratified when he was in his ſwaddling cloaths, as one well obſerves, Chriſt reigned in Scotland in his minority. The church had its various turns according to the diſpoſitions of the regents, the king's favourite flatterers and court-paraſites; but whenever he began to think of obtaining the crown of England, he began to introduce Epiſcopacy into the church of Scotland to gain the Engliſh nation. And though he was a habitual groſs ſwearer, and ſuch a maſter of diſſimulation, that what he exalted at one time he ſet himſelf to deſtroy at another, he carried ſtill a face of religion in profeſſion while in Scotland. The church had many ſtruggles, ſometimes Iſrael, and ſometimes Amalek prevailed; but as ſoon as he aſcended the throne of England, he wholly aſſumed an arbitrary power and abſolute ſupremacy over the church, which before he had long graſped at. And though he had ſworn to maintain the Preſbyterian form of church-government and diſcipline, &c. his deſire of unlimited authority made him now reliſh Epiſcopacy to the higheſt degree: the biſhops were his creatures. By bribery, falſehood and perſecution he introduced prelacy into Scotland, created ſuch biſhops whom he knew would ſtick at nothing to ſerve his purpoſe. Such as oppoſed his meaſures in both kingdoms, eſpecially Scotland, ſhared deep in his perſecuting vengeance, ſome were impriſoned, others deprived of their offices, while numbers fled to foreign countries where they might ſerve God with a ſafe conſcience. Toward the end of his reign he waxed ſtill worſe:—a high commiſſion court was by him erected 1610: a ſet of wicked profane biſhops inſtalled about 1618, by the help of whom and other corrupt clergy, he got the five articles of Perth agreed to by a patched aſſembly that year--in 1621. He got them ratified by act of parliament, and then they began to be preſſed with rigour. In England matters were but little better: a declaration was emitted for uſing ſports and gaming on the Lord's day after ſermon, which profanations continue there to this day. He had before wrote againſt the pope, threatening a malediction upon any of his poſterity that ſhould apoſtatize to popery; but now he haſtened toward Rome; for, upon the match of his ſon with France, he agreed to the following articles, That all laws formerly made againſt popery ſhould not be executed:

2. That

2. That no new laws ſhould be made againſt Roman Catholics, but they ſhould have a free toleration in England, Scotland and Ireland.—At the ſame time, to the archbiſhop of Embrun he acknowledged the pope's authority, and it is ſaid, concluded on a convocation for that purpoſe at Dover or Boloign, in order to effect a more full toleration for papiſts. By his management in favours of popery, his ſon-in-law the Proteſtant king of Bohemia loſt a kingdom.—In Scotland, ſeveral were incarcerate and fined for non-conformity. He had commanded Chriſtmaſs communion to be kept at Edinburgh; but, by the Lord's immediate hand in the plague, he was in that defeated. The next year being 1624, he reſolved to have it kept with great ſolemnity; but before that he was cut off on March 27, by what they call a Quartan ague, in the 59 year of his age *, but (rather of poiſon as has been ſuppoſed) with ſuch ſuſpicious circumſtances, ſays a hiſtorian, as gave occaſion of inquiry into the manner of his death, in the firſt two parliaments of his ſon; all which came to nothing by their ſudden diſſolution.—*Welwood's memoirs*, *Calderwood*, *Burnet*, *Bennet's memorial of Britain's deliverances*, &c.

PATRICK SCOTT, a gentleman in Fife, being a violent enemy to the cauſe of Chriſt and religion, after he had waſted his patrimony, had to take himſelf to ſeveral wretched ſhifts at court; and amongſt others ſet forth a recantation under the name of Mr. David Calderwood then under baniſhment; in which, it was thought, he was aſſiſted by the king. But this project failing, he ſet off for Holland in queſt of Mr. David, with a deſign, as appeared, to have diſpatched him. But providentially he was detained at Amſterdam till he heard that Mr. Calderwood was returned home. This made him follow. After which he publiſhed a pamphlet full of lies, intituled, Vox vera, but as true as Lucian's Hiſtoria. But after all his unlawful ungodly ſhifts, he became ſo poor (and at laſt died ſo miſerable) that he had nothing to bury him: ſo that the biſhop had to contribute as much as got him laid below ground for the good ſervice he had done the king and biſhops.—*Calderwood.*

* This king's reign has by hiſtorians been repreſented with different features; ſome making him a juſt, religious and wiſe prince; but whatever his abilities were and whatever advantage the church got in his minority, yet it is ſure his reign was almoſt one continued ſcene of affliction and tribulation to Chriſt's faithful witneſſes, and laid the foundation of all the evils that followed.

MR. WILLIAM FORBES (perhaps a ſon of the foremention'd Forbes) was firſt made doctor in Aberdeen 1621 and 1622. When the people of Edinburgh had made choice of faithful Mr. Andrew Cant for their miniſter, the provoſt ſent and brought this Forbes, as one whom he and the epiſcopal faction knew would pleaſe the king, and in this they ſucceeded to their deſire; for he was not only a violent preſſer of Perth articles, but he alſo preached up Arminianiſm, and eſſayed to reconcile the papiſts and the church of Scotland together anent juſtification. And when complained of by ſome of the bailies and citizens of Edinburgh, all the redreſs they got was to be brought before the council and by the king's order handled ſeverely by fining and baniſhment. When Charles I. came to Edinburgh 1633, he erected a new biſhoprick there, to which he nominated this Forbes for biſhop as one ſtaunch to his intereſt. No ſooner got he this power than he began to ſhew his teeth by preſſing conformity both by word and writing, and for that purpoſe ſent inſtructions to all the preſbyteries within his juriſdiction. The people of Edinburgh were alſo threatened by the biſhop's thunder; for on the firſt communion finding them not ſo obſequious as he would have had them, he threatened that, if life was continued, he ſhould either make the beſt of them communicate kneeling or quit his gown; and who doubts of his intention to do as he had promiſed? But he ſoon found he had reckoned without his hoſt; for before he could accompliſh that, God was pleaſed to cut him off on the 12th of April following by a fearful vomiting of blood, after he had enjoyed this new dignity about two months. Burnet ſays, he died ſuſpected of popery.—*Burnet's hiſtory, and Stevenſon's hiſtory, vol.* 1.

MR. JOHN SPOTISWOOD was firſt miniſter at Calder; but by his undermining practice he got himſelf wrought into the biſhoprick of Glaſgow, and a lord of the ſeſſion, 1609. From thence he jumped into the archbiſhoprick of St. Andrews 1615, and aſpired ſtill higher till he was made chancellor of Scotland. He was a tool every way fit for the court meaſures, as he could be either papiſt or prelate, provided he got profit and preferment. When in France with the Duke of Lenox, he went to maſs, and in Scotland he had a principal hand in all the encroachments upon the church and cauſe of Chriſt from 1596 to 1637. And for practice a blacker character ſcarcely ever filled the miniſterial

miniſterial office. An adulterer, a ſimoniack, a drunkard tippling in taverns till midnight, a profaner of the Lord's day by playing at cards and jaunting through the country, a falſifier of the acts of aſſembly, a reproacher of the national covenant;—for which crimes he was excommunicated by that venerable aſſembly at Glaſgow 1638; after which, having loſt all his places of profit and grandeur, he fled to England (the aſylum then of the ſcandalous Scots biſhops) where he died about the year 1639, in extreme poverty and miſery; according to Mr. Welch's words, He ſhould be as a ſtone caſt out of a ſling by the hand of God, and a malediction ſhould be on all his poſterity;—which all came to paſs; his eldeſt ſon a baron came to beg his bread; his ſecond ſon, preſident of the ſeſſion, was executed in Montroſe's affair; his daughter who married lord Roſlin, was ſoon rooted out of all eſtate and honours. *Their fruit ſhalt thou deſtroy from earth, and their ſeed from amongſt the children of men* †.—*Calderwood, Stevenſon*, &c.

JOHN LOGIE ſtudent in the univerſity of Aberdeen, was ſuch a malignant enemy to the work of reformation and the national covenant, that when commiſſioners were ſent from Edinburgh there in the year 1638, in order to reconcile them to the covenant, while Mr. Henderſon was preaching in the earl Marſhal's cloſs for that purpoſe, he threw clods at them with great ſcorn and mockery. But in a few days he killed one Nicol Ferrie a boy, becauſe the boy's father had beat him for ſtealing his peaſe; and tho' he eſcaped juſtice for a time, yet he was again apprehended and executed in the year 1644. Such was the conſequence of diſturbing the worſhip of God and mocking the ambaſſadors of Jeſus Chriſt.—*Stevenſon*, &c.

CHARLES I. ſucceeded his father James VI. and exactly trod in the ſame ſteps, and with no better ſucceſs. He graſped at the prerogative; and to eſtabliſh abſolute power, prelacy, ſuperſtition and Arminianiſm ſeemed his principal aim.—In England he infringed the liberties of parliament, and by his marriage the nations became peſtered with papiſts: in Scotland he preſſed Perth articles, the ſervice book, and then, by Laud's direction, the book of canons

* The biſhop of Wincheſter who wrote Spotiſwood's life now prefixed to his hiſtory, repreſents him for moderation, patience and piety, as one of the greateſt ſaints that ever lived. He ſays, He was always beloved of his maſter, and the only inſtrument for propagating Epiſcopacy in Scotland, to which he gave a teſtimony in his dying words, with much more fulſome ſtuff!

which he and the reſt of the biſhops had compiled for them about 1637, contrary to his coronation-oath taken at Edinburgh 1633. But in theſe he was repulſed by the Scots covenanters 1639 and 1640.—Again, when he was confirming all oaths, promiſes, ſubſcriptions and laws for eſtabliſhing the reformation in the Scots parliament 1641, in the mean time, he was encouraging his Iriſh cut-throats to murder betwixt two or three hundred thouſand innocent Proteſtants in Ireland, the letters that he had ſent for that purpoſe being produced afterward. After his return to England, matters became ſtill worſe betwixt him and the Engliſh parliament; ſo that both parties took the field, in which by his means a ſea of innocent blood was ſpilt, the Scots aſſiſting the parliament as bound by the Solemn League, that he might overturn the covenanted intereſt in that land. Notwithſtanding all his ſolemn engagements, oaths and confirmations of acts of parliament, by his direction, Montroſe was ſent down from court to raiſe an inſurrection in the Highlands; by whom the bloody Iriſh were invited over, whereby in a few years many thouſands of the covenanters his beſt ſubjects were killed.—But all his bloody ſchemes for overturning that covenanted intereſt that he had ſo ſolemnly bound himſelf to defend and maintain, proving abortive, he fell at laſt into the hands of Cromwel and the Independent faction, who never ſurceaſed, till they brought him to the block, Jan. 30. 1649. At his death, notwithſtanding his religious pretences, (being always a devotee of the church of England) he was ſo far from from repentance, that he ſeemed to juſtify the moſt part of his former conduct† —*Civil wars of Gr. Br. Bailie's let. Bennet, Welwood and Guthrie's memoirs*, &c.

JAMES, Duke of Hamilton, though none of the moſt violent proſecutors of the malignant intereſt againſt the reformation, yet was always one who conformed to his maſter Charles 1ſt's meaſures, and was by him ſent down commiſſioner to the aſſembly 1630, which he commanded to diſolve (though they did not obey) and left it. He publiſhed the king's declaration againſt the covenants and covenanters. And though none of the moſt rigid, yet he may be juſtly accounted the head of the malignant faction

* The high fliers and Engliſh hiſtorians lay the blemiſhes of this reign on the covenanters, and make Charles I. the martyr.—As to his eternal ſtate, it is not our part to determine; God has judged him: but ſure, he was the prime inſtrument of all the broils and bloody diſaſters that took place in the end of his reign.

tion in Scotland, from 1638 to 1648, ſince he, contrary to the ſolemn league and covenant, raiſed a large army in Scotland and went to England in behalf of the king. But he was ſhamefully defeated by Cromwel, and taken priſoner to London. After ſome time's confinement he was executed.—*Bailie's Letters, Civil Wars*, &c.

JAMES GRAHAM, Earl, afterwards Marquis, of Montroſe, in the year 1638, took the covenanters ſide, was a a prime preſſer of the covenants, was one of the commiſſioners ſent to Aberdeen 1638 for that purpoſe, and in 1639, was ſent north to ſuppreſs the malignant faction of the Huntleys. The ſame year he was ordered north again to quell Aboyn and the Gordons, which he routed at the bridge of Dee. He commanded two regiments of the covenanters under general Leſly for England 1640, and led the van of the army for England. But ſhifting ſides 1643, he offered to raiſe forces for the king, came from court, and ſet up the king's ſtandard at Dumfries. From thence he went to the north and joined M'Donald with a number of bloody Iriſhes, where they plundered and waſted the country of Argyle, marched ſouthward and gained ſix battles over the covenanters, *viz.* at Trippermoor, Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Alfoord, Aldearn and Kilſyth, where many, ſome ſay, thirty thouſand of the Covenanters were killed. But at laſt was defeated at Philiphaugh by Leſly 1645. For this conduct he was excommunicated by the general aſſembly. He went abroad and there remained till the year 1650, that when the treaty was on the very anvil with Charles II. he received another commiſſion from him to raiſe a new inſurrection in the north, but was defeated by colonels Strahan, Ker, and Halkel, and afterwards taken in the laird of Aſon's ground, and brought to Endluiſh, where he was condemned to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high two hours, and then quartered, and his legs and arms hung up in the public places of the kingdom, May 21ſt, 1650. Mr. Blair and ſome other miniſters were ſent to him to uſe means to perſuade him to repentance for his former apoſtate and bloody life, but by no means could they perſuade this truculent tyrant and traitor to his country to repent. He excuſed himſelf, and died under the cenſure of the church, obſtinate and utterly impenitent.—*Montroſe, Guthrie, and Blair.*

WILLIAM MONRO, a kind of gentleman in the pariſh of Killern, was a hater of God and every thing religi-

ous;

ous; for while Mr. Hog was miniſter there ſometime before the reſtoration, a gentleman in the pariſh having one of his family dead, intended to bury in the church; but, this being contrary to an act of the general aſſembly, Mr. Hog refuſed it. But Monro, being a briſk hectoring fellow, promiſed to make their way good in ſpite of all oppoſition. Accordingly, when they came to the church door, Mr. Hog oppoſed them: whereupon Monro laid hands on him to pull him from the door; but Mr. Hog, being able both of body and mind, wreſted the keys from the aſſailant, telling him, that if he was to repel force by force, perhaps he would find himſelf no gainer: withal, telling the people, that that man had grieved the Spirit of God, and that they ſhould either ſee his ſpeedy repentance, or then a ſingular judgment upon him. He went on in his wicked courſes a few months, till in one of his drunken revels, he attacked a mean man, and threw him in the fire. The poor man in this extremity drew out the wretch's own ſword, and thruſt it through his belly; on which his bowels came out, and ſo he expired in a miſerable condition.—*Memoirs of the life of Mr. Hog.*

JOHN, Earl of Middleton, at firſt lifted arms with the covenanters, and had a ſhare of the victory of the Gordons at the bridge of Dee. Yea, he was ſo zealous in that profeſſion, that one time having ſworn the covenants, he ſaid to ſome gentlemen preſent, that it was the pleaſanteſt day he ever ſaw, and if he ſhould ever do any thing againſt that bleſſed day's work, he wiſhed that arm (holding up his right arm) might be his death. But finding preſbyterian diſcipline too ſtrict for a wicked vitious life, he ſhifted ſides and became major general to duke Hamilton 1648, and came upon a handful of covenanters at a communion at Machlin muir; and, contrary his promiſe, killed a number of them. He became a great favourite of Charles II. and laid a ſcheme to take him from the convention of eſtates to the north to free him of any further covenant engagements, for which he was excommunicated by the church; and though the ſentence was taken off upon his feigned repentance, yet it was never by him forgot, till he got the blood of the pronouncer, Mr. Guthrie. After the reſtoration, he was advanced to great honour, and ſent down commiſſioner to the parliament 1661, where he got the covenanted work of reformation wholly overturned by the infamous act reciſſory,—oath of allegiance,—act eſtabliſhing epiſcopacy and biſhops in Scotland,—the act againſt the covenants,

venants, &c. But this would not do; he muſt have a glut of the blood of Argyle and Mr. Guthrie: and more, he behoved to come weſt, and grace that drunken meeting at Glaſgow by whom ſeveral hundred of the faithful miniſters were thruſt out. From thence he arrived at Air, where he and ſome more drunken prelates drank the devil's health at the Croſs in the middle of the night. It were endleſs almoſt to ſum up the cruelties by his orders exerciſed upon thoſe who would not conform to prelacy for the ſpace of two years; in ſo much that he impoſed no leſs than the enormous ſum of one million ſeventeen thouſand and three hundred and fifty pounds in the parliament 1662 of fines. So that in the ſouth and weſtern parts of Scotland, men either loſt their conſciences or their ſubſtance. But being complained of at court, that he had amerced large ſums into his own hands, he haſtened up, but was but coldly received by the king, (who had now got his turn done by him) Lauderdale being now his rival: He loſt his office and honour, and lived ſober enough, till as an honourable kind of baniſhment, he was ſent off as governor to Fanquirs on the coaſts of Africa; but he lived but a ſhort and contemptuous life there, till the juſtice and judgment of God overtook him; for, falling down a ſtair, he broke the bone of his right arm; at the next tumble the broken ſplinter pierced his ſide; after which he ſoon became ſtupid, and died in great torment. This was the end of one of thoſe who had brought the church of Scotland on her knees by prelacy.—*Wodrow.*

ROBERT MILNE, bailie (or according to ſome provoſt) ſometime of Linlithgow, ſwore the covenants with uplifted hands; but ſoon after the reſtoration, to ſhew his loyalty, did in a moſt contemptuous manner burn the ſaid covenants, the cauſes of wrath, lex rex, weſtern remonſtrance, with ſeveral other acts of church and ſtate at the Croſs, and to grace the ſolemnity, French and Spaniſh wine was diſtributed moſt liberally, wherein the King's and Queen's healths were drunken. But this vile Pageantry, ſimilar to Balſhazzers quaffing in the holy veſſels, did not paſs long without a note of obſervation, for though Miln had ſcraped together much riches, yet, in a ſhort time, he became an inſolvent bankrupt, and was forced to flee to the Abbey; after which he became diſtracted, and died in great miſery at Holyrood-houſe.—*Wodrow.*

—— MAXWELL of Blackſton roſe with Caldwall, Kerſland and ſome others of the Renfrew gentlemen, who intended to join Col. Wallace, and that handful who roſe 1666; but being by Dalziel prevented from joining them, was obliged to diſperſe; and, though Blackſton was a *ſocius criminis*, (had it been a crime,) yet to ſave his eſtate and neck, he went firſt to the arch-biſhop, then to the council, and accuſed and informed againſt the reſt: and, though he thus purchaſed his liberty, he had nothing afterwards to boaſt of; for theſe gentlemen moſtly got honourably off the ſtage; whereas after that he never had a day to do well, (as himſelf was obliged to confeſs) every thing in providence went croſs to him, till reduced, and then he took a reſolution to go to Carolina: but in this he was diſappointed alſo; for he died at ſea in no comfortable manner; and was turned into the fluid ocean as a victim for fiſhes to feed upon.—*Wodrow.*

DAVID M'BRYAR, an heritor in Irongray pariſh, was choſen a commiſſioner of the burgh for Middleton's parliament, in which he intended to have charged his miniſter Mr. Welch with treaſon. After which he became a cruel perſecutor; nor was he leſs remarkable in that country for a wicked and villainous practice, than for his furious rage againſt the godly; but in a ſhort time he became inſolvent, and for fear of caption was obliged to ſkulk privately among his tenants. In the mean time, one Gordon, a north country man of the ſame ſtamp, coming forth to agent a curate's cauſe in that country, and travelling through Irongray pariſh found Mr. M'Bryar, in the fields very dejected and melancholy like, and concludng him to be one of the ſufferers, commanded him to go with him to Dumfries. But M'Bryar, fearing nothing but his debt, refuſed: whereupon Gordon drew his ſword, and told him he muſt go. He ſtill refuſed, till in the ſtruggle Gordon run him through the body, and ſo he expired. Gordon made it no ſecret, that he had killed a whig (as he called him) but when they ſaw the body, they ſoon knew who it was, and immediately Gordon was taken to Dumfries himſelf, and hanged for killing one as honeſt as himſelf. Here remark a notable judgment of God: M'Bryar was killed under the notion of one of thoſe he perſecuted, and then one perſecutor was the inſtrument to cut off another.—*Wodrow, Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*

SIR

SIR WM. BANNANTINE, another of this wicked perſecuting gang, having got a party under command, took up garriſon in the caſtle or houſe of Earlſton after Pentland, where he committed ſuch cruelties upon the poor people in theſe bounds who would not comply with prelacy as are ſhocking to nature to relate: In the pariſhes of Dalry, Carſphern and Balmagie, he fined and plundered numbers. He tortured a poor woman, becauſe he alledged, ſhe was acceſſory to her huſband's eſcape, with fire matches betwixt her fingers, till ſhe almoſt went diſtracted and ſhortly after died. He alſo tortured James Mitchel of Sandywell the ſame way, though nothing but 16 years of age, becauſe he would not tell things he knew nothing of. Sometimes he would cauſe make great fires, and lay down men to roaſt before them, if they would not or could not give him money, or information concerning thoſe who were at Pentland. But his cruel reign was not long-lived; for the managers not being come to that altitude of cruelty as afterward, an enquiry was made into his conduct, and he laid under two hundred pounds of fine; and, becauſe Lauderdale would not remit this, it is ſaid, he attempted to aſſaſinate him. However, he was obliged to leave the king's dominions, and go over to the wars in the low countries, where, at the ſiege of Graves, as he was walking ſomewhat careleſly, being adviſed to take care of himſelf, he ſaid, canons kill none but fey folk. At that very nick of time, a canon ball came, and ſevered his heart from his to a conſiderable diſtance according to a wicked imprecation often uſed by him in his ordinary diſcourſe, that if ſuch a thing were not ſo, he wiſhed his heart might be driven out of his body.—*Wodrow.*

MR. JAMES HAMILTON, brother to lord Belhaven, but of the clerical order. Before the 1638, he had received epiſcopal ordination; but upon the turn of affairs then, he became a zealous covenanter; and being ſettled miniſter at Cambuſnethen, ſuch was his zeal, that he not only bound his people to theſe covenants, but excommunicated all from the tables, who were not true to them, uſing Nehemiah's form, ſhaking the lap of his gown, ſaying, *So let God ſhake out every man*, &c. But how he himſelf kept them, the ſequel will declare. For his cunning, time ſerving temper made him too volatile for a preſbyterian; for no ſooner did prelacy again get the aſcendant after the reſtoration, then he got himſelf into the firſt leet of biſhops,

and muſt needs up to London to be conſecrated. The biſhoprick of Galloway came to his ſhare; and then he began to ſhew his teeth againſt the covenanters, and procured letters from the council againſt ſeveral of the field preachers: and having got Sir Thomas Turner ſouth for that purpoſe, he oftimes hunted him out beyond his intention unto many outragious oppreſſions, though Turner was one like himſelf every way qualified for ſuch exerciſes. Thus he continued for about 12 years, till at laſt he was called before the ſupreme tribunal to anſwer for his perfidy, apoſtacy, treachery and cruelty by a death ſuitable and ſimilar unto ſuch a life. The circumſtances of which for want of certain information I am not able to relate at preſent *.

MR. ANDREW HONYMAN, ſon to a baker who dedicated more than one cake to the muſes; for all his four ſons were ſcholars. Mr. Andrew, the eldeſt, was firſt miniſter at Ferry-parton, then tranſported to St. Andrew's, and being zealouſly affected to preſbyterian church-government, and one of good parts, he was employed by the preſbytery to draw up a teſtimony for the ſame about 1661. Nay, ſuch was his zeal, that he ſaid, if ever he ſpoke or acted otherwiſe, he was content to be reckoned a man of a proſtitute conſcience; and that, if he accepted a biſhoprick, he wiſhed he might worry on it. But on an interview with Sharp at Balmany Whins, he firſt got the arch-deanry of St. Andrew's, and then the biſhoprick of Orkney; and having alway run greedily after the error of Balaam, from a zealous covenanter he became a fiery bigot for prelacy, and was the firſt after the reſtoration that wrote in defence of

* Here obſerve, that Mr. William Violant formerly miniſter at Ferry Parton in Fife, was indulged to Cambuſnethan 1699 (whom Mr. Wodrow calls a man of ſingular learning, moderation and temper,—perhaps becauſe he wrote a pretended anſwer to the hiſtory of the indulgence) upon a time hearing ſome relate Mr. Cargil's faithfulneſs and diligence in preaching at all hazards, &c. Mr. Violant ſaid, what needs all this ado? we will get heaven and they will get no more. This being again related to Mr. Cargil, he anſwered, yes, we will get more, we will get God glorified on earth, which is more than heaven. However Mr. Violant out lived the revolution, and was ſometime miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church, being one of theſe nominated by the general aſſembly 1690, to viſit the ſouth of Tay. While on his death bed one of his brethren came to viſit him, and aſking how it was with him now? his anſwer was, "No hope, no hope." Whether this terminated in his final deſtructionor otherways, we know not: but ſure we may ſay with the Pſalmiſt, *Thou tookeſt vengeance of their inventions.*

of that conſtitution (againſt Naphtali) for that, that hand upon the wriſt received the piſtol ſhot intended for Sharp 1668. But this did not deter him from his former wicked practices, till about the year 1677, he met with harſher treatment (ſays the hiſtorian) from a more dreadful quarter, when he died at his houſe in Orkney.—*Sharp's life, Wodw.*

MR. THOMAS BELL, born in Weſtruther in Berwickſhire, was, by Mr. John Vetch's generoſity, put to ſchool, and being miniſter there, he procured alſo a burſary for him; but after his laureation, falling into drunkenneſs, he went over to the Engliſh ſide, where ſhifting ſides, he obtained a perſonage and became curate of Longhorſly; and was a violent perſecutor of the preſbyterians, eſpecially theſe who had fled from Scotland, and particularly Mr. William Vetch (brother to his former benefactor) then at Stanton-hall; and being one time drinking with ſome papiſts who were ſtimulating him one againſt Mr. Vetch and his meeting, he vowed he ſhould either ruin him or he him: in which he was as good as his word; for having brought him to many hardſhips he at laſt got him apprehended and ſent off to Edinburgh, 1679. He did not long continue this trade; for, meeting with a gentleman, he boaſted, that this night Mr. Vetch would be at Edinburgh, and tomorrow hanged. But in three days he himſelf, being abroad and drinking at a certain place till ten o'clock at night, muſt needs ſet home. The curate of the place urged him to ſtay the night being ſtormy and the water big, but he would not: ſo ſetting off and loſing his way, and coming to the river Pont, where, as was ſuppoſed, he alighted to find the way by reaſon of the ſnow; and ſtepping over the brink of the river to the arm-pit, where the old ice bare him up, and the new ice by reaſon of ſome days thaw, froze him in; ſo that, after two days, he was found ſtanding in this poſture with the upper part of his body dry. Some went to help him out, but few could be got to give his corpſe a convoy: So that they were obliged to lay him acroſs a horſe's back with a rope about his neck and through below the beaſts belly faſtened to his heels; and ſo he was carried off by a death ſuitable enough to ſuch a wicked malevolent life.—*Vetch's life at large.*

MR. JAMES SHARP was ſon to William Sharp and grand ſon to the piper of ——— ſo much famed for his ſkill in playing a ſpring called Coffee. However, the wind of the bag procured James a handſome education; after

which he obtained a regent's poſt in the univerſity of St. Andrew's. To relate every thing in the black and diſmal ſtory of his life would fill a volume. I ſhall only point at the principal lineaments thereof. While regent, he furiouſly beat one of his colleagues honeſt Mr. Sinclair on the Lord's day at the college table. He took up his lodging in a public inn, and there got the hoſtler one Iſabel Lindſay with child. When ſhe came to be delivered, he prevailed with her, upon promiſe of marriage, to conſent to murder the infant; which he himſelf effected with his handkerchief, and then buried it below the hearth ſtone. When the woman, after he was biſhop, ſtood up once and again before the people, and confronted him with this, he ordered her tongue to be pulled out with pincers, and when not obeyed, cauſed her to be put in the branks and afterwards baniſhed with her huſband over the water. For this and the ſtriking of Mr. Sinclair he pretended a great deal of repentance and exerciſe of conſcience; and being one eloquent of tongue, he ſoon deceived the miniſtry, and was by them advanced to be miniſter at Crail; and then to make ſure, he took the covenants a ſecond time. In Cromwel's time, he took the tender, and became a thorough paced Cromwelian. When the time of his advancement approached at the reſtoration, being one of a zealous profeſſion, his brethren ſent him (as one whom they could confide in) over to Charles II. at Breda, that they might have the Preſbyterian form of church-government continued. In the mean time, he in their name ſupplicated him to have epiſcopacy reſtored, becauſe he ſaw it would pleaſe the malignant faction. After the king's arrival, he was again employed in the ſame errand, and, while at London undermining that noble conſtitution, he made his brethren believe all the while by letters, how much he had done for their cauſe, till he got it wholly overturned; and then, like another Judas, he returned, and for his reward obtained the arch-biſhoprick of St. Andrew's, and according to ſome 50,000 merks a year, and counſellor and primate of Scotland. No ſooner was the wicked Haman advanced, than he began to perſecute and harraſs all who would not comply with his meaſures. He perjured himſelf in Mr Mitchel's caſe, had an active hand in all the blood ſhed on ſcaffolds and fields from 1660 till his death, and kept up the king's orders of indemnity till the laſt ten of the Pentland men were executed. Nor was he any better in his domeſtick character; for ſometimes he would, when at table, whiſper in his wife's ears, the devil take her, when things were not ordered to his contentment.

In

In a word, the ambition of Diotrephes, the covetouſneſs of Demas, the treachery of Judas, the apoſtacy of Julian, and the cruelty of Nero, did all concenter in him. But to come to his death, having hunted out one Carmichael to harraſs the ſhire of Fife, a few Fife gentlemen went out in queſt of the ſaid Carmichael, upon the 3d of May 1679.—But miſſing him, they providentially met the biſhop his maſter; which they took as a kind of providential call to diſpatch him there. And having ſtopt his coach, commanded him to come out and prepare for death. But this he refuſed. This made them pour in a number of ſhot upon him; after which, being about to depart, one behind heard his daughter who was in coach, ſay, There is life yet. This made them all return. The commander (Burly) finding him yet ſafe, and underſtanding ſhooting was not to do his turn, commanded him to come out, and told him the reaſon of their conduct, namely, his oppoſition to the kingdom of Chriſt, murdering of his people, particularly Mr. James Mitchel, and James Learmond. The biſhop ſtill lingered, and cried for mercy, and offered them money. He ſaid, *Thy money periſh with thee.* He again commanded him to come out and prepare for death and eternity. At laſt he came out; but by no means could they prevail with him to pray. Upon which they all drew their ſwords, and then his courage failed him. The commander ſtruck him, which was redoubled by the reſt, until he was killed. And ſo he received the juſt demerit of his ſorceries, villanies, murders, perfidy, perjury and apoſtacy. *Then Phinehas roſe and executed juſtice.—Vid. his life, Wodrow.*

JOHN, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Rothes, was ſon to that famous reformer the Earl of Rothes. He at firſt ſet out that way. But, after the Reſtoration, being one of a profane wicked life, he exactly anſwered the taſte of king and court. So he was made preſident of the council, and on Middleton's fall, commiſſioner, with many other places of power and truſt heaped upon him, all which titles, *&c.* died with him. After Pentland, with others, he made a tour through the weſt, and cauſed twelve more of the Pentland men to be executed at Irvine and Air.—He perjured himſelf in Mr. Mitchel's caſe, and was the contriver of that barbarous unheard-of cruelty exerciſed on worthy Hackſton of Rathillet. Nay, ſuch was his zeal in ſerving his maſter Charles (or rather Diabolus) that he profeſſed his willingneſs to ſet up popery in Scotland at the king's command; for which, with his other flagitious wickedneſs,

ſuch

ſuch as uncleanneſs, adulteries, ordinary curſing, ſwearing, drunkeneſs, &c. he was one of thoſe excommunicated by Mr. Cargil at Torwood, Sep. 1680. Thus he continued to wallow in all manner of filthineſs, till July next year, that death did arreſt him, Mr. Cargil being then in cuſtody, he threatened him with a violent death; to whom Mr. Cargil anſwered, that die what death he would, he ſhould not ſee it: which came to paſs; for that morning (Mr. Cargil was to be executed in the afternoon) Rothes was ſeized with ſickneſs and a dreadful horror of conſcience: ſome of his wife's miniſters were ſent for, who dealt ſomewhat freely with him: to whom he ſaid, "We all thought little of "that man's ſentence, (meaning Mr. Cargil) but I find that "ſentence binding on me now, and will bind me to eter-"nity." And ſo roaring out, till he made the bed ſhake under him, he died in that condition.—*Wodrow, Walker's life of Mr. Cargil*, &c.

HUGH PINANEVE, factor to the lady Loudon while the earl was a refugee in Holland, was a moſt wicked wretch both in principle and practice, and an inveterate enemy to the ſufferers, in ſo much, that being at a market at Mauchlin ſome time after Mr. Cameron's death, when drinking in a room with one Robert Brown, before they took horſe, he brake out in railery againſt Mr. Cameron and the ſufferers: Mr. Peden, overhearing him in the next room, came to the chamber door and ſaid, Sir, hold your peace, ere twelve o'clock, you ſhall know what for a man Mr. Cameron was: God ſhall puniſh that blaſphemous mouth and tongue of yours in a moſt remarkable manner for a warning to all ſuch railing Rabſhakehs. Brown, knowing Mr. Peden, haſtened the factor home and went to his own houſe, and Hugh to the earl's houſe. But when caſting off his boots, he was ſuddenly ſeized with great pains through his whole body. Brown, uſing to let blood, was immediately ſent for.—But when he came, he found him lying, and his mouth gaping wide, and his tongue hanging out: he let a little blood, but to no effect; he died before midnight in this fearful condition.—*Peden's life*, &c.

JOHN NISBET, factor to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, was a drunkard, a hater of all religion and piety, and ſuch a profeſſed malignant wretch, that when Mr. Cargil was brought in priſoner to Glaſgow, July 1681, looking over a ſtair to him in way of ridicule, cried three times over, Will you give us one word more, (alluding to a word Mr. Cargil ſometime

ſometimes uſed in his pathetic way of preaching). To whom Mr. Cargil with much regret and concern, ſaid,—"Mock not, leſt your bands be made ſtrong. Poor man, the day is coming ere you die, that you ſhall deſire to have one word and ſhall not have it." Shortly, he was ſuddenly ſtruck by God, and his tongue three days ſucceſſively ſwelled in his mouth, ſo that he could not ſpeak one word. Two Glaſgow men made him a viſit, and deſired him to commit to writing the reaſon of this, and if he deſired to ſpeak; to whom he wrote, "That it was the juſt judgment "of God, and the ſaying of the miniſter verified on him for "his mocking of him; and if he had the whole world, he "would give it for the uſe of his tongue again." But that he never got, but died in great torment and ſeeming horror.—*Wodrow*, *Walker*, &c.

J—— ELLIES, was one employed by the bloody managers about Bothwel affair, and being a lawyer, he behoved to ſhew his parts in pleading againſt the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, namely, in the trial of Meſſrs. Kid and King: and though he got their lives pleaded away, and his conſcience kept quiet for a little, yet ſhortly death did arreſt him; and then his conſcience awakened; and under the horror of that, he died in a very pitiful and ſhocking manner.—*Hiſtory of the ſufferings*, &c.

JOHN, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale, at firſt ſet up for a prime covenanter, and ſwore them more than once; and, if I miſtake not, was the ſame called lord Maitland ruling elder from Scotland to the Weſtminſter aſſembly, and had a principal hand in the whole management during the ſecond reformation period; but, falling in with Charles II. he ſoon debauched him. After the reſtoration, he became a furious malignant, and being one whoſe nature and qualifications did exactly correſpond with the king's, he complied in every thing that pleaſed him, for which he heaped upon him titles, places of power, profit and preferment, all which died with himſelf. He was made ſecretary of ſtate, preſident of the council, and commiſſioner to the parliament 1669, where he got that hell-hatched act of ſupremacy paſſed, which has plagued this church and nation ever ſince; at the inſtigation of Dr. Burnet, he ſet the indulgence on foot 1670; got the act againſt conventicles made, which occaſioned ſo many hardſhips and bloodſheds in this land: nay, ſuch was his fury, that when they would not comply, he uncovered his arm to the elbow in council,

and

and ſwore by Jehovah he would make the beſt of them ſubmit. In a word, he was the prime inſtrument of all the cruelties exerciſed for a number of years, while he obtained the king's ear. Nor was this all; for he became notorious for a wicked profligate life and converſation; a thing common with apoſtates:—a Sabbath-breaker, gaming on the Lord's day, a profane ſwearer and blaſphemer, a jeſter on ſcripture and things religious, one time ſaying to prelate Sharp, *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footſtool.* He perjured himſelf in Mr. Mitchel's caſe, promiſing in council he ſhould be indemnified to life and limb, and then ſwearing before the juſticiary, that there was no ſuch promiſe or act made. For theſe, with his other ſins of adultery, counſelling the king, and aſſiſting him in all his tyrannies in overturning the work of reformation, and murdering thoſe who adhered to theſe covenants that he himſelf had engaged in, he was alſo one of thoſe excommunicated at Torwood, 1680. Towards the end of his life, he became ſuch a remarkable Epicurean, that it is incredible the fleſh, or juice of fleſh, it is ſaid, he devoured in one day, eating and drinking being now his only exerciſe and delight. His ſcheme of management had rendered him odious to the Engliſh patriots. Now his effeminate life made him unfit for buſineſs: ſo, about 1681, he was obliged to reſign his offices; after which, by old age and vaſt bulk of body, his ſpirits became quite ſunk, till his heart was not the bigneſs of a walnut: and ſo at laſt upon the chamber box, (like another Arius) he evacuated ſoul, vital life, and excrements all at once; and ſo went to his own place.—*Burnet and Wodrow's hiſtories, and Walker's remarks.*

J—— WYLIE, though of no great note, yet for a wicked life and practice was a tool fit enough for the dreary drudgery of perſecution: in which he got a party of ſoldiers to aſſiſt him as often as he would. In this deviliſh employment, amongſt other inſtances, he got a party of Blackaras' troop, 1683, and came upon John Archer, while his children were ſick, and himſelf ill of the gravel; yet he muſt needs have the mother of the children too, though ſhe could not leave them in that condition. While he inſiſted, one of the dragoons ſaid, The devil ding your back in twa: have ye a coach and ſix for her and the children? Wylie, with curſing, anſwered, She ſhall go, if ſhe ſhould be trailed in a ſledge; which was his common bye-word when hauling

ing poor people to priſon. However, he got Archer and five ſmall children to Kirkaldy tolbooth. But what then? In a little after, having taken a gentleman priſoner, he went with him to a public houſe near Clunie in the pariſh of Kinglaſſie to ſee ſome public matters accommodated; but not agreeing, Wylie made a great ſplutter, and amongſt other imprecations ſaid, The devil take me, if I carry him not to Couper tolbooth this night. The gentleman's man, a young hardy fellow, told him roundly, his maſter ſhould not go there. Upon which, Wylie gave him a blow; the fellow ran to a ſmith's ſhop, and getting a goad of iron, made at Wylie. A ſcuffle enſued, in which he broke Wylie's back in two; which obliged them to get two ſledges and tie him acroſs on them, and ſo carry him home; and in a ſhort time he died in great agony. *The Lord ſhall break the arm of the wicked.---Wodrow.*

MR. FRANCIS GORDON, a volunteer in the Earl of Airly's troop, but chiefly ſo from a principle of wickedneſs. He had committed ſeveral outrages upon the ſuffering people of God, and intended more (as appeared from ſeveral of their names in his pocket to be taken at his death) had not God cut his days ſhort; for he and another wicked companion left their troop at Lanerk, and came with two ſervants and four horſes to Kilkeagow, ſearching for ſufferers. Gordon rambling through the town, offering to abuſe ſome women, at night coming to Eaſt-ſeat, Gordon's comrade went to bed, but he would ſleep none, roaring all night for women. In the morning, he left the reſt, and with his ſword in his hand came to Moſs-plate. Some men who had been in the fields all night, fled; upon which he purſued. In the mean time, ſeeing three men, who had been at a meeting in the night, flee, he purſued and overtook them: one of them aſked, why he purſued them? He ſaid, to ſend them to hell. Another ſaid, That ſhall not be; we will defend ourſelves. Gordon ſaid, Either you or I ſhall go to it juſt now: and ſo, with great fury, run his ſword at one of them, which miſſed his body, but went through his coat. The ſaid perſon fired at him, but miſſed him; whereupon he roared out, God damn his ſoul; another fired a pocket piſtol, which took his head; and ſo he fell down dead. Thus his aſſiduity brought him to his end, near four miles from the troop, and one from his companion.—*Walker.*

THOMAS KENNOWAY, an officer of the guards and another booted apoſtle for the propagation of Epiſcopacy, was with Dalziel at Pentland and at the apprehending of Mr. M'Kail at Braid's craigs, and the apprehending of Mr. King after Bothwel. He attacked a meeting at Bathgate, ſhot one dead, and took fourteen priſoners, who were afterwards baniſhed 1681. He came with a party to Livingſton pariſh, where he rifled houſes, broke open cheſts, abuſed women with child, took an old man and his ſon, and offered to hang them on the two ends of a tow. He ſpent the Lord's day in drinking, ſaying, he would make the priſoners pay it. He was a profane adulterer, a drinker, a fearful blaſphemer, curſer and ſwearer. He would ſometimes ſay, Hell would be a good winter but a bad ſummer-quarters. One aſked him, if he was never afraid of hell? He ſwore he was never afraid of that, but he was ſometimes afraid the rebels (ſo he called the ſufferers) ſhould ſhoot him dead at a dykeſide. In the midſt of this career, he comes out of Edinburgh, Nov. 1683, with a roll of 150 perſons, probably of his own up-giving to be apprehended. He alights at Livingſton, where he meets one Stuart. When drinking, he ſhewed him his commiſſion, and told him, he hoped in a few days to be as good a laird as many in that country: but regretted he was now ſo old, and would not get it long enjoyed. They came to Swine's-abbey, where they continued ſome days drinking, laying their projects. But on the 20th of November being ſomewhat alarmed, they run to the door of the houſe, thinking none would be ſo bold as attack them, but were inſtantly both ſhot dead on the ſpot. And thus their wicked lives were ended, and their malevolent deſigns left unaccompliſhed.—*Wodrow.*

JAMES IRVIN of Bonſhaw, at firſt a trader in Iriſh horſes, then a high-way man, but one who loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs:—for having got notice of Mr. Cargil, Mr. Smith, &c. he went to the council, and got a commiſſion and a party, and ſurprized them at Coventoun mill. This made him cry out, "O bleſſed Bonſhaw! and "bleſſed day that ever I was born! that has found ſuch a "prize!" meaning the 5000 merks ſet on Mr. Cargil's head. At Lanerk, when tying Mr. Cargil's feet hard below

† The author of Claverhouſe's memoirs, ſays, That they were ſhot by James Carmichaal laird of little Blackburn, and fifty whigs. —Vid. page 17.

low the horſe's belly, Mr. Cargil ſaid, "Why do you tie me ſo hard? Your wickedneſs is great: you will not long eſcape the juſt judgment of God; and if I be not miſtaken, it will ſeize you near this place." Nor was this all; having apprehended George Jackſon 1683, in the Lord's night, he offered to ſet him on a horſe's bare back, and tie his head and feet together, and offered him the king's health, which he refuſed. On the morrow, when ſetting him on the horſe, he cauſed hold a trumpet to his ear and bade ſound him to hell: at which the martyr ſmiled. In the ſame year having apprehended twelve priſoners, he carried them to Hamilton, then to Lanerk, where they were augmented to thirty. They were caſt at night into a dungeon without fire or candle: next morning, he tied them two by two on a horſe's bare back, and their legs twiſted below the horſes bellies to the effuſion of their blood, and ſo drove them to Edinburgh at the gallop, not ſuffering ſo much as one of the poor priſoners to alight to eaſe nature. But being now arrived at the very ſummit of his wicked cruelty, he returned to Lanerk, and at the very place where he had bound Mr. Cargil, one of his drunken companions and he falling at odds, while he was eaſing himſelf on a dunghill, his comrade coming out with a ſword, ran him through the body till the blood and dirt, with Eglon's, came out. His laſt words were, "God damn my ſoul eternally, for I am gone." *Miſchief ſhall hunt the violent man, till he be ruined.—Wodrow, Walker's remarks.*

CHARLES II. ſucceeded his father Charles I. He was from his infancy ſuch a diſſembler, that he could metamorphoſe himſelf unto any profeſſion that was moſt for his carnal ends and political intereſt. In his exile, he confined himſelf to popery. When he came to treat with the Scots for a crown, he became a Proteſtant and a Preſbyterian too, So that he took the covenants twice in one year at Spey and Scoon, and emitted a declaration at Dumfermline of his own ſins and his father's wickedneſs. Upon his being again expelled theſe dominions, he turned papiſt again, and came under obligations to promote that intereſt, if ever he ſhould be reſtored again. No ſooner was he reſtored, than he reſtored epiſcopacy in England, and by the help of a ſet of poor time-ſerving wretches got the work of reformation overturned in Scotland, and then epiſcopacy, prelacy, and arbitrary power began to ſhake its bloody dart. The perſecuting work began; Preſbyterian miniſters were driven from their charges, and killed or baniſhed. He got himſelf

advanced head of the church, and then commanded theſe covenants he had more than once ſworn, to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, and then the laws againſt covenanters were written in blood and executed by dragoons. It were almoſt endleſs to relate all the cruelties exerciſed upon the poor wanderers during his reign, before, at, and after Pentland, by the Highland hoſt.—At and after Bothwel, boots, thumbkins and cutting off of ears came in faſhion. Some put to death on ſcaffolds; ſome in the fields, and ſome made a ſacrifice to the manes of Sharp; ſome drowned on ſhip-board, ſome women hanged and drowned in the ſea mark, ſome kept waking for nine nights together; ſome had their breaſts ript up, and their hearts plucked out, and caſt into the fire, others not ſuffered to ſpeak to the people in their own vindication for the beating of drums, *&c.* Nor were things in England much better; two thouſand miniſters were thruſt out by the Bartholomew act, and laid under a train of cruel hardſhips, even ſuch as were a ſhame to any Proteſtant nation. Many of the Engliſh patriots were murdered; Eſſex, Ruſſel and Sidney came to the razor and the block. And for his practice, he was now drunken in all manner of uncleanneſs and filthineſs. For all the numbers of ſtrumpets and harlots he had, his own ſiſter the ducheſs of Orleans could not be exempted. But drawing near his end, the popiſh faction of York his brother grew ſtronger, on ſuſpicion that he intended to curb them. To cut the matter ſhort, he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, or rather had got a doſe of poiſon; he formerly profeſſed to careſs the church of England, now in views of death father Huddleſton was brought to adminiſter the popiſh ſacraments of the hoſt and extreme unction, abſolution and the euchariſt. The hoſt ſticking in his throat, water was brought inſtead of wine to waſh it down. Afterward biſhop Ken came and pronounced another abſolution upon him; and here obſerve, that he who was juſtly excommunicated by a lawful miniſter of the church of Scotland for his groſs perjury, contempt of God and religion, lechery, treachery, covenant-breaking, bloodſhed, *&c.* was now abſolved, firſt by a popiſh prieſt, and then a prelate of the church of England, and all without any the leaſt ſigns of repentance, elſe he would never in his laſt words have recommended the care of two of his harlots (one of whom being in bed beyond him, his queen being elſewhere) to the care of his brother. And ſo, having drunk his death in a popiſh potion, he died unlamented. For his character,

In

in all reſpects in nature, feature and manners, he reſembled the tyrant Tiberius; and for all the numerous brood of baſtards begot on other men's wives, he died a childleſs poltroon, having no legitimate heir to ſucceed him of his own body, according to the divine malediction, *Write this man childleſs: for no man of his ſeed ſhall proſper, ſitting on the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah.*

THOMAS DALZIEL of Binns, a man natively fierce and rude, but more ſo from his being brought up in the Muſcovy ſervice, where he had ſeen little elſe than tyranny and ſlavery: Nay, it is ſaid, that he had there ſo learned the arts of diviliſh ſophiſtry, that he ſometimes beguiled the devil, or rather his maſter ſuffered himſelf to be outwitted by him*. However he behoved to return and have a ſhare of the perſecuting work; and after murdering a number of the Lord's witneſſes at Pentland, he came weſt to Kilmarnock, where he committed many unheard of cruelties; inſtance, his putting a woman in the thieves hole there, in the Dean amongſt toads and other venomous creatures, where her ſhrieks were heard at a diſtance, but none durſt help her, and all becauſe a man purſued ran through her houſe: and alſo his ſhooting one Findlay at a poſt without the leaſt crime or ſhadow of law; with the many cruelties exerciſed upon the country after Bothwel; for theſe and his uncleanneſs and contempt of marriage from his youth, drunkenneſs, atheiſtical and irreligious converſation, he was another of theſe excommunicated at Torwood. After which he waited ſometime on the council at Edinburgh to aſſiſt them in the perſecuting work there, till the year 1685, that one William Hannah was brought before the council, and, when pleading, he was too old to baniſh, Dalziel told him roughly, he was not too old to hang: he would hang well enough. This was among the the laſt of his public maneuvres: For that ſame day Auguſt 22d, when at his beloved exerciſe, drinking wine, while the cup was at his head, he fell down (being in perfect health) and expired.—*Wodrow, Hind let looſe, Naphtali,* &c.

GEORGE CHARTERS, ſometime a kind of factor to the duke of Queenſberry, in imitation of of his maſter was ſuch an aſſiduous perſecutor, "That he could boaſt that he "had

* I could here relate ſeveral ſtories by tradition of his deceiving the devil with his ſhadow at a race in Muſcovy,—his delivering a woman from him by the burning of a candle,—his ſupplanting him in a hat full of money, *&c.* But I forbear.

"had made 26 journeys in a year in purſuit of the whigs." And, if the ſame with Bailiff Charters who was on the ſcaffold with John Niſbet of Hardhill, and though the martyr ſpoke moſt meekly there, yet this Charters was rude to him. But that night he had a child overlaid in the bed, and in two days fell into great horror of conſcience, crying out, Oh, for the life of John Niſbet. His friends thought to have kept it ſecret, and diverted him; but he became worſe and worſe, ſtill crying out, Oh, for the life of John Niſbet, until he fell into a moſt terrible diſtraction. So that he ſat night and day wringing about his noſe and roaring ever, John Niſbet, to the terror of all around him †. †*Appendix to the Cloud of Witneſſes, and Lady Earlſtoun's Letter from Blackneſs in manuſcript.*

Mr. —— EVANS, a man of no great note, but abundantly qualified to make merchandize of the people of God; for being maſter or commander of a ſhip wherein 190 of Chriſt's priſoners were put to be baniſhed 1685, to the Weſt-Indies, during their voyage of three months ſpace, he made them endure the moſt excruciating hardſhips. They were crammed in ſo cloſe night and day, that they could have no air, and ſo tormented with hunger and thirſt, that they were obliged to drink their own urine: Whereby 32 of them died. After their arrival in Jamaica, they were impriſoned and ſold for ſlaves. But Evans fell ſick, and his body roted away piece-meal while alive, ſo that none could come near him for ſtink. This wrought horror of conſcience in him; whereupon he called for ſome of the priſoners, and begged forgiveneſs, and deſired them to pray for him, which they did; ſo he died. Howard's caſe who got the price was ſtill leſs hopeful; for he fell down betwixt two ſhips, and periſhed in the Thames. Nor were the ſhip's crew who aſſiſted them much better; for 40 of them took a peſtilent fever, and turned mad and leapt over board and periſhed.—*Wodrow.*

Sir ROBERT LAURIE of Maxwelton, was another enemy to the poor people of God. When Cornet Baillie had met with W. Smith in Glencairn pariſh, 1684, his Father being one of Sir Robert's tenants, went to beg favour for his ſon. But Sir Robert preſently ſentenced him to

† We have no account of Charters death, but it is more than probable he died in that condition, as few or none of that tribe we read of were ever again recovered.

to preſent death. Bailie refuſed to execute it, becauſe illegal. But the cruel monſter threatened him to do it without delay; and being ſhot, Maxwelton refuſed him burial in the church-yard: The ſame day being the day of his daughter's marriage, his ſteward declared, that a cup of wine that day being put into his maſter's hand, turned into congealed blood. However, in a ſhort time, he fell from his horſe, and was killed dead.—*Wodrow, Appendix to the Cloud*, &c.

—— WHITEFORD, ſon to Whiteford, pretended biſhop of Brichen, (who was excommunicated by the Aſſembly 1638) went firſt to England; thence to Holland, where he killed Doriſlaus, and being turned papiſt, to be out of Cromwel's reach, he went over to the duke of Savoy's ſervice, and was there when the torrible maſſacre was committed upon the poor Vandois (probably about 1655) where he committed many barbarous murders upon them with his own hands. He returned home, and it appears, he was made a captain of the guard, and had a ſhare in the perſecuting work. However, he had a ſmall penſion given him for ſuch ſervice. But he ſickened before York's parliament ſat down, 1686, and being haunted with an intolerable horror of conſcience of the execrable murders he had committed, called for ſome miniſters, and told them his abhorrence of popery: "For (ſaid he) I went to "prieſts of all ſorts; they all juſtified me in what I had done, "and gave me abſolution. But now I am perſuaded by an "awakened conſcience." And ſo he died as one in deſpair, roaring out againſt that bloody religion that had undone him.—*Burnet's hiſtory*, &c.

PHILIP STANDFIELD, ſon to Sir James Standfield of New-milns, was a mocker of God and all things religious. While ſtudent at the univerſity of St. Andrew's, he came to a meeting where Mr. John Welch was preaching in Kinkell Cloſs: in the time of the ſermon, out of malice and mockery, he caſt ſomewhat that hit the miniſter, who ſtopped and ſaid, He knew not who it was, that had put that public affront upon a ſervant of Chriſt; but be who it would, he was perſuaded that there would be more preſent at the death of him who did it, than were hearing him that day; and the multitude was not ſmall. However, this profligate went home and continued his wicked courſes, till the year 1688, that he murdered his own father; for which he was taken to Edinburgh, and executed. In time of his impriſonment,

he

he told ſome, he was confident that God was now about to accompliſh what he had been before by his ſervant forwarned of.—*Wodrow.*

JOHN ALLISON, ſometime chamberlain to the duke of Queenſberry, to pleaſe his maſter, became a moſt violent perſecutor of God's people. It were needleſs to condeſcend upon particular inſtances: the way and manner of his death plainly ſhews what his conduct had been, and from what principle he had acted: for being ſeized with a terrible diſtemper wherein he had the foretaſte of hell both in body and ſoul; in body he was ſo inflamed, that it is ſaid, he was put in a large pipe of water, and the water to ſhift ſucceſſively as it warmed. But the horrors of his awakened conſcience they could by no means cool, but ſtill he cried out in deſpair, that he had damnedhis ſoul for the duke his maſter, till he died.—*M. S. and Appendix to the Cloud*, &c.

GEORGE LORD JEFFERIES, an Engliſhman, was born in Wales about 1648. He firſt ſtudied the law, then he became ſerjeant of the city of London; he next ſtepped to the recorderſhip of the city; from thence he became chief juſtice of the city of Cheſter; and in 1683, was made lord chief juſtice of the king's bench. In this, as in all his other offices, he behaved moſt indecently; for beſides his being ſcandalouſly vitious, he was almoſt every day drunk, beſides a drunkenneſs of fury in his temper by which he brought the lord Ruſſel, and the famous Alg. Sidney unto their ends. He alſo handled Mr. Baxter and others ſeverely. But the moſt tragical ſtory of his life fell out 1685. After Monmouth was defeated and himſelf and many of his little army taken, Jefferies was ſent by his maſter king James to the Weſt as ordinary executioner to try the priſoners; and here his behaviour was beyond any thing ever heard of, I believe, in a Chriſtian nation. He was perpetually after drink or in rage, liker a fury than a judge: where no proof could be had, he commanded the pannels to plead guilty, if they deſired mercy; and then, if they confeſt any thing, they were immediately hung up. In a few towns in the weſt of England, he pronounced ſentence of death on ſome 500 or 600 perſons, 292 of them received this ſentence in an hours ſpace; and of theſe 600 250 were executed; others had the benefit of his avarice; for pardons were by him ſold from 10 pound to 14000 guineas. He ſentenced the lady Leſly for harbouring a ſtranger one night. Miſs Gaunt was burnt. A poor man was hanged for

for ſelling three-pence worth of hay to Monmouth's horſe. Some were hanged at the ſtanchions of windows, others had their bowels burnt and their bodies boiled in pitch, and hung round the town. Bloody Kirk put in for part of the honour. At Taunton he hanged nine without ſuffering them to take leave of their wives and children. At ſome places they caſt off ſo many with a health to the King, and a number more with a health to the Queen, drinking it at every turn, and perceiving the ſhaking of their legs in the agonies of death, they ſaid, they were dancing, and called for muſic, and to every one caſt over a ſpring was played on pipes, hautboys, drums and trumpets, with a huzza and a glaſs of wine. Jefferies ſentenced one Tutchin for changing his name to ſeven years impriſonment, and whipping through all the market towns in the ſhire, which was once a fortnight during that time; which made Mr. Tutchin petition the king for death. Many other cruelties were then committed, but the foregoing ſwatch may ſuffice. Jefferies returned to London, where his maſter James, for his good ſervices, made him lord chancellor. Being now above the reach or envy of the people, he ſet himſelf to aſſiſt his maſter in bringing in popery; but their mad haſty zeal ſpoiled the project, and ſo his maſter having to flee his dominions, Jefferies, diſguiſed in a ſeaman's dreſs in a collier, eſſayed to eſcape after and in imitation of his maſter, but was taken and ſeverely drubbed by the populace, and then brought to the lord mayor. Jefferies to be freed of the people, deſired to be ſent to the Tower; becauſe they were waiting with clubs upon him. The mayor ſeeing this, and the chancellor in ſuch a gloomy appearance, was ſo ſtruck that he fell into fits and ſoon died. Jefferies, being ſent to the Tower, continued with few either to pity or ſupply him. At laſt a barrel of oyſters being ſent him, he thanked God he had yet ſome friends left: but when tumbled out with or without oyſters, a ſtrong cord halter fell out, which made him change countenance on the proſpect of his future diſtiny. A diſtemper with the gravel ſeized him, contracted through his former intemperate wicked bloody life, and the horrors of an awakened conſcience; and at laſt, whether nature wrought out itſelf, or, if he himſelf helped the fatal ſtroke, (as is moſt likely) is uncertain; 1689.—*Vide his Life, and the Weſtern Martyrology or Bloody Aſſizes*, &c.

JOHN GRAHAM of Claverhouſe in Angus, a branch of the houſe of Montroſe, another champion for the prince of the kingdom of darkneſs. To improve the cruelty of his

nature, he was ſometime in the French ſervice. He returned to Scotland 1677. The vivacity of his genius ſoon recommended him to Charles and James, who beſtowed upon him the command of a troop of horſe: and then he began the ſpoiling and killing the people of God; wherein he was alway ſucceſsful, except at Drumclog. One of his exploits was at Bewly-bog, where the writer of his memoirs ſays, he killed 75 and took many priſoners. After Bothwel, had Monmouth granted it, he would have killed the priſoners, burnt Glaſgow, Hamilton and Strathaven, and plundered the weſtern ſhires. To enumerate all the cruelties, blood-ſhed and oppreſſion committed by him, while he ranged up and down the country for ten years ſpace, were a taſk here too tedious: in which time it is ſaid, he killed near 100 perſons in cold blood. In Galloway, he and his party raviſhed a woman before her huſband's eyes, took a young boy, tied his two thumbs with a cord, and hung him to the balk or roof of the houſe. Another they took and twiſted a ſmall cord about his head with their piſtols to the ſcull. In 1682, he purſued and ſhot one W. Graham when eſcaping from his mother's houſe. In 1683, he ſhot four men on the water of Dee, and carried two to Dumfries, and hanged them there. In 1685, he cauſed ſhoot one in Carrick, and in the ſame year moſt cruelly ſhot John Brown at his own door in Moor-kirk, and a little after ſhot A. Hyſlop in Annandale. Theſe and ſuch ſervices procured him a higher title of honour: he was created Viſcount Dundee, and made privy counſellor. In York's reign, his conduct was much of a piece, running up and down the country, making people ſwear they would never lift arms againſt king James. He was alway ſtaunch to popery, and when the convention met at Edinburgh, he went off with ſome horſe to the north, and raiſed the clanſhips for James's intereſt; where he ſhifted from place to place till June 13, 1689, that he came to a pitched engagement with Gen. Mackay on the braes of Gillicrankie on the water of Trumble. The battle was very bloody, and by Mackay's third fire Claverhouſe fell, of whom hiſtorians give little account; but it has been ſaid for certain, that his own waiting man taking a reſolution to rid this world of this truculent bloody monſter; and knowing he had proof of lead *, ſhot him with

* Perhaps, ſome may think this anent proof of ſhot a paradox, and be ready to object here as formerly concerning biſhop Sharp and Dalziel, "How can the devil have or give a power to ſave life? &c." Without entering upon the thing in its reality, I ſhall only obſerve; 1. That

with a ſilver button he had before taken off his own coat for that purpoſe. However he fell, and with him popery and king James's intereſt in Scotland. *Behold thou art taken in thy miſchief, becauſe thou art a bloody man.—Claverhouſe's memoirs, Hiſtory of the Sufferers, Defoe's memoirs, &c.*

ALEX. GORDON of Kilſtuers in Galloway ſet out amongſt the ſuffering remnant, joined the united ſocieties who followed faithful Mr. Renwick, and was for ſome time moſt zealous for that cauſe; for which he was apprehended, but reſcued at Enterkine-path, Auguſt 1684, when going to Edinburgh; at which ſome of the ſufferers were not a little (if not too much) elated. But never being right principled, as Mr. Peden perceived, when he refuſed to ſail the ſea with him from Ireland before this. He firſt fell in with Langlands and Barclay in favour of Argyle's attempt, 1685, and from that time he became a moſt violent traducer and reproacher of Mr. Renwick and the faithful party both by tongue and pen to render them odious: then he fell into a kind of profligate life, (as Mr. Renwick often ſaid, that theſe who fell from ſtrictneſs in principle would not long retain ſtrictneſs of practice) at laſt being at Edinburgh, he got drunk, and then muſt needs fight, as is uſual with ſuch miſcreants; and, having in the ſquabble loſt much blood, his head became light, ſo that when going up ſtairs, he loſt his feet and falling down brained himſelf, and ſo expired.—*Faithful Contendings, Walkers Remarks.*

SIR GEORGE M'KENZIE of Roſehaugh, was another notorious apoſtate; for after he had made no ſmall profeſſion of preſbyterian principles and holineſs of life, he after the reſtoration, not only apoſtatized from that profeſſion, but fell into a moſt wicked and flagitious life and converſation; which were qualifications good enough then to gain him the poſt of an advocate. Sometime after Pentland, he pleaded the ſufferers part; but afterwards ſhifted ſides (being advanced to be king's advocate) and pleaded moſt ſtrenuouſly againſt them, and even with ſuch a degree of fury that neither prelate nor bloody manager could ever

1. That it is neither in his power or of his nature to be a ſaviour of men's lives; he is called Apollyon the deſtroyer. 2. That even in this caſe, he is ſaid to give only inchantment againſt one kind of mettle, and this does not ſave life; for the lead would not take Sharp and Claverhouſe's life, yet ſteel and ſilver could do it: and for Dalziel, though he died not on the field, he did not eſcape the arrows of the Almighty.

charge him with the leaſt thing that looked like moderation. It were needleſs to relate what hand he had in the bloody work at that time, ſeeing he pleaded away almoſt the lives of all that were executed from 1677 to 1688. Nay, ſuch was his rage at the cauſe of Chriſt and his people, that before they eſcaped his hands, he would charge them with what in his conſcience he knew was falſe; and if they would not anſwer queſtions to his mind, he would threaten to pull out their tongues with pincers. At the ſame time pleaded that murderers, ſorcerers, *&c* might go free. In one of his diſtracted fits, he took the Bible in his hand and wickedly ſaid, it would never be well with the land till that book was deſtroyed. Theſe and the like procured him a place in that black liſt excommunicated at Torwood. After the perſecuting work was over, he went up to London, where he died with all the paſſages of his body running blood (like Charles IX. of France author of the Paris maſſacre.) Phyſicians being brought could give no natural cauſe for it, but that it was the hand of God on him for the blood he had ſhed in his own land.—*Vid. Weſt's memoirs, and Hiſtory of the ſufferings of the church of Scotland.*

SIR JAMES JOHNSTON of Weſterraw (alias Weſterhall) another of the ſame kidney was an egregious apoſtate. He was ſuch a zealous profeſſor, that when the teſt was firſt framed, he could boaſt that he was an actual covenanter, and ſo ſcorned it. But, on the firſt trial, he not only took it, but furiouſly preſſed it on others; and, having gathered the pariſh for that purpoſe, 1683, he in one of his rages ſaid, "The devil damn his ſoul; but before to-morrow's "night they ſhould all be damned by taking it as well as he." And for perſecuting work, he exacted 11,000l. in Galloway by oppreſſion, digged a man's body out of the grave, plundered the poor widow woman's houſe where he died, becauſe he was one of the ſufferers, and cauſed Claverhouſe, ſomewhat contrary to his mind to ſhoot An. Hyſlop becauſe taken on his ground. He lived till or after the revolution, that he died in great torture of body and grievous torment and horror of conſcience, in ſomuch that his cries were heard at a great diſtance from the houſe, as a warning to all apoſtates.—*Wodrow, Appendix to the Cloud* &c.

SIR JOHN WHITEFORD of Milton (Carluke pariſh) was a wicked man, and ſuch a perſecutor, that he was ſaid with his ſervants to have murdered ſeverals when flying from Pentland, and had a principal hand in informing againſt

Gavin

Gavin Hamilton in Mauldſlie, who was taken and executed with others at Edinburgh Dec. 7, 1666. and was one of the teſt circuits 1683. This and other pieces of the like employment made James Nicol a martyr ſay, That the world would ſee that houſe a deſolation, and nettles growing in its cloſs;—which came to paſs ſoon after the Revolution, when he became inſolvent, his eſtate ſequeſtrated, and orders obtained to apprehend him: which at laſt was effected although he defended himſelf ſome time with ſtones from the battlement. The lands changed many maſters, and for ſome years lay deſolate; and it has been obſerved, that till of late, no man dwelt in it above the ſpace of ſeven years. —*M. S.*

—— DOUGLAS, laird of Stenhouſe, was another of this fraternity. He aſſiſted Maxwelton at the murder of William Smith in Hill; and, though but a man of mean eſtate, for this and his exceſſive harraſſing, ſpoiling and fining the people of God, and becauſe a profeſſed papiſt, he was advanced to the honour of being ſometime ſecretary to king James VII. (whether it was he that was advanced to be earl Milford, I know not) but his wicked honours were ſhort lived; his name ſoon became extinct, having neither root nor branch, male nor female, for a remembrance left of him. *Their fruit ſhalt thou deſtroy from earth, and their ſeed from among the children of men.*

WILLIAM, Duke of Queenſbury, was a prime inſtrument in managing the perſecuting work in that period; he once ſaid, they ſhould not have time to prepare for heaven, hell was too good a place for them to dwell in. He was, while an earl, for his zeal in ſuppreſſing the rebels (as they called them) made a chancellor and treaſurer in 1679.—Afterwards made a Duke and appointed commiſſioner by James VII. to the parliament 1685, where he got an act made for taking the teſt,--act of regularity,--act for taking the allegiance,--and that heaven-daring act declaring it treaſon to take the covenants,--with a great number baniſhed during the parliament. Such was his vigilance by his factors and emiſſaries, that ſaints blood like water was ſhed; and his own tenants were cruelly ſpoiled and harraſſed; and though he fell ſomewhat out of king James's favour in the laſt years of his reign, yet he ſtill retained his perſecuting ſpirit, even after the Revolution; for he oppoſed Mr. Vetch's ſettlement at Peebles, and for ſeven ſeſſions pleaded it both before the lords and the church, till he got him removed

removed, 1694.—But all this did not paſs without a note of obſervation of divine vengeance even in this life; for, taking a fearful diſeaſe, it is ſaid, that, like another Herod, the vermin iſſued in ſuch abundance from his body, that two women were conſtantly employed in ſweeping them into the fire. Thus he continued, till the fleſhy parts of his ſubſtance were diſſolved, and then he expired *.—*M. S. Hiſtory of the ſufferings*, &c.

JOHN MAXWEL of Milton, (commonly called Milton Maxwel) another of the perſecuting tribe, cauſed apprehend George M'Cartny, and was preſident of the Aſſize who condemned thoſe ten of the Pentland ſufferers that ſuffered at Ayr and Irvine 1666; after which he harraſſed the poor perſecuted people in Galloway, particularly on the water of Orr. After Neilſon of Corſack's execution, he came with a party upon his houſe and riffled it; carrying away every thing portable, he deſtroyed the reſt, and turned out the whole family with the nurſe and ſucking child to the open fields (lady Corſack being then at Edinburgh). But, with all this ill-gotten gain, then and afterwards he was but ill ſerved; for, after the Revolution, he was reduced to ſeek his betters, and amongſt other places came to the houſe of Corſack, and cringed for an alms from the ſame lady Corſack before her window, which ſhe generouſly gave him; but at the ſame time reminded him of his former wicked life, particularly, his perſecuting the people of God. He went off, but with ſmall amendment; and ſome time after ended his wretched life.—*Samſon's riddle*, *A—d—k—n*, &c.

—— NISBET

* Concerning the death of the Duke of Drumlanerig, alias Queenſbury, we have the following relation:—That a young man perfectly well acquainted with the Duke, (probably one of thoſe he had formerly ban ſhed) being now a ſailor and in foreign countries, while the ſhip was upon the coaſt of Naples or Sicily, near one of the burning mounts, one day they eſpied a coach and ſix all in black going toward the mount with great velocity, when it came paſt them they were ſo near that they cou d perceive the dimenſions and features of one that ſat in it. The young man ſaid to the reſt, If I could believe my own eyes, or if ever I ſaw one like another, I would ſay, that is the duke. In an inſtant, they heard an audible voice echo from the mount, Open to the duke of Drumlanerig; upon which the coach, now near the mount, evaniſhed. The young man took pen and paper, and marked down the month, day and hour of the apparition; and upon his return, found it exactly anſwer the day and hour the Duke died. Perhaps ſome may take this repreſentation of his future ſtate for a romance; but it is as it has been oftimes related by old men of good credit and reputation.

—— NISBET, (commonly called lieutenant Niſbet) a man of no high extraction, but born of creditable parents in the pariſh of Loudon; being inliſted a ſoldier, obtained for his good ſervices in the perſecuting work ſome time after Bothwel, a lieutenant's poſt, which he managed with ſuch fury againſt the poor perſecuted wanderers for the cauſe of Chriſt, as made him break over all limits or bonds of religion, reaſon or natural affection or relation; ſo that he apprehended James Niſbet, a couſin-german of his own, while attending a friend's burial who was executed at Glaſgow; where the ſaid James was alſo executed; and while ranging up and down the country like a mercileſs tyger, he apprehended another of his couſins, John Niſbet of Hardhill, and with him George Woodburn, John Ferguſhill and Peter Gemmel (in the pariſh of Fenwick); which three laſt he took out, and immediately without ſentence ſhot dead; and then carried Hardhill, after he had given him ſeven wounds, to Edinburgh, where he was executed. He alſo apprehended ſeverals in the ſaid pariſh that were baniſhed; and upon their return at the Revolution, he was amongſt the firſt they ſaw at Irvine after they landed. At firſt they were minded to have juſtice executed upon him; but on a ſecond thought referred him to the righteous judgment of God. After the Revolution, he ſoon came to beg his bread (as old ſoldiers oftimes do) and it was ſaid, that coming to a certain poor woman's houſe in the eaſt country, he got quarters, and for a bed ſhe made him (what we call) a ſhake-down before a mow of peats (being all her ſmall convenience could afford). On which he lay down, ſhe going out on ſome neceſſary errand; a little after, when ſhe returned, ſhe found the wall of peats fallen upon him, which had ſmothered him to death; a very mean end for ſuch a couragious ſoldier.—*Wodrow*, &c.

JAMES GIBSON, (called ſometime bailie Gibſon of Glaſgow) brother to the merchant, but one qualified to barter the bodies of Chriſt's ſuffering members. He got the command of his brother's ſhip with thoſe ſufferers that were baniſhed to Carolina in the year 1684. The inhumanity he exerciſed upon them in their voyage is incredible: they were thruſt below hatches, and a mutchkin of water allowed them in 24 hours: ſo that ſome of them died of thirſt, although they had 14 hogſheads to caſt out on their arrival.—Theſe who were ſick, were miſerably treated; and two endeavouring to eſcape, were by him beat 8 times a-

day,

day, and condemned to perpetual ſlavery. Nor could they have liberty to ſerve God; when they began to worſhip, they were threatened by him in an awful manner. After their arrival, they were by him ſold for ſlaves, and for the moſt part died in that country. He returned to ſpend their price till 1699, that he again ſet out captain of the Riſing Sun, with that little fleet for the ſettlement at Darien.—But being one of the moſt wicked wretches that then lived, and ſome of the reſt nothing better, the judgment of God purſuing him and them, they fell frome one miſhap into another, until put off by the Spaniards from thence, they went to Jamaica; from thence every one made the beſt of their way to their own country. Captain Gibſon ſet off from Blue-fields July 21, 1700: but before he made Florida their maſts were off by the boards, which made them with much difficulty come up to Carolina, and making Charleſton bar, the very place where he landed Chriſt's priſoners, juſt as one of the miniſters were gone out, and ſome more with him, a hurricane came down Sept. 3. and ſtaved the ſhip all in pieces, where Gibſon and 112 perſons every ſoul periſhed in the ſurges of the rolling ocean. *The Lord is known by the judgments which he executeth.—Wodrow, Hiſtory of Darien,* &c.

JAMES, Duke of York, a profeſſed papiſt and another excommunicated tyrant, uſed no ſmall cruelties while in Scotland 1679, 1681 and 1684; but after his aſcenſion to the crown 1685, he threw off the maſk, and ſet himſelf might and main to advance popery, and exterminate the proteſtant religion in theſe nations, and for that purpoſe ſet all his engines at work to repeal the penal ſtatutes againſt papiſts; but that not ſpeeding to his wiſh, he had recourſe to his diſpenſing power and to an almoſt boundleſs toleration; of which all had the benefit, except the poor ſuffering remnant in Scotland who were ſtill harraſſed, ſpoiled, hunted like patridges on the mountains and ſhot in the field. Nay, ſuch was his rage, that he ſaid, it would never be well, till all the weſt of Scotland and ſouth of Forth were made a hunting field; and to recite the cruelties by his orders exercifed in the weſt of England by ſhooting, heading, hanging, and baniſhing ever ſeas thoſe concerned in Monmouth's affair, beggars all deſcription. However matters go on; he ſends Caſtlemain to the pope; the pope's nuntio arrives in England; the king declares himſelf a member of the royal ſociety of jeſuits, impriſons the ſeven biſhops in the tower, and threatens to convert England to popery or die a martyr.

martyr.—But the prince of Orange arriving in England and his army forſaking him, he ſets off in a yacht for France, but is taken for a popiſh prieſt by ſome fiſhermen and brought back. His affairs becoming deſperate, he ſets off again for France; from thence, with 1800 French, he landed next year in Ireland being joined by the bloody Iriſh papiſts. He, like his predeceſſors, had no ſmall art in diſſimulation. Now he told them in plain terms, he would truſt or give commiſſions to no proteſtants; they ſtank in his noſtrils; he had too long careſſed the damned church of England; but he would now do his buſineſs without them. Accordingly a popiſh parliament was called, wherein 3000 proteſtants were forfeited, and to be hanged and quartered when taken, whereof many were plundered and killed, his cut-throats boaſting they would ſtarve the one half and hang the other. In ſhort, they expected nothing but another general maſſacre. But being defeated on the banks of the Boyn by king William, July 1, 1691. he ſet off to France never to return. Here he continued till 1700, or by ſome 1701, that he took a ſtrange diſeaſe, which they were pleaſed to call a lethargy, wherein he became quite ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, and ſo died at St. Germains in that ſituation, after he had lived ten years a fugitive exile. *He poureth contempt upon princes, and cauſeth them to wander in the wilderneſs*, &c.—*Hiſtory of popery under James, Martyrs in flames*, &c.

Sir ARCHIBALD KENNEDY of Colzen, another violent perſecutor in Carrick and parts adjacent; for having got the command of a troop of militia, he ranged the country in queſt of the ſufferers, (a very puny employment for a gentleman) and amongſt other cruelties killed one Wm. M'Kirgue at Blairquachen mill 1685, and the ſame year ſurprized a meeting for prayer near Kirkmichael, and ſhot Gilbert M'Adam for eſſaying to eſcape. And, though he got over the perſecuting work, he obtained no reformation of a cruel and wicked life for ſome time after the Revolution.—The remarkable occurrence at his burial is ſufficient to indicate in what circumſtance he died; for, if we ſhall credit one preſent, as ſoon as the gentlemen lifted his corpſe, a terrible tempeſt of thunder aroſe, to the terror of all preſent: when going to the church-yard it ceaſed a little; but when near the place of interment it recurred in ſuch a fearful manner, that the flaſhes of fire ſeemed to run along the coffin, which affrighted them all: nay, from the lightneſs of the bier, it is ſaid, that ſome were apt to conclude the

body was thereby conſumed, or elſe taken away by the devil from among their hands, before they gained the place of interment. A note of God's fiery indignation on ſuch a fiery perſecutor. *Upon the wicked he ſhall rain fire and brimſtone, and an horrible tempeſt.*—*Crookſhanks, A—d R—n.*

DUNCAN GRANT, a cripple with a tree leg who vaunted of his wickedneſs, was another of this helliſh crew, (for ſo I may by this time call them). His leg did not hinder him from running, or rather riding up and down the country oppreſſing and killing God's people. In Clydeſdale he uplifted 1500 l. of fines. And being one of lord Airly's petty officers, he got a commiſſion 1683, to hold courts in Eaſt Kilbride pariſh, upon which he quartered his party and harraſſed them in a cruel manner. He ſpoiled the houſe and goods of John Wilſon in High-Flet, to the value of 673 l. ſeizing crops and land and all: and, though he got the gift of ſome land there, he did not long poſſeſs it; for, after the Revolution, he was reduced to extreme poverty, and went through the country now begging, (inſtead of robbing) until the day of his death, which was a very terrible one, if we may believe what I have often heard related by ſeveral judicious old men of good credit and reputation. He at laſt came to a kind of gentleman's houſe in the eaſt country for quarters. The gentleman, coming to the hall, and ſeeing him in a dejected and melancholy ſituation, aſked the reaſon. At laſt, Grant told him, That, by a former paction, the devil was to have him ſoul and body that night. Whether the gentleman believed the reality of this or rather took him to be crazed, I cannot ſay: but it was ſaid, he gave him ſuch advices as occurred to him, to break off his ſins by repentance, and implore God's mercy, who was able to pardon and prevent his ruin, *&c.*— What anſwers he gave we know not; but he went to bed in the gentleman's barn. It appears, he aſked no company, elſe they were not convinced fully in the matter. However, he was not like to open the door next morning, which made them at laſt break it open; where they found his body diſſected on the floor, and his ſkin and quarters in ſuch a poſition, as I ſhall forbear to mention, leſt they ſhould ſhock the humane reader's mind.—*Hiſtory of the ſufferings &c. A—d R—n.*

ALEXANDER HUME, commonly called ſheriff Hume, probably becauſe employed by the ſheriff or ſheriff's depute in Renfrew, as a kind of inferior officer, and of that kind to perſecute,

perſecute, purſue and oppreſs the ſufferers, in which he proved a moſt induſtrious labourer, wherein he would run upon the leaſt notice of any field preaching, and harraſs people, particularly, in the pariſh of Egleſham, where he moſtly reſided: for inſtance, hearing that Mr. Cameron was preaching at a place in that pariſh called Mungie hill, he and one R—t D—p, another of theſe vaſſals, ſet off, and, while in the tent, they laid hold on it to pull it down, becauſe he was on Eglinton's ground. Mr. Cameron told them, he was upon the ground of the great God of heaven, unto whom the earth and its fulneſs did belong, and charged them in his Maſter's name to forbear; and ſo they were detained by the people till all was over. Sometimes he, with the foreſaid D—p, would go to the outed people's houſes, and offer to throw them down or inform againſt them, whereby he got ſums of money or other conſiderations. But all this, beſides a large patrimony by his parents of ſome thouſands of pounds, did not ſerve him long; for he came to beggary, wherein he was ſo mean as to go to ſome of theſe men's houſes he had before offered or laid hands on to caſt down, ſome of whom ſerved him liberally. We ought not to be raſh in drawing concluſions on the occurrences of divine providence; but people could not help obſerving that, having a little pretty girl, who was one moon-ſhine night playing with the children in the village and a mad dog came and paſſed through them all, and bit her; whereof ſhe grew mad, and it is ſaid was to bleed to death, whereby his name and offſpring of a numerous family of 17 or 18 children became extinct. At laſt ſhe died in miſery and was buried. Upon his grave the ſchool-boys caſt their aſhes, (the ſchool being then in the church) till it became a kind of dunghill, and ſo remains to this day. This needed be no obſervation, were it not that ſuch a nauſeous and infamous monument is ſuitable enough unto ſuch nauſeous ſervice and an infamous life.—*A—d R—n.*

JOHN GIBB, (from the largeneſs of his body commonly called meikle John Gibb) ſhipmaſter and ſailor in Borrowſtoneſs, ſet out amongſt the moſt zealous part of the ſufferers; but being but badly founded in principle, about the year 1681, he aſſociated three men and twenty-ſix women to himſelf, and on a pretence of religious zeal to ſerve God, took to the deſert places towards the weſt of Scotland; where from their often ſinging the mournful pſalms, they were called the ſweet ſingers. But they had not long continued thus, till they fell into fearful deluſions, diſown-

ing all but themſelves; for, laying more ſtreſs upon their own duties of faſting and devotion than upon the obedience, ſatisfaction and righteouſneſs of Chriſt, they ſoon came to deny part of the ſcripture, and to reject the pſalms of David in metre; which began firſt to be diſcovered at Lochgoin in Fenwick pariſh. But returning eaſtwards towards Darmead, faithful Mr. Cargil had a meeting with them, and uſed all means with this mad-cap and his hair-brained followers to convict or reclaim them; but to no purpoſe. And when ſome aſked his mind anent them, he ſaid, he was afraid ſome of them would go great lengths, but be happily reclaimed; (which came to paſs.) "But for Gibb, there are many devils in him (ſaid he), wo be to him; his name will ſtink while the world ſtandeth." They were all taken to Edinburgh tolbooth, and about the firſt of May gave in a paper to the council, ſhewing how many days they had faſted all at once,—how they had burnt the pſalms,—and renounced the confeſſion of faith, covenants, reforming acts of aſſembly, the names of days, months, *&c.* Theſe extravagancies pleaſed York then in Edinburgh well, who diſmiſſed them: after which, Gibb, the three men and two women went weſt to the Froſt moſs betwixt Airth and Stirling, where they burnt the holy bible (one night with a great light around them) with the moſt fearful expreſſions. Gibb and ſome of them were again apprehended and taken to the Canongate tolbooth, where they took ſuch fits of faſting for ſeveral days, that their voices changed like to the howlings of dogs. Gibb became ſo poſſeſt of a roaring devil, like another demoniack, that the ſufferers could not get exerciſe made in the room, which made two of them by turns lie upon him that time, holding a napkin to his mouth. But George Jackſon, martyr, coming there, he aſked, if that was his faſhion? they ſaid, it was. He ſaid, he would ſtay his roaring.—After threatening to no purpoſe, he cauſed them ſtop in worſhip, till he beat him ſeverely; after which, when they began, he would run behind the door, and with the napkin his mouth, ſit howling like a dog. About 1684, he and one D. Jamie were baniſhed to America, where it was ſaid, Jamie became an atheiſt, and Gibb came to be much admired by the poor blind Indians for his familiar converſe with the devil and ſacrificing to him (a thing then more common than now in theſe parts). In conſequence of ſuch a wretched life, he died a diſmal death as far down as 1720.—*Wodrow, Walker's remarks.*

SIR

SIR ROBERT GRIERSON of Lag, was another prime hero for the promoting of Satan's kingdom. I think that it was ſometime after Bothwel that he was made ſheriff or ſheriff depute of Dumfries. But to relate all the fining, ſpoiling, oppreſſion and murders committed by this worthy of Satan, or champion of his kingdom, were beyond my intention. I muſt leave it to his elegy, and the hiſtories of that time, and only in a curſory way obſerve, that beſides 12001. of fines exacted in Galloway and Nithſdale ſhires, he was acceſſory to the murdering, under colour of their iniquitous laws, Margaret M'Lauchlan aged ſixty-three years, and Margaret Wilſon a young woman, whom they drowned at two ſtakes within the ſea-mark, at the water of Bladnock. For his cold blood murders, he cauſed hâng Gordon and Mr. Cubin on a growing tree near Irongray, and left them hanging there 1686. The ſame year, he apprehended Mr. Bell of Whiteſide, D. Halliday of Mayfield, and three more, and, without giving them leave to pray, ſhot them dead on the ſpot. Whiteſide, being acquainted with him, begged but one quarter of an hour to prepare for death; all he got from him was, "What the devil, have ye not got "time enough to prepare ſince Bothwel?" and ſo he was ſhot. The ſame ſummer, Annandale having apprehended G. Short and D. Halliday, and having bound them, after quarters granted, the monſter Lag came up, and, as they lay on the ground under cloud of night, cauſed ſhoot them immediately, leaving their bodies thus all blood and gore. Nay, ſuch was their audâcious impiety, that he with the reſt of his bon companions, perſecutors, would over their drunken bowls feign themſelves devils, and thoſe whom they ſuppoſed in hell, and then whip one another as a jeſt on that place of torment. When he could ſerve his maſter this way no longer, he wallowed in all manner of atheiſm, drunkenneſs, ſwearing and adultery, for which he was excommunicated by the church after the revolution, and yet by the then powers was made juſtice of the peace ſometime before 1714; a diſgrace to any civilized nation, not to mention a preſbyterian profeſſion. Thus he continued in his wicked obſtinate courſes to an old age, although his name and eſtate are now extinct. But death's pangs at laſt arreſting him, and all other refuges failing him under the views of his former wicked nefarious life, in imitation of his maſter Charles, he feigned himſelf of the popiſh profeſſion, becauſe a popiſh prieſt made him believe, for money, he could pardon all his ſins, and even when in purgatory for them

them, he could bring him to heaven. And ſo we muſt conclude he died 1733, Dec. 23d, and went down to Tophet with a lie in his right hand, and ſo remains in ſpite of all the prieſt could mutter or mumble over him, as the author of his Elegy in his maſter's name well expreſſes it;

For when I heard that he was dead,
A legion of my den did lead
Him to my place of reſidence,
And there he'll ſtay and not go hence.
This Lag will know and all the reſt,
Who of my lodging are poſſeſt.
On earth they can no more ſerve me;
But ſtill I'll have their compánie, *&c.*

To the foregoing Liſt I ſhall ſubjoin a few more of theſe Satannical Heroes of inferior note, who alſo perſecuted the Followers of the Lamb during the ſuffering period.

CORNELIUS ANDERSON, who was one of thoſe ten ſentenced to die at Air and Irvine, 1666, to ſave his own life became executioner to the reſt (when the executioner poor Sutherland a native of the highlands would not do it) for which divine vengeance did purſue him; for coming down from the gibbet, the boys ſtoned him out of the town, and the noiſe of ſuch an infamous action running faſter than his feet could carry him, made him be hated of all honeſt men. This and horror of his own conſcience haunting him, made him go over to Ireland, where he was little better: almoſt no man would give him work or lodging. At laſt, he built a little houſe upon ſome piece of common ground, near Dublin, which in a little after accidently took fire, and ſo he and it were both burnt to aſhes. —*Crookſhank's hiſtory, Walker's remarks.*

—— MURRAY who, leſt Kerſland ſhould eſcape, went behind the bed with a light and catched him ſtanding with his Bible, while waiting on his ſick lady in 1669, in

a few

a few days after became diſtracted, and in his lucid intervals (while alive) would cry and roar out under that agony, Oh, that ever he was inſtrumental in that matter.—*Wodrow, &c.*

——— one of theſe curſed wretches, who carried Mr. King from Glaſgow 1679. After he had, with his companions on horſe-back, drunk to the confuſion of the covenants and deſtruction of the people of God, rode off with the reſt; and meeting one of his acquaintance at the Stable-green Port who aſked where he was going, he ſaid to carry King to hell; and then galloping after the reſt, whiſtling and ſinging on the Lord's-day: But before he had gone many paces, behold, the judgment of Divine Omnipotency, his horſe foundered on ſomewhat in the path, and his loaded carabine went off and ſhot him, and ſo he tumbled from his horſe dead.—*Wodrow.*

DAVID CUNNING, or Cumming, being willingly hired by that bloody crew (who took Mr. King in the pariſh of Dalry near Kilwinning) to be their guide to Glaſgow: but the horſe they provided for him going ſtark mad, he was obliged to go on foot (after which the horſe became as calm as ever.) But after Cumming's return, it was obſervable, that every perſon on meeting him ſtarted back, as if they had ſeen an apparition; for which they could give no other reaſon. However he had no ſucceſs in the world, and died deſpicably.—*Miſſive in Manuſcript.*

WILLIAM AUCHMUTIE, another of this black gang, riding with the reſt of his party to Couper 1679, and eſpying that young excellent gentleman, young Aiton of Inchdarnie riding at ſome diſtance, brake off from the reſt full ſpeed after him; and, though he was his relation, he ſhot two balls through his body, without ever aſking him one queſtion, and ſo left him. And though he came again and aſked forgiveneſs of him when dying which he readily granted with ſome advice, yet the juſtice and judgment of God ſeemed not to be ſatisfied; for in two or three years after, he died under the terrible agonies of an awakened conſcience for the foreſaid fact, and ſo launched to eternity.—*Wodrow.*

ANDREW DALZIEL, a cocker or fowler, but a debauchee. While Mr. Cameron was preaching in a houſe in a ſtormy day near Cumnock, cried out, "Sir, we nei-

"ther

"ther know you not your God." To whom Mr. Cameron ſaid, "You and all who know not my God in mercy, ſhall "know him in his judgments, which ſhall be ſudden, and "ſurpriſing upon you, &c." Accordingly in a few days being in perfect health, he vomited his very heart's blood in the veſſel wherein he had taken his breakfaſt plentifully, and ſo expired in a moſt frightful manner.—*Walk. remarks.*

JOHN SPIER a wicked wretch inliſted himſelf under major Balfour; and, amongſt other pieces of his perſecuting work, he apprehended Mr. Boyd (then a ſtudent) in Glaſgow. A little after being ordered to ſtand centinel at the Stable-green Port, he muſt needs to be ſure, get up upon the battlement of the Port, upon which he fell over, and broke his neck bone and ſo ended his wretched life.—*Wodrow.*

JOHN ANDERSON, indweller in Glaſgow, in the year 1684, was amongſt others prevailed upon to take that hell-hatched teſt upon his knee. Not long after he took a running iſſue in his left hand and knee. And though we are not to be too peremptory in drawing concluſions of this kind, yet we may relate what this poor man's apprehenſions of the cauſes of this diſeaſe were. The diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, he ſtill cried out, "This is the hand I lifted up, and "this is the knee I bowed to take the teſt." And in a few days after he died in great horror of conſcience.—*Wodrow.*

WILLIAM MUIRHEAD vintner there, on his taking ſaid teſt, riſing from his knees ſaid to the adminiſtrator, "Now you have forced me to take the teſt on my knees, "and I have not bowed my knee to God in my family theſe "ſeven years." And though a rude wicked man, yet his conſcience got up, and next Sabbath he was ſuddenly ſeized with bodily illneſs, and in that condition died.—*Wodrow.*

WILLIAM SPALDIE in Glaſgow, a third, who there took and ſubſcribed the teſt, in a little after fell under great remorſe of conſcience for taking that ſelf contradictory teſt. At length he ſickened. Some people having come to viſit him, endeavoured to comfort him; but he utterly refuſed every thing of this nature; and when deſired to conſider the extenſive greatneſs of the mercy of God in Chriſt, he ſaid, "Speak not of mercy to me. I have appealed to God "and atteſted him to judge me, and he will do it. I have

"ſealed

"ſealed and ſigned my condemnation with mine own hand, "&c." And ſo he died in great diſtreſs.—*Wodrow.*

JOHN FRAM in Loudon pariſh, was once a moſt zealous profeſſor and in fellowſhip with John Richmond the martyr, yet to ſave his life, foully apoſtatized not only from the cauſe of Chriſt, but alſo was one of theſe who witneſſed him to death. After which he became a bankrupt, and fled to Ireland; where it was ſaid that he (who would not hang for religion) was there hanged for ſtealing of horſes.

JOHN PATERSON, another of the ſame ſociety, who witneſſed him alſo to death, went from one thing to another, till he took the clap or French-pox, and died at Edinburgh miſerable.

JOHN LOUDON and John Connel of the ſame ſociety, and who acted the ſame part, were reduced to beggary afterwards.—*Cloud* &c.

PATRICK INGLES, ſon to Captain Ingles, with a party in May 1685, ſurprized ten or twelve men at a night meeting for prayer at Little Blackwood, (Kilmarnock pariſh) took ten priſoners, and ſhot James White, cut off his head with an ax, and carried it to New-milns, where one of them played with it for a foot-ball. Ingles procured a warrant to ſhoot the reſt, had they not in the mean time been relieved by the country. Whether it was Patrick himſelf or one of the dragoons I cannot ſay, but it is ſaid, he who uſed the martyrs head thus, being got up unto the top of the garriſon houſe there, a little after when caſing him over the battlement, fell backward over the wall, and broke his neck, which ended a wicked life by a miſerable ignominious death.—*Crockſhanks, Appendix, A—d, R—n.*

WILLIAM SMITH in Moor-mailing, (Shots pariſh) with his brother when returning home from Pentland, William ſteped aſide to a neighbour's houſe when near home upon a certain errand; but not coming out ſoon, his brother went to ſee for him. But when going paſt the window, he had a glance of two men and a woman ſtanding round his brother, and a ſpit run through his throat: this made him flee for his life. William was not to be found, and as things then went, his brother durſt make no inqui-

ry after him. Near thirty years after, ſometime after the revolution, he was found in a cliſt of a moſs, ſtanding as if he had been put down wanting the head. His brother came upon the firſt notice, and not minding the ſituation, graſped him in his arms: upon which he crumbled all down to duſt. Which remains they gathered up and buried, upon which a ſtone was erected with a motto, which is to be ſeen to this day.—But let us hear what became of theſe murderers. One of the men, it is ſaid, died in great horror of conſcience, and would have diſcovered the fact, had not his brother and ſiſter accomplices thruſt a napkin into his mouth, and ſo he expired. Some time after, the other brother being abroad, was got lying dead upon the way in drink as was ſuppoſed. Laſt of all, the woman hanged herſelf, and was buried in two or three laird's grounds clandeſtinely, but ſtill raiſed by orders of the proprietors; till being wearied, the buriers threw her carcaſe into an old coal-pit, and ſo the tragical ſtory ended.—*A---d R---n.*

THE Earl of Argyle, and others, made an attempt 1685, and though their quarrel was not altogether ſtated according to the antient plea of the Scottiſh covenanters; yet they came to reſcue the nations from popery, ſlavery and bloody perſecution; but being broke, and ſeveral of his officers and men taken, the gallant col. R——d Rumbol of Ryehouſe fled weſtward, and would it is thought have extricated himſelf of the enemy, had not a number of cruel country men riſen, and (after a gallant reſiſtance) taken him, weſt from Liſmahagow, in the head of Dalſyrf or Glaſsford pariſh. Nay, it is ſaid, they were ſo cruel that, while defending himſelf againſt three in number, having turned his horſe with his back to a ſtone gavel, one of them came with a corn fork and put it behind his ear, and turned off his head-piece; to whom he ſaid, "O cruel country man! "that uſed me thus, when my face was to mine enemy." However, he was by them taken to Edinburgh, and from the bar to the ſcaffold, drawn up on a gibbet, then let down a little, and his heart taken out by the executioner while alive, and held out on the point of a bayonet, and then thrown into a fire; his body quartered, and placed on the public places of the nation.—But let us hear what became of theſe ungrateful wretches, who thus uſed and apprehended him who had ventured his life to deliver them from cruel bondage. Few of them died a natural death.

Mark

Mark Ker, one of the principal actors, and who was ſaid to wound him after he was taken, and who it is ſaid got his ſword, was afterwards killed on a ſummer evening at his own door, (or run through by the ſame ſword), by two young men who called themſelves col. Rumbol's ſons, and who, it is ſaid, went off without ſo much as a dog's moving his tongue againſt them, *&c.*

George Mair, being abroad, when returning, wandered and fell over Craignethen craigs, got ſome of his limbs broke, and ſtuck in a thicket, and when found next day was ſpeechleſs, and ſo died in that condition.

One —— Wilſon was killed by the fall of a loft. Another in Hamilton (commonly called the long lad of the Nethertoun) got his leg broken, which no phyſician could cure, and ſo corrupted that ſcarce any perſon for the ſtink could come near him, *&c.*

—— Weir of Birkwood fell from his horſe, and was killed; and his ſon not many years ago, was killed by a fall down a ſtair in drink after a dregy.

Gavin Hamilton who got his buff coat, (out of which Rumbol's blood could by no means be waſhed) lived a good while after a wicked and vicious life, yet his name and memorial is become extinct, and the place of his habitation is razed out, and become a plain field.—*M. S.*

But what needs more ?--Examples of this kind are numerous. God has provided us with his wonderful works, both in mercy and judgment, to be *had in everlaſting remembrance*,—that their ends may be anſwered, and that they may ſerve for a memorial of inſtruction and admonition to thoſe *on whom the end of the world is come.*

The Lord is by the judgments known
which he himſelf hath wrought:
The ſinners hands do make the ſnares
wherewith themſelves are caught.

N. B. To the foregoing prodigies of wickedneſs, I intended to have added a number of examples of the ſame nature in England and elſewhere under the auſpices of popery; but the Scots Worthies having ſwelled ſo far above expectation, to which this behoved to go as an Ap-

pendix as propoſed, I was not only obliged to deſiſt from my intended deſign in this, but even to contract or abridge my former tranſcript of theſe hiſtorical hints and omit ſeveral practical obſervations thereon, which might have been uſeful, or at leaſt entertaining to the reader.—At the ſame time the reader is to obſerve, That all the authors are not named from whence they are collected, but only the moſt principal; nor are they to expect every circumſtance in any one of theſe quoted in every example; for what is omitted by one author is obſerved by another; which rendered the knitting of ſuch diſtant authors and variety of materials into ſuch a ſmall compoſition, a matter of ſome difficulty.

FINIS.

23 AP 57

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

Given in by JOHN GLEN, Merchant, Port-Glaſgow.

PORT GLASGOW.

JAMES GLEN, taylor
Alex. M'Farlane do.
George M'Gee ſmith
Andrew Mann ſkipper
Wm. Holm ſhoemaker
James Erſkine dyer
Wm. Henderſon baker
Wm. Liddel do.
James Couper ſkipper
Humphray Davie ſhop keeper
Archd. Brown taylor
James Ronald ſhoemaker
Wm. Wallace do.
John Stiven tanner
Wm. Allerdie weaver
John Paton
George Campbel weaver
Robert Jamieſon porter
Samuel Fife Rope maker

GREENOCK.

Robert M'Farlane wright
Andrew Simſon do.
James Munn do.
James Moriſon do.
David Fife weaver
Wm. Lamont ſhoemaker
Wm. Turner junr. ſmith
Humphray M'Lean baker
Wm. Hart do.
James M'Kean copper ſmith
John Armour weaver
Wm. Gibb ſawer
James Graham carter
Archd. Henderſon wright
Thomas Edmiſton maſon
James Kelly wright
George Neilſton do.
Duncan Buchanan ſawer
James Davidſon weaver
Malcolm White do.
George Nicol do.
Archd. Scott wright
Daniel Fleming do.
Archd. Taylor do.
Dougal Gray clerk
Moſes M'Cool ſawer
John Biggar do.
Archd. M'Vicar do.
Wm. Holm do.
Peter Sinclair do.
James Stuart do.
Andrew Fairlie do.
John Gordon do.
John Adam do.
John Litſter do.
Wm. Paterſon wright
Donald M'Intoſh copper ſmith
James White labourer
James M'Kinzie baker
John Rodger junr. ſmith
Francis Sproul wright
John Flane
John Garner labourer

GOUROCK.

John Banks miner
Thomas Ferguſon do.
William Gordon do.
Wm. Watſon do.

KILMALCOLM.

William Minzies hoſier
David Miller labourer

Robert

Robert Taylor farmer
Alexr. Hadridge do.
James White do.
John Greenlees labourer
John Laird farmer
John Laird do.

Andrew Dick, Erſkine

HOUSTON.

Wm. Stuart ſchool maſter
Robert Barr ſhoemaker
Alexr. Stevenſon farmer
Robert Orr ſmith
Patrick Lindſay flax dreſſer

CARDROSS.

James Hamilton linen printer
Matthew Buſh do,
John Stirling engraver
Frederick Gordon do.
Randolph M'Innes linen printer
John Hall do.
Wm. Yuill do.
Patrick M'Farlane do.
Andrew Aitken wright
Walter Lindſay labourer
John M'Grigor copperman
Wm. M'Farlane ſhoemaker
Wm. M'Aulay maltman
John Barton farmer
John Barr farrier
William Gordon
James Bain miller
Robt. M'Farlane farmer
John Cafur
Andrew Aitken
Patrick Gray Hellbrick

BONHILL.

Thos. Maltman linen printer
Thomas Kereg do.
Adam White do.
John Bryce couper
Wm. Henderſon ſhoemaker
James Henderſon linen printer
John Alexander vintner
Michael Lindſay

Katharine Beatſon, Drummond
Robert Braſh there

DUMBARTON.

Bailie James Colquhoun
George Walker ſhoemaker
John Ewing do.
John Mitchel do.
Patrick Mitchel do.
John Lindſay do.
Patrick Colquhoun do.
Peter Houſton do,
Elizabeth Lin
Janet Donald
Katharine Houſton
James Paterſon ſawer
Robert Lata boatman
John M'Aleſter wright
Alexr. Williamſon do.
Alexander Brown do.
Archibald Glen weaver
James M'Niel do,
John Houſton do.
Wm. Lang merchant
Hugh Cameron do.
Wm. Alexander wright
John Webſter baker
Robert Lang farmer
Wm. Lang malter

GLASGOW.

Robert Williamſon ſtay maker
Andrew Shields taylor
William M'Farlane couper
William Reid dyer
Robert Gardiner ſhoemaker.
Mungo M'Intyre do.
Jeremiah Rankin do.
James Ker do.
James Scott do.
Alexander Little do,
Archibald Fife weaver
James Moriſon currier

Margaret Martin in Shots

PAISLEY.

John Train merchant

James

James M'Culloch wright
John Rentoul do.
William Black do.
James Aitken do.
Patrick Wotherſpoon do.
Robert Lintown do.
James Lintown do.
Archibald Martin maſon
Hugh Anderſon do.
Patrick Stobs do.
John Carſe reed maker
Thomas Tudhope labourer
David Scott maſon
David Picken wright
Duncan Robertſon
Robert Findlay ſtone cutter
John Brownlie maſon
Henry Sutherland do.
John Campbel
Wm. Scott weaver
Matthew Brown do.
William Cochran do.
Robert Craig do,
William Stevenſon do.
William Robertſon do.
John Dunlop do.
John Williſon do.
Robert More do.
John Macham do.
John Campbel do.
James Renfrew do.
Thomas Gemmel do.
John Peden do.
Peter Lithgow do.
Robert Stirling do.
Neil Whyte do.
Alexander Stuart do.
James Bryce do,
Edward Taylor do
Archibald Leckie do.
John Sproul do.
Alexander M'Gown do.
Thomas Suttily do.
James Hillhouſe do.
John Reid do.
James M'Lymont do.
Alexander Thomſon do.
Mungo White do.
Thomas King do.
James Brown hoſier
William Semple do.
John Richmond ſmith
Andrew Moriſon maſon
John Jack do.
James Semple ſilk dreſſer
John Dunlop weaver

NIELSTON.

John Balfour ſhoemaker
John Rankin linen printer
William Maxwel do
James Duncan do.
Alexander Dalglieſh do
John Dalglieſh do
James Adam cutler
John Strong do.
John Brown bleacher
John Niven yarn waſher
John Miller
John Craig
David Shephard weaver
James Lang do
William Swap do
John Young do
Thomas Robertſon do
William Dunlop do.
Robert Stevenſon do
John Gibſon do
John Thomſon labourer

KILBARCHAN.

William Livingſton gardener
Thomas Laird wright
Hugh Allan ſhoemaker
James Alliſon labourer
William Pinkſton weaver
Robert Thomſon do
Robert Spier ſenior do.
Andrew Giffin do.
Joſeph Jamieſon do.
John Houſton ſenior do.
John Houſton junior do.
James Pinkerton do.
Thomas Monie do.
James Buchanan do.
Robert Hall do.

William

William Park do.
William Provan do.
William Gavin do.
John Wright do.
James Barr do.
William Davis do.
James Houſton do.

BIETH.

Robert Boyd weaver
James Patieſon do.
Robert Kilpatrick do.
William Lindſay do.
Robert Matthie do.
John Guy do.
Robert Hunter do.
John Crawford do.
David Kennedy do.
Bryce Barr do.
Andrew Smith do.
Adam Barr do.
Robert Gilleſpie do.
Archibald Taylor do.
John Knox do.
Robert Jamieſon of Boghead
William Knox ſhoemaker
Hugh Knox do.
Robert Patrick do.
Robert Fulton do.
Robert Hunter taylor
Robert Glen do.
James Clark do.
Robert Kerr merchant
Thomas Miller maſon
John Houſton do.
James Craig ſhoemaker
James Campbel flax dreſſer
Allan Caldwell
Thomas Howie carter
William Pollock ſmith
William Allan
David Caldwall maſon
John Dunlop merchant
James Pollock farmer

KILBURNIE.

Robert Orr farmer
James Orr weaver
Robert Montgomerie ſhoemaker
Thomas Houſton maſon
John Logan do.
William Findlay do.
John Sheddan weaver
John Barclay do.
James Allan ſmith

DALRAY.

John Boyd portioner
Daniel Kerr do.
Allan Spier of Kerſland mill
James Stirrat merchant
John Lyle
Andrew Hunter
Samuel Hunter of Paſtorhill
Andrew Greg wright
John Logan do
Allan Bogle farmer
William Woodſide do
Robert Ferguſon do
Thomas Aitken portioner
Thomas Milliken maſon
Robert Howie carter
William Kirkwood flax dreſſer
Alexr M'Pherſon coal grieve
William Galſton carter
James Miller do
John Fulton
John Plewright dykebuilder
William Archibald farmer
John Muir weaver
James Niel do
Robert Dunlop do
Robert Auld do
John Archibald do
Thomas Logan do
John Hamilton do
William Aitken do
David Auld do
Robert Stuart do
Hugh Oſwald
James Kerr do
John Montgomerie do
James Laurie do
John Auld do
Robert Aitken weaver
Hugh Williſon do

James

James Aitken weaver
John Henry do
Matthew Stirrat do

KILWINNING.

James Baillie junr. weaver
Alexander Petter do
John Conn do
James Dotchen do
James Gray do
Robert Barr do
William Murdoch do
Duncan Lowdon do
John Starrat
John Gath couper Irvine

STEVENSTON.

Thomas Kirkwood merchant
Hugh Gilmore do
Robert Boyd weaver
John Dyet do
James M'Millan do
Alexander Howie wright
Robert Gardiner caulayer
John Boyd
Mary Black
Jean Cowen

WEST KILBRIDE,

William Biggart farmer
John Fleck do
James Galbraith do
William Dun do

SALTCOATS.

Thomas Hunter merchant
James Watson wright
Thomas Lauchlan do.
George Starrat
William Stevenson merchant
Thomas Service wright
Daniel Vicar do
John Craig merchant
Elizabeth Anderson
John M'Millan
Bryce Muir ship maſter
John Kankin rope-maker
James Raſide do
Robert Ingram junior
James Hall ropemaker
James Skeoch weaver
William Barr do
James Robertſon do
Robert Workman do
Robert Dunlop do
James Hill

LARGS.

Daniel Kerr merchant
Robert M'Naught wright
John Wilſon maltman
Henry Reid weaver Slackmanan, 12 copies

Given in by Mr CHRISTOPHER SCOTT, ſtudent in divinity now in Pathhead.

Adam Watſon ſmith Pathhead
Mr James Thomſon ſtudent in philoſophy
David Mitchel weaver there
John Reid weaver Sinklertown
Robert Forreſter do Pathhead
James Mitchelſon do
Mr. Æneas M'Bean ſtudent in philoſophy
Mr David Black do
Mr John Thomſon do
James Halley weaver there
Walter Gray do. there
Matth. Shields junior Gallatown
John Goodvir manufacturer Pathhead
John Drybrough ſmith there
Laurence Mitchel weaver there
John Lawſon do. there
George Adam do. there
John Drybrough nailer there
Andrew Wilſon there
Robert Gourlie weaver in Grange
Peter Eaſon weaver in Pathhead
James Ure junior there
John Mathieſon weaver there
James Forbes do. there
Gilbert Fiſher in Grange
John Forgan weaver Pathhead
Alexander Beveridge do. there
David Forgan do there
David Miller wright there
James Rodger weaver there
John Muckarſie weaver in the links of Kirkaldie
James Stocks dyer Pathhead
David Halley weaver there
Robert Gibb do. there

James Jackſon weaver Pathhead
William Taylor do. there
Peter Killgour do. there
Alex. Haggart flaxdreſſer there
James Miller weaver there
George White maltſter there
Robt. Dick gardener Sinklertown
Eben. Brte flaxdreſſer Pathhead
Robert Coventry weaver there
Andrew Blyth do. there
James Smart do. there
Andw. Waddel do. Kierbrae
John Brown do. Pathhead
James Johnſton do. Sinklertown
Robt Brown candlemaker Path head
Thomas Smart weaver there
John Gray do. there
Andrew Scath farmer there
Thomas Bell Ceres pariſh
George Mount there
And. Wallace labourer Kettle
Rachel Watſon there

Given in by JOHN WHYTOCK weaver in Playfield Perth.

PERTH.

Peter Whytock weaver
David Cairnie do.
Hugh Cairnie do.
John Watſon do.
John Killor do.
Andrew Brown ditto
John Wilſon ditto
James Lamb ditto
Alexander Ferrier ditto
James Taylor ditto
David Smith ditto
Andrew Wylie ditto
John Carrick ditto
William Bettie ditto
David Kettle ditto
John Young ditto
Alexander Wilſon ditto
John Speedie ſhoemaker
John Robertſon tanner
Alexander Miller ditto
Walter Scobbie weaver
Robert Glaſs merchant
John M'Grigor flaxdreſſer Long Forgan
David Gardiner in Muirtown
Wm. Scott weaver in Eaſt Shiels
Charles Stark ſmith there
Archd. Shaw marble cutter Glaſgow
Robt. Gibſon weaver Pettinain
Alexander Nairn Libberton
James Gourlie in Stirling
John Harvie there
Thos. Kirkwood weaver Kilſyth
Margaret Black of Lairn in Ireland, 12 copies
James Muirhead farmer Kilſyth
John Muirhead there
Margaret Nimmo Delſhanan Kirkintilloch
Andrew Wilſon ſervant there
Jas. Dalrymple weaver Weſtſide
James Dickſon do. Monkland
George Brown merchant Perth, 12 copies
Henry Buiſt there
David Gardiner there
Peter Taylor in Tapermalloch
Revd. Mr Preſton miniſter of the goſpel at Logiesmen
Revd. Mr John Young miniſter of the goſpel at Dumbarron
Revd Mr Laurence Reid miniſter of the goſpel at Patha Condy
Mrs Biſſet in Perth
Thomas Blair ſhoemaker there
James Hamilton in Blantyre
John Young innkeeper Alloa
Wm. Young ſtudent of divinity Glaſgow
James Anderſon in Strathmiglo, 12 copies
John Muir junior merchant in Glaſgow, 2 copies
Wm. Blackwood plaiſterer there
Wm. Wallace in Blacklow
Alex. Cuningham maſon there
Robert Young do. there

Given

Given in by JAMES HOOD, taylor Glasgow.
William Todd
Andrew Allan
Andrew Hood
Thomas Smith
William M'Ewen
Alexander Norrel

Given in by JOHN MEIN, London.
Thos. Orr East Smithfield, 2 cop.
Alexander Grant Deptford
Andrew Imbrie London
William Clarke ship wright
George Gregory Spittle fields
David Imbrie
Mr Watson in great Towerhill.
Henry Russel
Henry Hutton
Daniel Cook
Mrs Toben
Robt. Forsyth No 100 Wapping

Given in by JOHN HARDIE Old Meldrum.
Revd. Mr James Chalmers minister of the gospel in Daviot
John Gelland Old Meldrum
John Simson grieve Torvis
William Reid in New Deer
William Duguil in Odney
William Dow in Marnoch
William Cran merchant there

John Brown bookseller in Dunse, 24 copies

Given in by JAMES CRAIG shoemaker in Kilbride

KILBRIDE.

William Riddel weaver
James Shaw portioner
Thomas Russel smith
John Craig farmer
William Arbuckle
Wm. Wallace mains of Eglesham
Christopher Strang there
William Corr in Glasford
Robert Hamilton smith there

Given in by ALEXANDER HUTCHISON in Newton.
Matthew Short baxter Moffat
David French Wamphray
William Proudfoot there
Matth. Murray jun. in Bentpath
Sim. Graham Newton Wamphray
Robt. Ferguson herd in Finigal
James Lochie in Windyshiels
John Chisholm in Shiel
James Hyslop in Wellroadhead
James Purvos in Watcarrick
John Anderson in Moodley
William Scott in Holm
Alexander Glencross Saughtrees
William Proudfoot Johnston
John Geddes Coriehall
John Beatie in Lambhill
Benj. Munel wright Saughtrees
Wm. Little wright Coriemill

Given in by JAMES GOUDIE travelling chapman in Girvan.
Thos. Woderwood quarrier in Daily parish
James Paterson weaver there
Agnew Fletcher shoem Maybole
James Goudie merchant there
Alex. Heron farmer Kirkoswald
Sam. M'Lymont mercht Girvan
William M'Queen mason there
Hugh M'Quaker do. there
John Ramsay shoemaker there
Thomas M'Ilwrath currier there
Joseph Baird weaver there

Revd. Mr. James Punton minister of the associate congregation at Hamilton
James Miller flaxdresser
William Hart merchant
James Barr shoemaker
Andrew Faulds in Carscallan
William Fleming servant there
Robert Strang in meikle Ernock
Thos. Leister weav. in Hamilton
Robert Smith do. there
Andrew Smith hosier
William Semple in Calton
John Weir weaver there

Meſſrs. Gordon and M'Knight in Dudly Worceſterſhire, 12 cop.

Given in by JOHN HAGGART in Errol
Patrick Brown in Wardhead
James Gentle in Errol
Andrew Adam there
John Thomſon there
John Matthieſon there
James Davie there
John Mallock there
Peter Pirie there
James Rattray there
David Gill there
James Kelt in Godins

Given in by JOHN FORSYTH, ſhoemaker Stirling
Robt. Rae grocer Stirling
John Henderſon maltman there
Robert Beleh there
Katharine Connel there
Duncan King workman there
Alex. Wilſon ſhoemaker there
James Ferguſon carpet weaver
James Moriſon

Given in by JOHN WINGATE in St. Ninians

ST. NINIANS.
William Miller weaver
John Thomas do.
Archibald Gilchriſt do.
John Harvie do.
John Forreſter do.
William Forſyth taylor
Chriſtian Anderſon ſervant
Thomas Gilchriſt merchant
John Miller do.
Alexander Gilchriſt do.
John Wingate weaver
James Paterſon do.
Robert Forreſter do.
Robert Paul nailer
John Sharp ſmith
John Keſſim brewer
John M'Farlane ſhoemaker

STIRLING.
Walter Smith weaver
James Smart ſhoemaker
John M'Learn weaver
Thomas Thomſon do.
John Fiſher ſhoemaker

BANNOCKBURN.
Thomas Anderſon weaver
John Stevenſon ditto
Archibald Smart ſhoemaker
John M'Farlane weaver
Alexander M'Farlane do.
William Jeffray do,
George Aitken do.
John M'Donald do.
James Munro do.
Robert Waterſon do;
William Sharp do.
James Johnſon do.
John Forfar do,
Andrew Liddel do.
Robert Stevenſon do.
Thos. Anderſon do. weſter Livelands
John Baird do. Fategrin
Andrew Cowan Touchgorun
Thos. Jeffray ſmith Charters hall
James Gilleſpie do. there
Archd. Thomſon taylor there
Willm. Chalmers do. there
George Miller ſmith New market
John M'Killop Craiggarth
Henry Edmund farmer in Hole

Given in by DAVID MILLER in Campſie
John Benny ſchoolmaſter near Paiſley
John Galloway Burn foot
William Thomſon Arnbrae
Janet Bulloch Blarveath
Jas. Gilchriſt weaver Campſie
Moſes Neilſon do. there
Robert Somerville merchant Kirkintilloch
Robt. Aitken tayler Waterſide
John Stirling there
Andrew Stirling there
Archibald Stirling hoſier Kirkintilloch
John Stuart couper there
John Ingli junr. ſmith there
John Goodwin portioner there

Mr.

Mr William Fergus bailie of Kirkintilloch
John King in Baldernock
William Thomſon farmer in Bridge end
William Murdoch workman in Torrence
John M'Kean merchant Campſie
Robert Young in Denny
Thos. Winning labourer Balmore
James King wright
Robert Dunlop baker
Alexander Paton
John Bogle farmer
William King miller
Hugh Barr

ARDROSON.

William Service farmer
John Crawford do.
William Donald do.

DALRAY.

Given in by WILLIAM WHITE, bookſeller in Beith

KILWINNING.

Robert Dunlop portioner
Alexander Young
Andrew Robinſon farmer
Alexander Robinſon do.
James Robinſon wright
John Robinſon
Matthew French ſervant
John Miller weaver
Matthew King portioner
John Connel maſon
Adam Gibſon farmer
Robert Boyd do.
Hugh Barklay ſmith
John Paton weaver
Thomas Robinſon weaver
James Spier portioner
Hugh Barklay ſervant
William Giffin farmer
Robert Ranken dyer
James Johnſton farmer
John Armour ſervant
William D'ckie ſervant
George Park
James Allan ſchoolmaſter
David Clark merchant
Hugh Barklay taylor
Hugh Anderſon farmer
Margaret Muir ſervant
Robert Wilſon do.
William Paton
James Govan miller
John Hill flaxdreſſer
William Anderſon wright
Andrew Mackie
William Jack ſhoemaker
Robert Berkley
William Rodger

BEITH.

John Sheddan portioner
John Dow wright

Given in by JOHN M'LYMONT, travelling Chapman

Gilbert M'Lymont weaver in Newton Stuart
William M'Lymont do. there
James M'Kean do. there
James M'Cluredo. there
John M'Clumpha do. there
Anthony M'Gowan labourer
Wm. M'Kean taylor there
John M'Kie ferrier there
Wm. Bogle gardener in Minigaff
Peter M'Kean maſon at Ferrytown of Cree
William Watſon at Bridgend of Cree
Robert Campbel at Largs
Willm. Douglas in Bargonan
Eliz. Hyſlop in Knockvill
Mary Broadfoot in Corbyknows

Given in by MATTHEW MILLER in Mauchlin

John Paterſon tayl. in Mauchin
John Miller ſchoolmaſter there
Robert Gill there
Alexander Ray there
James Smith maſon there
Andrew Aird ſervant there
Hugh Thomſon ſmith Tarbolton
Robert Elliot do there
Willm Rattray weaver there

James

Andrew Cowan wright Sorn
Wilm. M'Gown miller do.
James Ralston in Sorn
James Mitchel in Craighall
John Mitchel there
John Baird there
John Wilson there
Wm. Currie wright St. Quivox
James Kirkland mason there
James Murdoch do. there
John Armour schoolmaster Gibb's yard
William Weir in Craigie
William M'Henle in Mauchlin
James Lees tanner there
William Miller weaver Tarbolton

FENWICK.

James Brown son to Wm. Brown 2 copies
John Young in Ridgehill
John Garvan in Burn
John Yonng in muir of Rowallen

STEWARTON.

James Anderson weaver, 26 copies
John Stevenson do.
James Reside do.
Andrew Smith Castlesalt do.
John Blackwood do.
James Jamieson do.
James Muir in Robertland do.
John Dunlop wright
John Tannihill in Bogflit
James Wilson portioner in Chapleton
James Gemmel weaver
Archibald Alexander do.
James Alexander do,
John Calderwood do.
John Wylie taylor
Robert Smith weaver

DUNLOP.

James Stevenson in Oldhall
Andrew Cochran in Gilles
John Hall shoemaker

WEST KILBRIDE.

Alexander Wylie
Thomas Smith portioner Canadn
John Stevenson

BEITH.

John King junior in Gree

DREGHORN.

David Steel weaver in Lambroghten
John Brown jun. in Bowstonhead
Archibald Young in Mains
Alexander Wilson in town of Air 2 copies
Margaret M'Gillan near Wighton 6 copies

EAST KILBRIDE.

James Orr

Given in by JOHN M'DONALD, student of Divinity in Ceres.

Patrick Orr farmer in Ceres
William Morton do. there
John Turpie merchant in Carnum
James Laing in Ceres

Given in by ROBERT INGLIS, bookseller in Edinburgh

Revd. Dr John Erskine, minister of the gospel in the old Grayfriar's Edinburgh, 2 copies
Hugh Watson servant in Westerholls
William Inglis schoolmaster in Carstairs

Given in by JAMES LANG bookseller Kilmarnock

Revd. Mr John Russel minister of the gospel in Kilmarnock
George Fairservice schoolmaster
George Miller shoemaker there
James White do. there
James Cuningham do. there
Gavin Walker miller there
James Freebairn plaisterer there
John Dickie there
William Arbuckle there

George

George Thomſon barber
Alexander Giffin farmer in Dundonald
John Rowat ſhoemaker
David Ferguſon in Craigie
Mary Frances in Irvine
Archibald M'Ketton ſhoemaker in Saltcoats
Mat. Alerton farmer Galſton
Alexr. Longmuir portioner in Dreghorn
Robt. Creighton in Firmerlaw
Samuel Muir weaver Kirkland
John Wilſon in Titwood
Robert Hay quarrier Symington
Wm. Hendry farmer Muir mill
James Moriſon do. Riccarton
Alexander Holm
Robt. Parker farmer Burleith
John Bunton do. in Puroch
Thomas Earle weaver in Capperingtiren
Wm. Arbuckle butcher in Kilmarnock
John Dickie ſhoemaker there

Given in by ROBERT RAMSAY, taylor in Bathgate

BATHGATE.

Revd Mr John Jamieſon miniſter of the goſpel
Daniel Steel ſhoemaker
John Gillan workman
David Newlands merchant
William Gray workman
John Rule tanner
George Ranken wright
Margaret Muirhead
Andrew Jeffray workman
John Bryce maſon
David Tinnond do.
Robert Ramſay taylor 10 copies
James Marſhal maſon

CORSTORPHIN.

Thomas Hodge weaver
John Culbertſon workman
Gavin Inglis do.
William Laurie ſmith
Alexander Mitchel workman
Robert Geddes do.
William Sclate
Robert Thomſon
Peter Newlands weaver
John Gardiner ſhoemaker Torphichen
Alexander Black ſtabler in Edinburgh
William Gray in Currie

Given in by Sir ARCHIBALD NICOL, weaver and bookſeller in Glaſgow.

David Riddel plaiſterer Glaſgow
William Blackwood do. there
Andw. Blackwood hoſier there
Andrew Riddel weaver Kilbride
Agnes Strang of Bogton there
John Freebairn wright Rutherglen
John Wilſon do. there
Robert Dun coalhewer
Andrew Kerr there
Robert Arthur linen printer Croſs mill
John M'Nab do. there
John Moffat do. there
William Cumming do there
Walter M'Gregor do. there
Peter M'Nicol do. Farnazie
John Brown do. Croſs mill
Joſeph Buchanan do. there
Alexander Buchanan do. there
John Ewing there
Iſobel Lindſay in Kilbride
Robert Watſon ſilk weaver Hola
William Leitch weaver there
Robert Anderſon do. there
John Montgomerie there
John M'Ewen weaver in Grahams town
James Angus dyer at Farnezie
Thomas Ogilvie weaver Gorbals
John Niven do. there
William Henderſon do. there
Henry Muir Carntine
Thomas Galloway there

John

John Paterſon ſmith in Rutherglen
Pitcairns Ritchie there
James Paterſon there
John Brown hammerman Calton
James Wingate do. there
John M'Lea tanner there
John Walker Calder
John M'Lean of north Medrox
Mary Martin in Rew
William Brown there
John Paterſon weaver Birkenſhaw
William M'Lean of ſouth Medrox
John Stark taylor in Leckethill
James Legat in Drumbowie
James Towie weaver Glentore
Margaret Brown in Rew
William Shaw portioner in weſter Glentore
James Bogle weaver Slamanan
David Auchinvole Auchinſterry, Cumbernauld
Joſeph Thom in Calder
William Dickie ſilk weaver in Mauchlin
James Ritchie weaver there
Margaret Ferrier in Dalsholm
William Smith coalhewer Knightwood
James Aitken horſekeeper there
Robert Watt wright Jordan hill
James Mackie in Cumbernauld
Joſeph Williamſon in Millbrae, New Monkland
Gavin Bailie ſawer Hamilton
Alexr. Pumfrey weav. Millheugh
John Burns of Braehead
John Hamilton weaver Dalſerf
James Davidſon do. there
James Drummond ſhoemaker
Ann Alſton there
Janet Lepper there
John Henderſon maſon Hamilton
James Weir ſhoemaker in Blantyre
John Maiklem gardener Campſie
James Bollock weaver Neilſton
David Sproul do. there
Michael Stevenſon ſilk weaver there
Thomas Gilmour weaver there
John Gray do. there
Robert Gilmour linen printer Eaſtwood
Alexander Calderwood do. there
John Bell do. there
Andrew Faulds dyer there
John Gilchriſt wright Carluke
John Huſband in Hurlot
Walter M'Farlane coal cutter there
William Paterſon
James Craig weaver in Govan
Matthew Gilmour do. there
William Clow do, there
Geprge Jamie do. there
James Moriſon do. there
John Struthers do. there
Wm. Robertſon do. there
John Robertſon do. there
James Shields maſon there
John Ritchie weaver there
Wm. Campbel do. there
John Lyle do there
SmeltieGellers manufactorer there
David Gran weaver there
John Ruſſel do. there
Wm. Liddel do. there
John Lyon workman Carmunnock
Arthur More miller there
Thomas Muir coal hewer Rutherglen
Wm. Roxburgh weaver Glaſgow
John Davie do. there
Matthew Moriſon do. there
John Duncan do. there
Wm. Lang do. there
John Hamilton of Gurhomlock Barony
John Moffat farmer there
Andrew Moffat maſon there
Robert Arthur at Garoch mill
John Richmood of Carleith, Sorn
Matthew Jamieſon there
James Wilſon of Craſthead there
George Cameron in Hill there

Daniel

Alexander Buchanan linen printer Croſs mills
John Arthur do. there
Matthew Cameron do. there
Wm. Jarvie workman Farnezie
Daniel Spſer in Moſshouſe Sorn
Jas. Aiton ſhoemaker Riccarton
John Dick Craigie
Jean Wilſon there
Hugh Templeton there
George Marr coalhewer there
Robert Lamont farmer Thornhill
Robert Porter ſhoemaker there
William Morton do. Craigie
Matthew Dickie do. there
William Allan farmer there
George Bowie there
Thomas Wallace there
John Glover there
John Wallace miller there
James Hunter in Riccarton
James Orr Moſsſide there
Thomas Jamieſon in Tarbolton
Robert Lamout farmer there
Ronald Hunter cowper there
William Stephen wright there
David Smith there
William Lindſay there
Wm. Auld farmer there
Wm. Reid maſon there
Wm. Drips do. there
John Gray do. there
John Jamieſon farmer there
Hugh Reid there
Janet Tait there
Wm. Wright wright there
Alexr. Paterſon farmer there
David Miller there
David Wilſon in Craigie
John Armour taylor Galſton
David Borland there
Robt Gourlie miller Garoch mill
George Donald there
John Brown in Barony
Alexr. Muffat Parkhead there
William Baxter do. there
John Jarvie weaver Barony
James Robertſon in Eaſtwood
Archibald Paterſon there
John Taylor there

Robert Gilmour in Mearns
John Faulds in Nethertown
John Gibby in Hurlot
John Moriſon there
Jas. Thomſon wright Hackethead
John Marſhall do. there
Peter Norris plumber Glaſgow
Arthur Laing wright Paiſley
James Philip Hacket head
Matthew Laurie there
Elizabeth Forreſter there
Sarah Gemmel there
John Brown farmer Paiſley
John Ralſton do there
William Adam in Moſsland
Zach. Waterſton farmer Govan
Agnes Stark there
Wm. Ritchie weaver there
Jas. Fleming maſon & wright there
James Dove dyer Glaſgow
Robert Love plaiſterer there
John Dun maſon there
Wm Beggart do. Calton
George Neill there
Alex. Connel wright Carmunnock
Alex. Anglie weaver Glaſgow
John M'Farlane ſhoemaker there
Alexander Nicol do. there
James Dun officer Loudon
David M'Creath Mayboſe
David Crooks in Seſnock
Euphans Hodge in Galſton
John Carmichael there
Andrew Willock there
Alexander Mair there
James Irvin there
John Richmond there
George Paterſon hoſier there
William Parker there
James Watt there
Janet Smith there
John Lamie workman there
Robert Glover do. there
John Goudie there
John Anderſon farmer Muchlin
William Hunter do. there
John Hunter do, there
John Reid do. there
James Dickie do. there
Wm. Meikle wright & glaz there

Matth. Ronald ſilk weaver there
James Smith maſon there
Hugh Wallace of Bergow there
Frances Murdoch there
James Smith there
Archibald Campbel there
Andrew Ritchie there
George Beveridge there
James Oliphant there
Elizabeth Lindſay there
William Barrie there
John Duak there
Robert Glover weaver there
Mary Glover in Craigie
Jas. Stuart ſhoemaker Glaſgow
John Shearer ſmith in Barony
Wm. Watchman weaver there
Robert Allan do. there
James Wallace do. mid Quarter
James Allan there
John Allan there
John Wotherſpoon weaver there
John M'Allum do. there
David M'Nair weaver Calton
Robt. Buchanan wright there
David Donald weaver there
James Taylor do. there
Gilbert Garth do. there
Wm. Govan do. there
Mat. Steel do. middle Quarter
Wm. Dounie wright Carntine
Geo. Crichton coalhewer Barony
Alex. M'Learn ſmith Calton
Jas. Robertſon miller Garſcub
Andrew George do. there
Jas. Park coalhewer Anaſland
Geo. Crawford weaver Glaſgow
Archibald Bell do. there
Thomas Park wright there
Thomas Malcolm do. there
George Arthur do. there
John Rae weaver Calton
Wm. Williamſon teacher there
Wm. Walker weaver there
Wm. Crocket do. there
Robert Wilſon do. there
John Alſton do. there
John Fife do. there
James Lawſon do. there
Robert Hutton do. there
William Gardiner do. there

John Chryſtie labourer there
David Jack weaver there
Robert Munro do. there
John Garden do. there
James Wylie do. there
Adam Brown taylor there
Mary Arthur there
James Leigh potter Glaſgow
Alex. Moriſon candlemaker there
James Granger weaver Calton
Jas Henderſon do. Drygate toll
James Kay plaiſterer Gorbals
Duncan Campbel cowper Glaſgow
John Burr ſhoemaker there
Gavin Wotherſpoon do. there
Henry M'Culloch do. there
John Sheddan do. there
John Pettigrew old Monkland
Robt. Pettigrew wright there
Chriſtian Murdoch Glaſgow
Blackney Waddel old Monkland
James Smith there
John Pettigrew wright there
Robt. Pettigrew ſawer there
Henry Pato teacher there
William Thomſon there
Mat. Reid coalhewer Sandhills
Wm Erſkine do. there
Martin Rodger ſmith there
Jas. Kinnibrugh tayl. Shettleſton
Wm Walkinſhaw miller Barony
Wm. M'Leland plaiſterer Glaſg.
John Niviſon wright there
Andrew Niven Gorbals
William Reid nailer there
John Burry weaver Calton
Malcolm M'Lean do. there
Janet Zuill Glaſgow
Wm. Hamilton in Carmunnock
John Warnock farmer Cathcart
Andrew Park do. Eaſtwood
George Deans weaver Neilſton
John Johnſton do. Duckethall
James Cochran do. there
Robert Cunningham do. there
John Wilſon do there
Doug. Graham bleacher Farnezie
Willm. Moriſon Paiſley
James Airſton weaver Neilſton
Robert Legat do. there
Wm. M'Ewen there

Alexr.

Alexr. M'Gregor Neilſton
Robt. Cumming labourer Paiſley
Robert Barr farmer there
John Peacock in Pollock place
Alexander Malcolm there
Archibald Hamilton there
James Henderſon there
Thos. Cullen ſhoemaker Calton
John Shearer coalhewer Houſton
James Lyle do. there
Charles Colquhoun do. there
Wm. Watt in Knightſwood
Grizel Gibb Dalsholm
John Duncan of Milnfield
John Gardner weaver Calton
John Roſs hammerman there
William Glen weaver Glaſgow
Andrew Tury boatman Canal
James Mitchel in Dalmarnock
John Niſbet in Carntine
John M'Pherſon ſmith Glaſgow
Jas. Allan ſhoem. Calton 12 cop.
Andrew M'Gilchriſt Glaſgow
John Findlay there
John Drummond there
Hugh Henderſon barber there
Wm. Cochran weaver Paiſley
John Stuart hillman there
James Lauchlan weaver there
Robt. Miller bleacher Eaſtwood
Alexander Leck weaver
Arthur Campbel in Barony
Alexr. Allan at Provan mill
James Thomſon in Rocheſay
Robt. Galloway maſon Carntine
John Blair coallier there
Wm. Burnſide do. there
James Orrock weaver
James Smith do. Calton
Matthew Rea do.
Robert Young in Poſtle
Jas. Morton ſhoemaker Calton
John Moriſon do. there
Wm Somerville miller Glaſgow
Wm. Henderſon weaver there
John Falconer there
William Allan there
John Gray Weſtmuir
James Raiſton Glaſgow
Wm. M'Gibbon there
Agnes Dalrymple there
James Glen farmer Woodſide
James Dickſon Auldhouſebridge
James Findlay weaver Gorbals
Peter Gray coalhewer Shettleſton
James Graham Glaſgow
Wm. Loudon gardener Dalbeth
Agnes Dyer Glaſgow
Margaret Boyd there
James Logan miller Woodſide
Jas. Graham ſhoemaker Calton
Jas. Fiſher do. in Callender
Wm. Miller wright Glaſgow
John Buchanan do. there
Mungo Ritchie do. Garſcub
Archibald Sword do. there
Hugh Aitken coalhewer Jordanhill
Robt. Purdon hammerman Barony
Robt. Brown brewer Glaſgow

Given in by PETER GOLD, in Newtown of Douglas
William Gold there
Wm. Williamſon there
Hugh Gold there
James Gold farmer there
John Aitken there
Robert Miller there
John Forreſt farmer weſt Calder

GLASGOW, *June 4th*, 1782.

PROPOSALS

For Printing by SUBSCRIPTION,
In One large OCTAVO Volume.

An Elegant Edition of

Three Hundred and Fifty-Two

LETTERS,

By the Eminently Pious

MR. SAMUEL RUTHERFOORD,

Profeſſor of Divinity at *St. Andrews*.

To which is added,

The Author's *Teſtimony* to the covenanted work of Reformation, as it was carried on between 1638 and 1649.—And alſo his *Dying Words*, containing ſeveral Advices to ſome miniſters and near relations. As alſo,

A large PREFACE and POSTSCRIPT, wrote by the Reverend Mr. M'WARD.

23 AP 57

CONDITIONS.

I. The book will be printed on a fair paper and good large Type, to conſiſt of nearly 600 pages.

II. The price to Subſcribers will be Two Shillings and Sixpence Sterling to be paid at the delivery of the book, neatly bound.

III. Thoſe who ſubſcribe for twelve copies, ſhall have one Gratis.

IV. The book will be put to the preſs as ſoon as a competent number of ſubſcriptions are obtained.

The encouragers of this work are deſired to ſend in their Names, with the number of Copies they want, to the Publiſher, within two months after the date of this propoſal.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in by JOHN BRYCE, the Publiſher, Glaſgow; W. Knight, merchant, Aberdeen; J. Hardie, merchant, Old Meldrum; G. Brown, merchant, Perth; J. Brown, bookſeller, Dunſe; J. Newal, bookſeller, Dumfries; A. M'Credy, book-binder, Stranrawer; G. Caldwal, bookſeller, Paiſley; J. M'Caſland, merchant, Greenock; J. Lang, bookſeller, Kilmarnock; D. Miller, merchant, Campſie; J. M'Lymont, J. Glen, and A. Nicol, travelling chapmen; and all others intruſted with Propoſals.